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The Emma Goldman Papers

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A Microfilm Edition

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Goldman Writings

January 1, 1913 to December 31, 1919

Edited by

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CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.

Alexandria, Virginia Cambridge, England

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In memory of Brenda J. Butler (1953-1990)

who, from 1987 to 1990, coordinated the search for Goldman documents in Europe, Asia and the Soviet Union, thus expanding the Goldman Papers collection to reflect the international dimension of Goldman's life and work.

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[Interview] Pioneer Anarchists Leave Crop of 60,000 Reds in U.S. / Emma Goldman. – 29 cm. *In* The New York Tribune. – (Dec. 22, 1919).

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I, a rich man, tremble before their misery; I, a privileged man, turn pale before their justice. In short, wishing to be free, I cannot be, because all the men around me do not yet wish to be free, and, not wishing it, they become instruments of my oppression.

The true, human liberty of a single individual implies the emancipation of all; because, thanks to the law of solidarity which is the natural basis of all human society, I cannot be, feel, and know myself really, completely free, if I am not surrounded by men as free as myself, and because the slavery of each is my slavery.

SYNDICALISM

Emma Goldman

In view of the fact that the ideas embodied in Syndicalism have been practised by the workers for the last half century, even if without the background of social consciousness; that in this country five men had to pay with their lives because they advocated Syndicalist methods as the most effective in the struggle of labor against capital; and that, furthermore, Syndicalism has been consciously practised by the workers of France, Italy and Spain since 1895, it is rather amusing to witness some people in America and England now swooping down upon Syndicalism as a perfectly new and never before heard-of proposition.

Already as far back as 1848 a large section of the workers realized the utter futility of political activity as a means of helping them in their economic struggle. At that time already the demand went forth for direct economic measures, as against the useless waste of energy along political lines. This was the case not only in France, but even prior to that in England, where Robert Owen, the true revolutionary Socialist, propagated similar ideas.

After years of agitation and experiment the idea was incorporated by the first convention of the *Internationals* in 1867, in the resolution that the economic emancipation of the workers must be the principal aim of all revolutionists, to which everything else is to be subordinated.

In fact, it was this determined radical stand which eventually brought about the split in the revolutionary movement of that day, and its division into factions: the one, under Marx and Engels, aiming at political conquest; the other, under Bakunin and the Latin workers, forging ahead along industrial and Syndicalist lines. The further development of those two wings is familiar to every thinking man and woman: the one has gradually centralized into a huge machine, with the sole purpose of conquering political power within the existing capitalist State; the other is becoming an ever more vital revolutionary factor, dreaded by the enemy as the greatest menace to its rule.

The fundamental difference between Syndicalism and the old trade union methods is this: while the old trade unions, without exception, move within the wage system and capitalism, recognizing the latter as inevitable, Syndicalism repudiates and condemns present industrial arrangements as unjust and criminal, and holds out no hope to the workers for lasting results from this system.

Of course Syndicalism, like the old trade unions, fights for immediate gains, but it is not stupid enough to pretend that labor can expect humane conditions from inhuman economic arrangements in society. Thus it merely wrests from the enemy what it can force him to yield; on the whole, however, Syndicalism aims at, and concentrates its energies upon, the complete overthrow of the wage system. Indeed, Syndicalism goes further: it aims to liberate labor from every institution that has not for its object the free development of production for the benefit of all humanity. In short, the ultimate purpose of Syndicalism is to reconstruct society from its present centralized, authoritative and brutal state to one based upon the

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free, federated grouping of the workers along lines of economic and social liberty.

With this object in view, Syndicalism works in two directions: first, by undermining the existing institutions; secondly, by developing and educating the workers and cultivating their spirit of solidarity, to prepare them for a full, free life, when capitalism shall have been abolished.

Syndicalism is, in essence, the economic expression of Anarchism. That circumstance accounts for the presence of so many Anarchists in the Syndicalist movement. Like Anarchism, Syndicalism prepares the workers along direct economic lines, as conscious factors in the great struggles of today, as well as conscious factors in the task of reconstructing society along autonomous industrial lines, as against the paralyzing spirit of centralization with its bureaucratic machinery of corruption, inherent in all political parties.

As a logical sequence Syndicalism, in its daily warfare against capitalism, rejects the contract system, because it does not consider labor and capital equals, hence cannot consent to an agreement which the one has the power to break, while the other must submit to without redress.

Syndicalism has grown out of the disappointment of the workers with politics and parliamentary methods. In the course of its development Syndicalism has learned to see in the State—with its mouthpiece, the representative system—one of the strongest supports of capitalism; just as it has learned that the army and the church are the chief pillars of the State. It is therefore that Syndicalism has turned its back upon parliamentarism and political machines, and has set its face toward the economic arena wherein a lone gladiator Labor can meet his foe successfully.

Equally so has experience determined their anti-military attitude. Time and again has the army been used to shoot down strikers and to inculcate the sickening idea of patriotism, for the purpose of dividing the workers against themselves and

helping the masters to the spoils. The inroads that Syndicalist agitation has made into the superstition of patriotism are evident from the dread of the ruling class for the loyalty of the army, and the rigid persecution of the anti-militarists. Naturally, for the ruling class realizes much better than the workers that when the soldiers will refuse to obey their superiors, the whole system of capitalism will be doomed.

Indeed, why should the workers sacrifice their children that the latter may be used to shoot their own parents? Therefore, Syndicalism is not merely logical in its anti-military agitation; it is most practical and far-reaching, inasmuch as it robs the enemy of his strongest weapon against labor.

Direct Action: Conscious individual or collective effort to protest against, or remedy, social conditions through the systematic assertion of the economic power of the workers.

One of the objections of politicians to the General Strike is that the workers also would suffer for the necessaries of life. In the first place, the workers are past masters in going hungry; secondly, it is certain that a General Strike is surer of prompt settlement than an ordinary strike. Witness the transport and miner strikes in England: how quickly the lords of State and capital were forced to make peace. Besides, Syndicalism recognizes the right of the producers to the things which they have created—namely, the right of the workers to help themselves if the strike does not meet with speedy settlement.

These ideas and methods of Syndicalism some may consider entirely negative, though they are far from it in their effect upon society today. But Sydicalism has also a directly positive aspect. In fact, much more time and effort is being devoted to that phase than to the others. Various forms of Syndicalist activity are designed to prepare the workers, even within present social and industrial conditions, for the life of a new and better society. To that end the masses are trained in the spirit of mutual aid and brotherhood, their initiative and self-reliance developed, and an *esprit de corps* maintained whose very soul

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is solidarity of purpose and the community of interests of the international proletariat.

Chief among these activities are the *mutualitees*, or mutual aid socicties, established by the French Syndicalists. Their object is, foremost, to secure work for unemployed members, and to further that spirit of mutual assistance which rests upon tho consciousness of labor's identity of interests throughout the world.

In his *The Labor Movement in France*, Mr. L. Levine states that during the year 1902 over 74,000 workers, out of a total of 99,000 applicants, were provided with work by these societies, without being compelled to submit to the extortion of the employment bureau sharks. These latter are a source of the deepest degradation, as well as of most shameless exploitation, of the worker. Especially does it hold true of America, where the employment agencies are in many cases also masked detective agencies, supplying workers in need of employment to strike regions, under false promises of steady, remunerative employment. The French Confederation had long realized the vicious role of employment agencies as leeches upon the jobless worker and nurseries of scabbery. By the threat of a General Strike the French Syndicalist forced the government to abolish the employment bureau sharks, and the workers' own *mutualitees* have almost entirely superseded them, to the great economic and moral advantage of labor.

Besides the *mutualitees*, the French Syndicalists have established other activities tending to weld labor in closer bonds of solidarity and mutual aid. Among these are the efforts to assist workingmen journeying from place to place. The practical as well as ethical value of such assistance is inestimable. It serves to instill the spirit of fellowship and gives a sense of security in the feeling of oneness with the large family of labor. This is one of the vital effects of the Syndicalist spirit in France and other Latin countries. What a tremendous need there is for just such efforts in this countryl Can anyone doubt the

significance of the consciousness of workingmen coming from Chicago, for instance, to New York, sure to find there among their comrades welcome lodging and food until they have secured employment? This form of activity is entirely foreign to the labor bodies of this country, and as a result the traveling workman in searcli of a job—the "blanket stiff"—is constantly at the mercy of the constable and policeman, a victim of the vagrancy laws, and the unfortunate material whence is recruited, through stress of necessity, the army of scabdom.

I have repeatedly witnessed while at the headquarters of the Confederation, the cases of workingmen who came with their union cards from various parts of France, and even from other countries of Europe, and were supplied with meals and lodging, and encouraged by every evidence of brotherly spirit, and made to feel at home by their fellow-workers of the Confederation. It is due, to a great extent, to these activities of the Syndicalists that the French government is forced to employ the army for strikebreaking, because few workers are willing to lend themselves for such service, thanks to the efforts and tactics of Syndicalism.

No less in importance than the mutual aid activities of the Syndicalists is the co-operation established by them between the city and the country, the factory worker and the peasant or farmer, the latter providing the workers with food supplies during strikes, or taking care of the strikers' children. This form of practical solidarity has for the first time been tried in this country during the Lawrence strike, with inspiring results. And all these Syndicalist activitles are permeated with a spirit of educational work, carried on systematically by evening classes on all vital subjects treated from an unbiased, libertarian standpoint—not the adulterated "knowledge" with which the minds are stuffed in our public schools. The scope of the education is truly phenomenal, including sex hygiene, the care of women during pregnancy and confinement, the care of home and children, sanitation and general hygiene; in fact, every

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branch of human knowledge—science, history, art—receives thorough attention, together with the practical application in the established workingmen's libraries, dispensaries, concerts and festivals, in which the greatest artists and literateurs of Paris consider it an honor to participate.

One of the most vital efforts of Syndicalism is to prepare the workers, *now*, for their role in a free society. Thus the Syndicalist organizations supply its members with textbooks on every trade and industry, of a character that is calculated to make the worker an adept in his chosen line, a master of his craft, for the purpose of familiarizing him with all the branches of his industry, so that when labor finally takes over production and distribution, the people will be fully prepared to manage successfully their own affairs.

A demonstration of the effectiveness of this educational campaign of Syndicalism is given by the railroad men of Italy, whose mastery of all the details of transportation is so great that they could offer to the Italian government to take over the railroads of the country and guarantee their operation with greater economy and fewer accidents than is at present done by the government.

Their ability to carry on production has been strikingly proved by the Syndicalists in connection with the glassblowers' strike in Italy. There the strikers, instead of remaining idle during the progress of the strike, decided themselves to carry on the production of glass. The wonderful spirit of solidarity resulting from the Syndicalist propaganda enabled them to build a glass factory within an incredibly short time. An old building, rented for the purpose and which would have ordinarily required months to be put into proper condition, was turned into a glass factory within a few weeks, by the solidaric efforts of the strikers, aided by their comrades who toiled with them after working hours. Then the strikers began operating the glassblowing factory, and their co-operative plan of work and distribution during the strike has proved so satisfactory in

every way that the experimental factory has been made permanent and a part of the glassblowing industry in Italy is now in the hands of the co-operative organization of the workers.

This method of applied education not only trains the worker in his daily struggle, but serves also to equip him for the battle royal and the future, when he is to assume his place in society as an intelligent, conscious being and useful producer, once capitalism is abolished.

Nearly all leading Syndicalists agree with the Anarchists that a free society can exist only through voluntary association, and that its ultimate success will depend upon the intellectual and moral development of the workers who will supplant the wage system with a new social arrangement, based on solidarity and economic well-being for all. That is Syndicalism, in theory and practice.

FREEDOM IN MUSIC

James Huneker

Have not all great composers been anarchs—from Bach to Strauss? At first blush the hard-plodding Johann Sebastian of the *Well-Tempered Clavichord* seems a doubtful figure to drape with the black flag of revolt. He grew a forest of children, he worked early and late, and he played the organ in church of Sundays; but he was a musical revolutionist nevertheless. His music proves it. And he quarreled with his surroundings like any good social democrat. He even went out for a drink during a prosy sermon, and came near being discharged for returning late. If Lombroso were cognizant of this suspicious fact, he might build a terrifying structure of theories, with all sorts of inferential subcellars. However, it is Bach's music that still remains revolutionary. Mozart and Gluck depended too much on aristocratic patronage to play the role of Solitaries. But many tales are related of their refusal to lick the boots of the rich, to curve the spine of the suppliant. Both were by nature gentlemen, and both occasionally arose to the situation

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VICTIMS OF MORALITY

NOT so very long ago I attended a meeting addressed by Anthony Comstock, who has for forty years been the guardian of American morals. A more incoherent, ignorant ramble I have never heard from any platform.

The question that presented itself to me, listening to the commonplace, bigoted talk of the man, was, how could anyone so limited and unintelligent wield the power of censor and dictator over a supposedly democratic nation? True, Comstock has the law to back him. Forty years ago, when Puritanism was even more rampant than to-day, completely shutting out the light of reason and progress, Comstock succeeded, through shady machination and political wire pulling, to introduce a bill which gave him complete control over the Post Office Department—a control which has proved disastrous to the freedom of the press, as well as the right of privacy of the American citizen.

Since then, Comstock has broken into the private chambers of people, has confiscated personal correspondence, as well as works of art, and has established a system of espionage and graft which would put Russia to shame. Yet the law does not explain the power of Anthony Comstock. There is something else, more terrible than the law. It is the narrow puritanic spirit, as represented in the sterile minds of the Young-Men-and-Old-Maid's Christian Union, Temperance Union, Sabbath Union, Purity League, etc. A spirit which is absolutely blind to the simplest manifestations of life; hence stands for stagnation and decay. As in antibellum days, these old fossils lament the terrible immorality of our time. Science, art, literature, the drama, are at the mercy of bigoted censorship and legal procedure, with the result that America, with all her boastful claims to progress and liberty is still steeped in the densest provincialism.

The smallest dominion in Europe can boast of an art free from the fetters of morality, an art that has the courage to portray the great social problems of our time.

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With the sharp edge of critical analysis, it cuts into every social ulcer, every wrong, demanding fundamental changes and the transvaluation of accepted values. Satire, wit, humor, as well as the most intensely serious modes of expression, are being employed to lay bare our conventional social and moral lies. In America we would seek in vain for such a medium, since even the attempt at it is made impossible by the rigid régime, by the moral dictator and his clique.

The nearest approach, however, are our muckrakers, who have no doubt rendered great service along economic and social lines. Whether the muckrakers have or have not helped to change conditions, at least they have torn the mask from the lying face of our smug and self-satisfied society.

Unfortunately, the Lie of Morality still stalks about in fine feathers, since no one dares to come within hailing distance of that holy of holies. Yet it is safe to say that no other superstition is so detrimental to growth, so enervating and paralyzing to the minds and hearts of the people, as the superstition of Morality.

The most pathetic, and in a way discouraging, aspect of the situation is a certain element of liberals, and even of radicals, men and women apparently free from religious and social spooks. But before the monster of Morality they are as prostrate as the most pious of their kind—which is an additional proof to the extent to which the morality worm has eaten into the system of its victims and how far-going and thorough the measures must be which are to drive it out again.

Needless to say, society is obsessed by more than one morality. Indeed, every institution of to-day has its own moral standard. Nor could they ever have maintained themselves, were it not for religion, which acts as a shield, and for morality, which acts as the mask. This explains the interest of the exploiting rich in religion and morality. The rich preach, foster, and finance both, as an investment that pays good returns. Through the medium of religion they have paralyzed the mind of the people, just as morality has enslaved the spirit. In other words, religion and morality are a much better whip to keep people in submission, than even the club and the gun.

To illustrate: The Property Morality declares that that institution is sacred. Woe to anyone that dares to question the sanctity of property, or sins against it! Yet everyone knows that Property is robbery; that it represents the accumulated efforts of millions, who themselves are propertyless. And what is more terrible, the more poverty stricken the victim of Property Morality is, the greater his respect and awe for that master. Thus we hear advanced people, even so-called class-conscious workingmen, decry as immoral such methods as sabotage and direct action, because they aim at Property.

Verily, if the victims themselves are so blinded by the Property Morality, what need one expect from the masters? It therefore seems high time to bring home the fact that until the workers will lose respect for the instrument of their material enslavement, they need hope for no relief.

* * *

However, it is with the effect of Morality upon women that I am here mostly concerned. So disastrous, so paralyzing has this effect been, that some even of the most advanced among my sisters never thoroughly outgrow it.

It is Morality which condemns woman to the position of a celibate, a prostitute, or a reckless, incessant breeder of hapless children.

First, as to the celibate, the famished and withered human plant. When still a young, beautiful flower, she falls in love with a respectable young man. But Morality decrees that unless he can marry the girl, she must never know the raptures of love, the ecstasy of passion, which reaches its culminating expression in the sex embrace. The respectable young man is willing to marry, but the Property Morality, the Family and Social Moralities decree that he must first make his pile, must save up enough to establish a home and be able to provide for a family. The young people must wait, often many long, weary years.

Meanwhile the respectable young man, excited through the daily association and contact with his sweetheart, seeks an outlet for his nature in return for money. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, he will be infected, and when he is materially able to marry, he will infect

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his wife and possible offspring. And the young flower, with every fiber aglow with the fire of life, with all her being crying out for love and passion? She has no outlet. She developes headaches, insomnia, hysteria; grows embittered, quarrelsome, and soon becomes a faded, withered, joyless being, a nuisance to herself and everyone else. No wonder Stirner preferred the grisette to the maiden grown gray with virtue.

There is nothing more pathetic, nothing more terrible, than this gray-grown victim of a gray-grown Morality. This applies even with greater force to the masses of professional middle-class girls, than to those of the people. Through economic necessity the latter are thrust into life's jungle at an early age; they grow up with their male companions in the factory and shop, or at play and dance. The result is a more normal expression of their physical instincts. Then too, the young men and women of the people are not so hide-bound by externalities, and often follow the call of love and passion regardless of ceremony and tradition.

But the overwrought and oversexed middle class girl, hedged in her narrow confines with family and social traditions, guarded by a thousand eyes, afraid of her own shadow—the yearning of her inmost being for the man or the child, must turn to cats, dogs, canary birds, or the Bible Class. Such is the cruel dictum of Morality, which is daily shutting out love, light, and joy from the lives of innumerable victims.

Now, as to the prostitute. In spite of laws, ordinances, persecution, and prisons; in spite of segregation, registration, vice crusades, and other similar devices, the prostitute is the real specter of our age. She sweeps across the plains like a fire burning into every nook of life, devastating, destroying.

After all, she is paying back, in a very small measure, the curse and horrors society has strewn in her path. She, weary with the tramp of ages, harassed and driven from pillar to post, at the mercy of all, is yet the Nemesis of modern times, the avenging angel, ruthlessly wielding the sword of fire. For has she not the man in her power? And, through him, the home, the child, the race. Thus she slays, and is herself the most brutally slain.

What has made her? Whence does she come? Morality, the morality which is merciless in its attitude to women. Once she dared to be herself, to be true to her nature, to life, there is no return: the woman is thrust out from the pale and protection of society. The prostitute becomes the victim of Morality, even as the withered old maid is its victim. But the prostitute is victimized by still other forces, foremost among them the Property Morality, which compels woman to sell herself as a sex commodity for a dollar per, out of wedlock, or for fifteen dollars a week, in the sacred fold of matrimony. The latter is no doubt safer, more respected, more recognized, but of the two forms of prostitution the girl of the street is the least hypocritical, the least debased, since her trade lacks the pious mask of hypocrisy; and yet she is hounded, fleeced, outraged, and shunned, by the very powers that have made her: the financier, the priest, the moralist, the judge, the jailor, and the detective, not to forget her sheltered, respectably virtuous sister, who is the most relentless and brutal in her persecution of the prostitute.

Morality and its victim, the mother—what a terrible picture! Is there indeed anything more terrible, more criminal, than our glorified sacred function of motherhood? The woman, physically and mentally unfit to be a mother, yet condemned to breed; the woman, economically taxed to the very last spark of energy, yet forced to breed; the woman, tied to a man she loathes, whose very sight fills her with horror, yet made to breed; the woman, worn and used-up from the process of procreation, yet coerced to breed, more, ever more. What a hideous thing, this much-lauded motherhood! No wonder thousands of women risk mutilation, and prefer even death to this curse of the cruel imposition of the spook of Morality. Five thousand are yearly sacrificed upon the altar of this monster, that will not stand for prevention but would cure abortions. Five thousand soldiers in the battle for their physical and spiritual freedom, and as many thousands more who are crippled and mutilated rather than bring forth life in a society based on decay and destruction.

Is it because the modern woman wants to shirk responsibility, or that she lacks love for her offspring, that drives her to the most drastic and dangerous means to avoid bearing children? Only shallow, bigoted minds

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can bring such an accusation. Else they would know that the modern woman has become race conscious, sensitive to the needs and rights of the child, as the unit of the race, and that therefore the modern woman has a sense of responsibility and humanity, which was quite foreign to her grandmother.

With the economic war raging all around her, with strife, misery, crime, disease, and insanity staring her in the face, with numberless little children ground into gold dust, how can the self and race-conscious woman become a mother? Morality can not answer this question. It can only dictate, coerce, or condemn—and how many women are strong enough to face this condemnation, to defy the moral dicta? Few, indeed. Hence they fill the factories, the reformatories, the homes for feeble minded, the prisons, the insane asylums, or they die in the attempt to prevent child-birth. Oh, Motherhood, what crimes are committed in thy name! What hosts are laid at your feet, Morality, destroyer of life!

Fortunately, the Dawn is emerging from the chaos and darkness. Woman is awakening, she is throwing off the nightmare of Morality; she will no longer be bound. In her love for the man she is not concerned in the contents of his pocketbook, but in the wealth of his nature, which alone is the fountain of life and of joy. Nor does she need the sanction of the State. Her love is sanction enough for her. Thus she can abandon herself to the man of her choice, as the flowers abandon themselves to dew and light, in freedom, beauty, and ecstasy.

Through her re-born consciousness as a unit, a personality, a race builder, she will become a mother only if she desires the child, and if she can give to the child, even before its birth, all that her nature and intellect can yield: harmony, health, comfort, beauty, and, above all, understanding, reverence, and love, which is the only fertile soil for new life, a new being.

Morality has no terrors for her who has risen beyond good and evil. And though Morality may continue to devour its victims, it is utterly powerless in the face of the modern spirit, that shines in all its glory upon the brow of man and woman, liberated and unafraid.

THE FAILURE OF CHRISTIANITY

THE counterfeiters and poisoners of ideas, in their attempt to obscure the line between truth and falsehood, find a valuable ally in the conservatism of language.

Conceptions and words that have long ago lost their original meaning, continue through centuries to dominate mankind. Especially is this true if these conceptions have become a common-place, if they have been instilled in our beings from our infancy as great and irrefutable verities. The average mind is easily content with inherited and acquired things, or with the dicta of parents and teachers, because it is much easier to imitate than to create.

Our age has given birth to two intellectual giants, who have undertaken to transvalue the dead social and moral values of the past, especially those contained in Christianity. Friedrich Nietzsche and Max Stirner have hurled blow upon blow against the portals of Christianity, because they saw in it a pernicious slave morality, the denial of life, the destroyer of all the elements that make for strength and character. True, Nietzsche has opposed the slave-morality idea inherent in Christianity in behalf of a master morality for the privileged few. But I venture to suggest that his master idea had nothing to do with the vulgarity of station, caste, or wealth. Rather did it mean the masterful in human possibilities, the masterful in man that would help him to overcome old traditions and worn-out values, so that he may learn to become the creator of new and beautiful things.

Both Nietzsche and Stirner saw in Christianity the leveler of the human race, the breaker of man's will to dare and to do. They saw in every movement built on Christian morality and ethics attempts not at the emancipation from slavery, but for the perpetuation thereof. Hence they opposed these movements with might and main.

Whether I do or do not entirely agree with these iconoclasts, I believe, with them, that Christianity is most admirably adapted to the training of slaves, to the per-

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petuation of a slave society; in short, to the very conditions confronting us to-day. Indeed, never could society have degenerated to its present appalling stage, if not for the assistance of Christianity. The rulers of the earth have realized long ago what potent poison inheres in the Christian religion. That is the reason they foster it; that is why they leave nothing undone to instill it into the blood of the people. They know only too well that the subtleness of the Christian teachings is a more powerful protection against rebellion and discontent than the club or the gun.

No doubt I will be told that, though religion is a poison and institutionalized Christianity the greatest enemy of progress and freedom, there is some good in Christianity "itself." What about the teachings of Christ and early Christianity, I may be asked; do they not stand for the spirit of humanity, for right and justice?

It is precisely this oft-repeated contention that induced me to choose this subject, to enable me to demonstrate that the abuses of Christianity, like the abuses of government, are conditioned in the thing itself, and are not to be charged to the representatives of the creed. Christ and his teachings are the embodiment of submission, of inertia, of the denial of life; hence responsible for the things done in their name.

I am not interested in the theological Christ. Brilliant minds like Bauer, Strauss, Renan, Thomas Paine, and others refuted that myth long ago. I am even ready to admit that the theological Christ is not half so dangerous as the ethical and social Christ. In proportion as science takes the place of blind faith, theology loses its hold. But the ethical and poetical Christ-myth has so thoroughly saturated our lives, that even some of the most advanced minds find it difficult to emancipate themselves from its yoke. They have rid themselves of the letter, but have retained the spirit; yet it is the spirit which is back of all the crimes and horrors committed by orthodox Christianity. The Fathers of the Church can well afford to preach the gospel of Christ. It contains nothing dangerous to the régime of authority and wealth; it stands for self-denial and self-abnegation, for penance and regret, and is absolutely inert in the face of every indignity, every outrage imposed upon mankind.

Here I must revert to the counterfeiters of ideas and

words. So many otherwise earnest haters of slavery and injustice confuse, in a most distressing manner, the teachings of Christ with the great struggles for social and economic emancipation. The two are irrevocably and forever opposed to each other. The one necessitates courage, daring, defiance, and strength. The other preaches the gospel of non-resistance, of slavish acquiescence in the will of others; it is the complete disregard of character and self-reliance, and therefore destructive of liberty and well-being.

Whoever sincerely aims at a radical change in society, whoever strives to free humanity from the scourge of dependence and misery, must turn his back on Christianity, on the old as well as the present form of the same.

Everywhere and always, since its very inception, Christianity has turned the earth into a vale of tears; always it has made of life a weak, diseased thing, always it has instilled fear in man, turning him into a dual being, whose life energies are spent in the struggle between body and soul. In decrying the body as something evil, the flesh as the tempter to everything that is sinful, man has mutilated his being in the vain attempt to keep his soul pure, while his body rotted away from the injuries and tortures inflicted upon it.

The Christian religion and morality extols the glory of the Hereafter, and therefore remains indifferent to the horrors of the earth. Indeed, the idea of self-denial and of all that makes for pain and sorrow, is its test of human worth, its passport to the entry into heaven.

The poor are to own heaven, and the rich will go to hell. That may account for the desperate efforts of the rich to make hay while the sun shines, to get as much out of the earth as they can: to wallow in wealth and superfluity, to tighten their iron hold on the blessed slaves, to rob them of their birthright, to degrade and outrage them every minute of the day. Who can blame the rich if they revenge themselves on the poor, for now is their time, and the merciful Christian God alone knows how ably and completely the rich are doing it.

And the poor? They cling to the promise of the Christian heaven, as the home for old age, the sanitarium for crippled bodies and weak minds. They endure and submit, they suffer and wait, until every bit of self-re-

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spect has been knocked out of them, until their bodies become emaciated and withered, and their spirit broken from the wait, the weary endless wait for the Christian heaven.

* * *

Christ made his appearance as the leader of the people, the redeemer of the Jews from Roman dominion; but the moment he began his work, he proved that he had no interest in the earth, in the pressing immediate needs of the poor and the disinherited of his time. What he preached was a sentimental mysticism, obscure and confused ideas lacking originality and vigor.

When the Jews, according to the gospels, withdrew from Jesus, when they turned him over to the cross, they may have been bitterly disappointed in him who promised them so much and gave them so little. He promised joy and bliss in another world, while the people were starving, suffering, and enduring before his very eyes.

It may also be that the sympathy of the Romans, especially of Pilate, was given Christ because they regarded him as perfectly harmless to their power and sway. The philosopher Pilate may have considered Christ's "eternal truths" as pretty anaemic and lifeless, compared with the array of strength and force they attempted to combat. The Romans, strong and unflinching as they were, must have laughed in their sleeves over the man who talked repentance and patience, instead of calling to arms against the despoilers and oppressors of his people.

The public career of Christ begins with the edict, "Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand."

Why repent, why regret, in the face of something that was supposed to bring deliverance? Had not the people suffered and endured enough; had they not earned their right to deliverance by their suffering? Take the Sermon on the Mount, for instance. What is it but a eulogy on submission to fate, to the inevitability of things?

"Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven."

Heaven must be an awfully dull place if the poor in spirit live there. How can anything creative, anything vital, useful and beautiful come from the poor in spirit? The idea conveyed in the Sermon on the Mount is the

greatest indictment against the teachings of Christ, because it sees in the poverty of mind and body a virtue, and because it seeks to maintain this virtue by reward and punishment. Every intelligent being realizes that our worst curse is the poverty of the spirit; that it is productive of all evil and misery, of all the injustice and crimes in the world. Every one knows that nothing good ever came or can come of the poor in spirit; surely never liberty, justice, or equality.

"Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

What a preposterous notion! What incentive to slavery, inactivity, and parasitism! Besides, it is not true that the meek can inherit anything. Just because humanity has been meek, the earth has been stolen from it.

Meekness has been the whip, which capitalism and governments have used to force man into dependency, into his slave position. The most faithful servants of the State, of wealth, of special privilege, could not preach a more convenient gospel than did Christ, the "redeemer" of the people.

"Blessed are they that hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be filled."

But did not Christ exclude the possibility of righteousness when he said, "The poor ye have always with you"? But, then, Christ was great on dicta, no matter if they were utterly opposed to each other. This is nowhere demonstrated so strikingly as in his command, "Render to Cesar the things that are Cesar's, and to God the things that are God's."

The interpreters claim that Christ had to make these concessions to the powers of his time. If that be true, this single compromise was sufficient to prove, down to this very day, a most ruthless weapon in the hands of the oppressor, a fearful lash and relentless tax-gatherer, to the impoverishment, the enslavement and degradation of the very people for whom Christ is supposed to have died. And when we are assured that "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be filled," are we told the how? How? Christ never takes the trouble to explain that. Righteousness does not come from the stars, nor because Christ willed it so. Righteousness grows out of liberty, of social and economic opportunity and equality. But how can the

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meek, the poor in spirit, ever establish such a state of affairs?

"Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven."

The reward in heaven is the perpetual bait, a bait that has caught man in an iron net, a strait-jacket which does not let him expand or grow. All pioneers of truth have been, and still are, reviled; they have been, and still are, persecuted. But did they ask humanity to pay the price? Did they seek to bribe mankind to accept their ideas? They knew too well that he who accepts a truth because of the bribe, will soon barter it away to a higher bidder.

Good and bad, punishment and reward, sin and penance, heaven and hell, as the moving spirit of the Christ-gospel have been the stumbling-block in the world's work. It contains everything in the way of orders and commands, but entirely lacks the very things we need most.

The worker who knows the cause of his misery, who understands the make-up of our iniquitous social and industrial system can do more for himself and his kind than Christ and the followers of Christ have ever done for humanity; certainly more than meek patience, ignorance, and submission have done.

How much more ennobling, how much more beneficial is the extreme individualism of Stirner and Nietzsche than the sick-room atmosphere of the Christian faith. If they repudiate altruism as an evil, it is because of the example contained in Christianity, which set a premium on parasitism and inertia, gave birth to all manner of social disorders that are to be cured with the preachment of love and sympathy.

Proud and self-reliant characters prefer hatred to such sickening artificial love. Not because of any reward does a free spirit take his stand for a great truth, nor has such a one ever been deterred because of fear of punishment.

"Think not that I come to destroy the law or the prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill."

Precisely. Christ was a reformer, ever ready to patch up, to fulfill, to carry on the old order of things; never

to destroy and rebuild. That may account for the fellow-feeling all reformers have for him.

Indeed, the whole history of the State, Capitalism, and the Church proves that they have perpetuated themselves because of the idea "I come not to destroy the law." This is the key to authority and oppression. Naturally so, for did not Christ praise poverty as a virtue; did he not propagate non-resistance to evil? Why should not poverty and evil continue to rule the world?

Much as I am opposed to every religion, much as I think them an imposition upon, and crime against, reason and progress, I yet feel that no other religion had done so much harm or has helped so much in the enslavement of man as the religion of Christ.

Witness Christ before his accusers. What lack of dignity, what lack of faith in himself and in his own ideas! So weak and helpless was this "Savior of Men" that he must needs the whole human family to pay for him, unto all eternity, because he "hath died for them." Redemption through the Cross is worse than damnation, because of the terrible burden it imposes upon humanity, because of the effect it has on the human soul, fettering and paralyzing it with the weight of the burden exacted through the death of Christ.

Thousands of martyrs have perished, yet few, if any, of them have proved so helpless as the great Christian God. Thousands have gone to their death with greater fortitude, with more courage, with deeper faith in their ideas than the Nazarene. Nor did they expect eternal gratitude from their fellow-men because of what they endured for them.

Compared with Socrates and Bruno, with the great martyrs of Russia, with the Chicago Anarchists, Francisco Ferrer, and unnumbered others, Christ cuts a poor figure indeed. Compared with the delicate, frail Spiridonova who underwent the most terrible tortures, the most horrible indignities, without losing faith in herself or her cause, Jesus is a veritable nonentity. They stood their ground and faced their executioners with unflinching determination, and though they, too, died for the people, they asked nothing in return for their great sacrifice.

Verily, we need redemption from the slavery, the dead-

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ening weakness, and humiliating dependency of Christian morality.

The teachings of Christ and of his followers have failed because they lacked the vitality to lift the burdens from the shoulders of the race; they have failed because the very essence of that doctrine is contrary to the spirit of life, opposed to the manifestations of nature, to the strength and beauty of passion.

Never can Christianity, under whatever mask it may appear—be it New Liberalism, Spiritualism, Christian Science, New Thought, or a thousand and one other forms of hysteria and neurasthenia—bring us relief from the terrible pressure of conditions, the weight of poverty, the horrors of our iniquitous system. Christianity is the conspiracy of ignorance against reason, of darkness against light, of submission and slavery against independence and freedom; of the denial of strength and beauty, against the affirmation of the joy and glory of life.

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SYNDICALISM

THE MODERN MENACE TO CAPITALISM

IN view of the fact that the ideas embodied in Syndicalism have been practised by the workers for the last half century, even if without the background of social consciousness; that in this country five men had to pay with their lives because they advocated Syndicalist methods as the most effective in the struggle of labor against capital; and that, furthermore, Syndicalism has been consciously practised by the workers of France, Italy and Spain since 1895, it is rather amusing to witness some people in America and England now swooping down upon Syndicalism as a perfectly new and never before heard-of proposition.

It is astonishing how very naïve Americans are, how crude and immature in matters of international importance. For all his boasted practical aptitude, the average American is the very last to learn of the modern means and tactics employed in the great struggles of his day. Always he lags behind in ideas and methods that the European workers have for years past been applying with great success.

It may be contended, of course, that this is merely a sign of youth on the part of the American. And it is indeed beautiful to possess a young mind, fresh to receive and perceive. But unfortunately the American mind seems never to grow, to mature and crystallize its views.

Perhaps that is why an American revolutionist can at the same time be a politician. That is also the reason why leaders of the Industrial Workers of the World continue in the Socialist party, which is antagonistic to the principles as well as to the activities of the I. W. W. Also why a rigid Marxian may propose that the Anarchists work together with the faction that began its career by a most bitter and malicious persecution of one of the pioneers of Anarchism, Michael Bakunin. In

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short, to the indefinite, uncertain mind of the American radical the most contradictory ideas and methods are possible. The result is a sad chaos in the radical movement, a sort of intellectual hash, which has neither taste nor character.

Just at present Syndicalism is the pastime of a great many Americans, so-called intellectuals. Not that they know anything about it, except that some great authorities—Sorel, Lagardelle, Berth and others—stand for it: because the American needs the seal of authority, or he would not accept an idea, no matter how true and valuable it might be.

Our bourgeois magazines are full of dissertations on Syndicalism. One of our most conservative colleges has even gone to the extent of publishing a work of one of its students on the subject, which has the approval of a professor. And all this, not because Syndicalism is a force and is being successfully practised by the workers of Europe, but because—as I said before—it has official authoritative sanction.

As if Syndicalism had been discovered by the philosophy of Bergson or the theoretic discourses of Sorel and Berth, and had not existed and lived among the workers long before these men wrote about it. The feature which distinguishes Syndicalism from most philosophies is that it represents the revolutionary philosophy of labor conceived and born in the actual struggle and experience of the workers themselves—not in universities, colleges, libraries, or in the brain of some scientists. *The revolutionary philosophy of labor,* that is the true and vital meaning of Syndicalism.

Already as far back as 1848 a large section of the workers realized the utter futility of political activity as a means of helping them in their economic struggle. At that time already the demand went forth for direct economic measures, as against the useless waste of energy along political lines. This was the case not only in France, but even prior to that in England, where Robert Owen, the true revolutionary Socialist, propagated similar ideas.

After years of agitation and experiment the idea was incorporated by the first convention of the *internationale,* in 1867, in the resolution that the economic emancipation

of the workers must be the principal aim of all revolutionists, to which everything else is to be subordinated.

In fact, it was this determined radical stand which eventually brought about the split in the revolutionary movement of that day, and its division into two factions: the one, under Marx and Engels, aiming at political conquest; the other, under Bakunin and the Latin workers, forging ahead along industrial and Syndicalist lines. The further development of those two wings is familiar to every thinking man and woman: the one has gradually centralized into a huge machine, with the sole purpose of conquering political power within the existing capitalist State; the other is becoming an ever more vital revolutionary factor, dreaded by the enemy as the greatest menace to its rule.

It was in the year 1900, while a delegate to the Anarchist Congress in Paris, that I first came in contact with Syndicalism in operation. The Anarchist press had been discussing the subject for years prior to that; therefore we Anarchists knew something about Syndicalism. But those of us who lived in America had to content themselves with the theoretic side of it.

In 1900, however, I saw its effect upon labor in France: the strength, the enthusiasm and hope with which Syndicalism inspired the workers. It was also my good fortune to learn of the man who more than anyone else had directed Syndicalism into definite working channels, Fernand Pelloutier. Unfortunately, I could not meet this remarkable young man, as he was at that time already very ill with cancer. But wherever I went, with whomever I spoke, the love and devotion for Pelloutier was wonderful, all agreeing that it was he who had gathered the discontented forces in the French labor movement and imbued them with new life and a new purpose, that of Syndicalism.

On my return to America I immediately began to propagate Syndicalist ideas, especially Direct Action and the General Strike. But it was like talking to the Rocky Mountains—no understanding, even among the more radical elements, and complete indifference in labor ranks.

In 1907 I went as a delegate to the Anarchist Congress at Amsterdam and, while in Paris, met the most active Syndicalists in the *Confédération Générale du Travail:*

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Pouget, Delesalle, Monatte, and many others. More than that, I had the opportunity to see Syndicalism in daily operation, in its most constructive and inspiring forms.

I allude to this, to indicate that my knowledge of Syndicalism does not come from Sorel, Lagardelle, or Berth, but from actual contact with and observation of the tremendous work carried on by the workers of Paris within the ranks of the *Confédération*. It would require a volume to explain in detail what Syndicalism is doing for the French workers. In the American press you read only of its resistive methods, of strikes and sabotage, of the conflicts of labor with capital. These are no doubt very important matters, and yet the chief value of Syndicalism lies much deeper. It lies in the constructive and educational effect upon the life and thought of the masses.

The fundamental difference between Syndicalism and the old trade union methods is this: while the old trade unions, without exception, move within the wage system and capitalism, recognizing the latter as inevitable, Syndicalism repudiates and condemns present industrial arrangements as unjust and criminal, and holds out no hope to the worker for lasting results from this system.

Of course Syndicalism, like the old trade unions, fights for immediate gains, but it is not stupid enough to pretend that labor can expect humane conditions from inhuman economic arrangements in society. Thus it merely wrests from the enemy what it can force him to yield; on the whole, however, Syndicalism aims at, and concentrates its energies upon, the complete overthrow of the wage system. Indeed, Syndicalism goes further: it aims to liberate labor from every institution that has not for its object the free development of production for the benefit of all humanity. In short, the ultimate purpose of Syndicalism is to reconstruct society from its present centralized, authoritative and brutal state to one based upon the free, federated grouping of the workers along lines of economic and social liberty.

With this object in view, Syndicalism works in two directions: first, by undermining the existing institutions; secondly, by developing and educating the workers and cultivating their spirit of solidarity, to prepare them for

a full, free life, when capitalism shall have been abolished.

Syndicalism is, in essence, the economic expression of Anarchism. That circumstance accounts for the presence of so many Anarchists in the Syndicalist movement. Like Anarchism, Syndicalism prepares the workers along direct economic lines, as conscious factors in the great struggles of to-day, as well as conscious factors in the task of reconstructing society along autonomous industrial lines, as against the paralyzing spirit of centralization with its bureaucratic machinery of corruption, inherent in all political parties.

Realizing that the diametrically opposed interests of capital and labor can never be reconciled, Syndicalism must needs repudiate the old rusticated, worn-out methods of trade unionism, and declare for an open war against the capitalist régime, as well as against every institution which to-day supports and protects capitalism.

As a logical sequence Syndicalism, in its daily warfare against capitalism, rejects the contract system, because it does not consider labor and capital equals; hence cannot consent to an agreement which the one has the power to break, while the other must submit to without redress.

For similar reasons Syndicalism rejects negotiations in labor disputes, because such a procedure serves only to give the enemy time to prepare his end of the fight, thus defeating the very object the workers set out to accomplish. Also, Syndicalism stands for spontaneity, both as a preserver of the fighting strength of labor and also because it takes the enemy unawares, hence compels him to a speedy settlement or causes him great loss.

Syndicalism objects to a large union treasury, because money is as corrupting an element in the ranks of labor as it is in those of capitalism. We in America know this to be only too true. If the labor movement in this country were not backed by such large funds, it would not be as conservative as it is, nor would the leaders be so readily corrupted. However, the main reason for the opposition of Syndicalism to large treasuries consists in the fact that they create class distinctions and jealousies within the ranks of labor, so detrimental to the spirit of solidarity. The worker whose organization has a large

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purse considers himself superior to his poorer brother, just as he regards himself better than the man who earns fifty cents less per day.

The chief ethical value of Syndicalism consists in the stress it lays upon the necessity of labor getting rid of the element of dissension, parasitism and corruption in its ranks. It seeks to cultivate devotion, solidarity and enthusiasm, which are far more essential and vital in the economic struggle than money.

As I have already stated, Syndicalism has grown out of the disappointment of the workers with politics and parliamentary methods. In the course of its development Syndicalism has learned to see in the State—with its mouthpiece, the representative system—one of the strongest supports of capitalism; just as it has learned that the army and the church are the chief pillars of the State. It is therefore that Syndicalism has turned its back upon parliamentarism and political machines, and has set its face toward the economic arena wherein alone gladiator Labor can meet his foe successfully.

Historic experience sustains the Syndicalists in their uncompromising opposition to parliamentarism. Many had entered political life and, unwilling to be corrupted by the atmosphere, withdrew from office, to devote themselves to the economic struggle—Proudhon, the Dutch revolutionist Nieuwenhuis, John Most and numerous others. While those who remained in the parliamentary quagmire ended by betraying their trust, without having gained anything for labor. But it is unnecessary to discuss here political history. Suffice to say that Syndicalists are anti-parlamentarians as a result of bitter experience.

Equally so has experience determined their anti-military attitude. Time and again has the army been used to shoot down strikers and to inculcate the sickening idea of patriotism, for the purpose of dividing the workers against themselves and helping the masters to the spoils. The inroads that Syndicalist agitation has made into the superstition of patriotism are evident from the dread of the ruling class for the loyalty of the army, and the rigid persecution of the anti-militarists. Naturally—for the ruling class realizes much better than the workers

that when the soldiers will refuse to obey their superiors, the whole system of capitalism will be doomed.

Indeed, why should the workers sacrifice their children that the latter may be used to shoot their own parents? Therefore Syndicalism is not merely logical in its anti-military agitation; it is most practical and far-reaching, inasmuch as it robs the enemy of his strongest weapon against labor.

Now, as to the methods employed by Syndicalism—Direct Action, Sabotage, and the General Strike.

DIRECT ACTION.—Conscious individual or collective effort to protest against, or remedy, social conditions through the systematic assertion of the economic power of the workers.

Sabotage has been decried as criminal, even by so-called revolutionary Socialists. Of course, if you believe that property, which excludes the producer from its use, is justifiable, then sabotage is indeed a crime. But unless a Socialist continues to be under the influence of our bourgeois morality—a morality which enables the few to monopolize the earth at the expense of the many—he cannot consistently maintain that capitalist property is inviolate. Sabotage undermines this form of private possession. Can it therefore be considered criminal? On the contrary, it is ethical in the best sense, since it helps society to get rid of its worst foe, the most detrimental factor of social life.

Sabotage is mainly concerned with obstructing, by every possible method, the regular process of production, thereby demonstrating the determination of the workers to give according to what they receive, and no more. For instance, at the time of the French railroad strike of 1910, perishable goods were sent in slow trains, or in an opposite direction from the one intended. Who but the most ordinary philistine will call that a crime? If the railway men themselves go hungry, and the "innocent" public has not enough feeling of solidarity to insist that these men should get enough to live on, the public has forfeited the sympathy of the strikers and must take the consequences.

Another form of sabotage consisted, during this strike,

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in placing heavy boxes on goods marked "Handle with care," cut glass and china and precious wines. From the standpoint of the law this may have been a crime, but from the standpoint of common humanity it was a very sensible thing. The same is true of disarranging a loom in a weaving mill, or living up to the letter of the law with all its red tape, as the Italian railway men did, thereby causing confusion in the railway service. In other words, sabotage is mercly a weapon of defense in the industrial warfare, which is the more effective, because it touches capitalism in its most vital spot, the pocket.

By the General Strike, Syndicalism means a stoppage of work, the cessation of labor. Nor need such a strike be postponed until all the workers of a particular place or country are ready for it. As has been pointed out by Pelloutier, Pouget, as well as others, and particularly by recent events in England, the General Strike may be started by one industry and exert a tremendous force. It is as if one man suddenly raised the cry "Stop the thief!" Immediately others will take up the cry, till the air rings with it. The General Strike, initiated by one determined organization, by one industry or by a small, conscious minority among the workers, is the industrial cry of "Stop the thief," which is soon taken up by many other industries, spreading like wildfire in a very short time.

One of the objections of politicians to the General Strike is that the workers also would suffer for the necessaries of life. In the first place, the workers are past masters in going hungry; secondly, it is certain that a General Strike is surer of prompt settlement than an ordinary strike. Witness the transport and miner strikes in England: how quickly the lords of State and capital were forced to make peace! Besides, Syndicalism recognizes the right of the producers to the things which they have created; namely, the right of the workers to help themselves if the strike does not meet with speedy settlement.

When Sorel maintains that the General Strike is an inspiration necessary for the people to give their life meaning, he is expressing a thought which the Anarchists have never tired of emphasizing. Yet I do not hold with

Sorel that the General Strike is a "social myth," that may never be realized. I think that the General Strike will become a fact the moment labor understands its full value—its destructive as well as constructive value, as indeed many workers all over the world are beginning to realize.

These ideas and methods of Syndicalism some may consider entirely negative, though they are far from it in their effect upon society to-day. But Syndicalism has also a directly positive aspect. In fact, much more time and effort is being devoted to that phase than to the others. Various forms of Syndicalist activity are designed to prepare the workers, even within present social and industrial conditions, for the life of a new and better society. To that end the masses are trained in the spirit of mutual aid and brotherhood, their initiative and self-reliance developed, and an *esprit de corps* maintained whose very soul is solidarity of purpose and the community of interests of the international proletariat.

Chief among these activities are the *mutualitées*, or mutual aid societies, established by the French Syndicalists. Their object is, foremost, to secure work for unemployed members, and to further that spirit of mutual assistance which rests upon the consciousness of labor's identity of interests throughout the world.

In his "The Labor Movement in France," Mr. L. Levine states that during the year 1902 over 74,000 workers, out of a total of 99,000 applicants, were provided with work by these societies, without being compelled to submit to the extortion of the employment bureau sharks.

These latter are a source of the deepest degradation, as well as of most shameless exploitation, of the worker. Especially does it hold true of America, where the employment agencies are in many cases also masked detective agencies, supplying workers in need of employment to strike regions, under false promises of steady, remunerative employment.

The French *Confédération* had long realized the vicious rôle of employment agencies as leeches upon the jobless worker and nurseries of scabbery. By the threat of a General Strike the French Syndicalists forced the government to abolish the employment bureau sharks, and

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the workers' own *mutualitées* have almost entirely superseded them, to the great economic and moral advantage of labor.

Besides the *mutualitées,* the French Syndicalists have established other activities tending to weld labor in closer bonds of solidarity and mutual aid. Among these are the efforts to assist workingmen journeying from place to place. The practical as well as ethical value of such assistance is inestimable. It serves to instill the spirit of fellowship and gives a sense of security in the feeling of oneness with the large family of labor. This is one of the vital effects of the Syndicalist spirit in France and other Latin countries. What a tremendous need there is for just such efforts in this country! Can anyone doubt the significance of the consciousness of workingmen coming from Chicago, for instance, to New York, sure to find there among their comrades welcome lodging and food until they have secured employment? This form of activity is entirely foreign to the labor bodies of this country, and as a result the traveling workman in search of a job—the "blanket stiff"— is constantly at the mercy of the constable and policeman, a victim of the vagrancy laws, and the unfortunate material whence is recruited, through stress of necessity, the army of scabdom.

I have repeatedly witnessed, while at the headquarters of the *Confédération,* the cases of workingmen who came with their union cards from various parts of France, and even from other countries of Europe, and were supplied with meals and lodging, and encouraged by every evidence of brotherly spirit, and made to feel at home by their fellow workers of the *Confédération.* It is due, to a great extent, to these activities of the Syndicalists that the French government is forced to employ the army for strikebreaking, because few workers are willing to lend themselves for such service, thanks to the efforts and tactics of Syndicalism.

No less in importance than the mutual aid activities of the Syndicalists is the cooperation established by them between the city and the country, the factory worker and the peasant or farmer, the latter providing the workers with food supplies during strikes, or taking care of the strikers' children. This form of practical solidarity has

for the first time been tried in this country during the Lawrence strike, with inspiring results.

And all these Syndicalist activities are permeated with the spirit of educational work, carried on systematically by evening classes on all vital subjects treated from an unbiased, libertarian standpoint—not the adulterated "knowledge" with which the minds are stuffed in our public schools. The scope of the education is truly phenomenal, including sex hygiene, the care of women during pregnancy and confinement, the care of home and children, sanitation and general hygiene; in fact, every branch of human knowledge—science, history, art —receives thorough attention, together with the practical application in the established workingmen's libraries, dispensaries, concerts and festivals, in which the greatest artists and literati of Paris consider it an honor to participate.

One of the most vital efforts of Syndicalism is to prepare the workers, *now,* for their rôle in a free society. Thus the Syndicalist organizations supply its members with textbooks on every trade and industry, of a character that is calculated to make the worker an adept in his chosen line, a master of his craft, for the purpose of familiarizing him with all the branches of his industry, so that when labor finally takes over production and distribution, the people will be fully prepared to manage successfully their own affairs.

A demonstration of the effectiveness of this educational campaign of Syndicalism is given by the railroad men of Italy, whose mastery of all the details of transportation is so great that they could offer to the Italian government to take over the railroads of the country and guarantee their operation with greater economy and fewer accidents than is at present done by the government.

Their ability to carry on production has been strikingly proved by the Syndicalists, in connection with the glass blowers' strike in Italy. There the strikers, instead of remaining idle during the progress of the strike, decided themselves to carry on the production of glass. The wonderful spirit of solidarity resulting from the Syndicalist propaganda enabled them to build a glass factory within an incredibly short time. An old build-

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ing, rented for the purpose and which would have ordinarily required months to be put into proper condition, was turned into a glass factory within a few weeks, by the solidaric efforts of the strikers aided by their comrades who toiled with them after working hours. Then the strikers began operating the glass-blowing factory, and their cooperative plan of work and distribution during the strike has proved so satisfactory in every way that the experimental factory has been made permanent and a part of the glass-blowing industry in Italy is now in the hands of the cooperative organization of the workers.

This method of applied education not only trains the worker in his daily struggle, but serves also to equip him for the battle royal and the future, when he is to assume his place in society as an intelligent, conscious being and useful producer, once capitalism is abolished.

Nearly all leading Syndicalists agree with the Anarchists that a free society can exist only through voluntary association, and that its ultimate success will depend upon the intellectual and moral development of the workers who will supplant the wage system with a new social arrangement, based on solidarity and economic well-being for all. That is Syndicalism, in theory and practice.

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But seriously, it indicates nameless stupidity and degradation of the lowest form that such a "document" should at all be considered by the government; that it should even cause the detention and possible deportation of a man who comes to our shores in the hope of earning a modest living. No government could stoop lower than to permit such a denunciatory letter to influence —perhaps even to determine—its actions and policy. The reference, at the close of the letter, to the "small remuneration that will oblige" the Scotland Yard man, gives rise to the justified suspicion that the United States encourages and even rewards such dirty work. It would be highly interesting to learn more details of this side of the immigration situation; it might throw some light on the terrible misery of our immigrants.

Familiar with the character of government, we are not very much surprised at any atrocity it might commit. But the case of Edward Mylius typifies the systematic suppression of free speech and free press, and the tyrannical persecution of all radical thought, and we are therefore determined to exert every possible effort to fight the deportation of Edward F. Mylius.

* * *

Upon learning of the detention of Mylius, the comrades of the Mother Earth group immediately took steps to call the case to the attention of the public, with a view of defeating the express purpose of the immigration authorities to deport Mylius. The matter involves considerable expense, and we urge every radical and liberty-loving man to contribute toward making our fight a success. Send contributions care of MOTHER EARTH.

* * *

To begin the eighth year of our magazine, we must increase our subscription by at least five hundred. To make this possible, we have decided to offer a premium with every new subscription or renewal. My book, "Anarchism and Other Essays," which, as you know, sells at $1.00, cloth, has been gotten out now in paper cover, and will be given as a premium with a year's subscription for the magazine. **E. G.**

SYNDICALISM: ITS THEORY AND PRACTICE

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

IN view of the fact that the ideas embodied in Syndicalism have been practised by the workers for the last half century, even if without the background of social consciousness; that in this country five men had to pay with their lives because they advocated Syndicalist methods as the most effective in the struggle of labor against capital; and that, furthermore, Syndicalism has been consciously practised by the workers of France, Italy and Spain since 1895, it is rather amusing to witness some people in America and England now swooping down upon Syndicalism as a perfectly new and never before heard-of proposition.

It is astonishing how very naïve Americans are, how crude and immature in matters of international importance. For all his boasted practical aptitude, the average American is the very last to learn of the modern means and tactics employed in the great struggles of his day. Always he lags behind in ideas and methods that the European workers have for years past been applying with great success.

It may be contended, of course, that this is merely a sign of youth on the part of the American. And it is indeed beautiful to possess a young mind, fresh to receive and perceive. But unfortunately the American mind seems never to grow, to mature and crystallize its views.

Perhaps that is why an American revolutionist can at the same time be a politician. That is also the reason why leaders of the Industrial Workers of the World continue in the Socialist party, which is antagonistic to the principles as well as to the activities of the I. W. W. Also why a rigid Marxian may propose that the Anarchists work together with the faction that began its career by a most bitter and malicious persecution of one of the pioneers of Anarchism, Michael Bakunin. In short, to the indefinite, uncertain mind of the American radical the most contradictory ideas and methods are possible. The result is a sad chaos in the radical movement, a sort of intellectual hash, which has neither taste nor character.

Just at present Syndicalism is the pastime of a great

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many Americans, so-called intellectuals. Not that they know anything about it, except that some great authorities—Sorel, Bergson and others—stand for it: because the American needs the seal of authority, or he would not accept an idea, no matter how true and valuable it might be.

Our bourgeois magazines are full of dissertations on Syndicalism. One of our most conservative colleges has even gone to the extent of publishing a work of one of its students on the subject, which has the approval of a professor. And all this, not because Syndicalism is a force and is being successfully practised by the workers of Europe, but because—as I said before—it has official authoritative sanction.

As if Syndicalism had been discovered by the philosophy of Bergson or the theoretic discourses of Sorel and Berth, and had not existed and lived among the workers long before these men wrote about it. The feature which distinguishes Syndicalism from most philosophies is that it represents the revolutionary philosophy of labor conceived and born in the actual struggle and experience of the workers themselves—not in universities, colleges, libraries, or in the brain of some scientists. *The revalutionary philasophy of labar,* that is the true and vital meaning of Syndicalism.

Already as far back as 1848 a large section of the workers realized the utter futility of political activity as a means of helping them in their economic struggle. At that time already the demand went forth for direct economic measures, as against the useless waste of energy along political lines. This was the case not only in France, but even prior to that in England, where Robert Owen, the true revolutionary Socialist, propagated similar ideas.

After years of agitation and experiment the idea was incorporated by the first convention of the *Internationale* in 1867, in the resolution that the economic emancipation of the workers must be the principal aim of all revolutionists, to which everything else is to be subordinated.

In fact, it was this determined radical stand which eventually brought about the split in the revolutionary movement of that day, and its division into two factions: the one, under Marx and Engels, aiming at political conquest; the other, under Bakunin and the Latin workers, forging ahead along industrial and Syndicalist lines. The further development of those two wings is familiar to every thinking man and woman: the one has gradually centralized into a huge machine, with the sole purpose of conquering political power within the existing capitalist State; the other is becoming an ever more vital revolutionary factor, dreaded by the enemy as the greatest menace to its rule.

It was in the year 1900, while a delegate to the Anarchist Congress in Paris, that I first came in contact with Syndicalism in operation. The Anarchist press had been discussing the subject for years prior to that; therefore we Anarchists knew something about Syndicalism. But those of us who lived in America had to content themselves with the theoretic side of it.

In 1900, however, I saw its effect upon labor in France: the strength, the enthusiasm and hope with which Syndicalism inspired the workers. It was also my good fortune to learn of the man who more than anyone else had directed Syndicalism into definite working channels, Fernand Pelloutier. Unfortunately, I could not meet this remarkable young man, as he was at that time already very ill with cancer. But wherever I went, with whomever I spoke, the love and devotion for Pelloutier was wonderful, all agreeing that it was he who had gathered the discontented forces in the French labor movement and imbued them with new life and a new purpose, that of Syndicalism.

On my return to America I immediately began to propagate Syndicalist ideas, especially Direct Action and the General Strike. But it was like talking to the Rocky Mountains—no understanding, even among the more radical elements, and complete indifference in labor ranks.

In 1907 I went as a delegate to the Anarchist Congress at Amsterdam and, while in Paris, met the most active Syndicalists in the *Confédération Générale du Travail:* Pouget, Delesalle, Monate, and many others. More than that, I had the opportunity to see Syndicalism in daily operation, in its most constructive and inspiring forms.

I allude to this, to indicate that my knowledge of Syndicalism does not come from Sorel, Bergson or Berth, but from actual contact with and observation of the tre-

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mendous work carried on by the workers of Paris within the ranks of the *Confédération*. It would require a volume to explain in detail what Syndicalism is doing for the French workers. In the American press you read only of its resistive methods, of strikes and sabotage, of the conflicts of labor with capital. These are no doubt very important matters, and yet the chief value of Syndicalism lies much deeper. It lies in the constructive and educational effect upon the life and thought of the masses.

The fundamental difference between Syndicalism and the old trade union methods is this: while the old trade unions, without exception, move within the wage system and capitalism, recognizing the latter as inevitable, Syndicalism repudiates and condemns present industrial arrangements as unjust and criminal, and holds out no hope to the worker for lasting results from this system.

Of course Syndicalism, like the old trade unions, fights for immediate gains, but it is not stupid enough to pretend that labor can expect humane conditions from inhuman economic arrangements in society. Thus it merely wrests from the enemy what it can force him to yield; on the whole, however, Syndicalism aims at, and concentrates its energies upon, the complete overthrow of the wage system. Indeed, Syndicalism goes further: it aims to liberate labor from every institution that has not for its object the free development of production for the benefit of all humanity. In short, the ultimate purpose of Syndicalism is to reconstruct society from its present centralized, authoritative and brutal state to one based upon the free, federated grouping of the workers along lines of economic and social liberty.

With this object in view, Syndicalism works in two directions: first, by undermining the existing institutions; secondly, by developing and educating the workers and cultivating their spirit of solidarity, to prepare them for a full, free life, when capitalism shall have been abolished.

Syndicalism is, in essence, the economic expression of Anarchism. That circumstance accounts for the presence of so many Anarchists in the Syndicalist movement. Like Anarchism, Syndicalism prepares the workers along direct economic lines, as conscious factors in the great

struggles of to-day, as well as conscious factors in the task of reconstructing society along autonomous industrial lines, as against the paralyzing spirit of centralization with its bureaucratic machinery of corruption, inherent in all political parties.

Realizing that the diametrically opposed interests of capital and labor can never be reconciled, Syndicalism must needs repudiate the old rusticated, worn-out methods of trade unionism, and declare for an open war against the capitalist régime, as well as against every institution which to-day supports and protects capitalism.

As a logical sequence Syndicalism, in its daily warfare against capitalism, rejects the contract system, because it does not consider labor and capital equals, hence cannot consent to an agreement which the one has the power to break, while the other must submit to without redress.

For similar reasons Syndicalism rejects negotiations in labor disputes, because such a procedure serves only to give the enemy time to prepare his end of the fight, thus defeating the very object the workers set out to accomplish. Also, Syndicalism stands for spontaneity, both as a preserver of the fighting strength of labor and also because it takes the enemy unawares, hence compels him to a speedy settlement or causes him great loss.

Syndicalism objects to a large union treasury, because money is as corrupting an element in the ranks of labor as it is in those of capitalism. We in America know this to be only too true. If the labor movement in this country were not backed by such large funds, it would not be as conservative as it is, nor would the leaders be so readily corrupted. However, the main reason for the opposition of Syndicalism to large treasuries consists in the fact that they create class distinctions and jealousies within the ranks of labor, so detrimental to the spirit of solidarity. The worker whose organization has a large purse considers himself superior to his poorer brother, just as he regards himself better than the man who earns fifty cents less per day.

The chief ethical value of Syndicalism consists in the stress it lays upon the necessity of labor getting rid of the element of dissension, parasitism and corruption in its ranks. It seeks to cultivate devotion, solidarity and en-

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thusiasm, which are far more essential and vital in the economic struggle than money.

As I have already stated, Syndicalism has grown out of the disappointment of the workers with politics and parliamentary methods. In the course of its development Syndicalism has learned to see in the State—with its mouthpiece, the representative system—one of the strongest supports of capitalism; just as it has learned that the army and the church are the chief pillars of the State. It is therefore that Syndicalism has turned its back upon parliamentarism and political machines, and has set its face toward the economic arena wherein alone gladiator Labor can meet his foe successfully.

Historic experience sustains the Syndicalists in their uncompromising opposition to parliamentarism. Many had entered political life and, unwilling to be corrupted by the atmosphere, withdrew from office, to devote themselves to the economic struggle—Proudhon, the Dutch revolutionist Nieuwenhuis, John Most and numerous others. While those who remained in the parliamentary quagmire ended by betraying their trust, without having gained anything for labor. But it is unnecessary to discuss here political history. Suffice to say that Syndicalists are anti-parlamentarians as a result of bitter experience.

Equally so has experience determined their anti-military attitude. Time and again has the army been used to shoot down strikers and to inculcate the sickening idea of patriotism, for the purpose of dividing the workers against themselves and helping the masters to the spoils. The inroads that Syndicalist agitation has made into the superstition of patriotism are evident from the dread of the ruling class for the loyalty of the army, and the rigid persecution of the anti-militarists. Naturally, for the ruling class realizes much better than the workers that when the soldiers will refuse to obey their superiors, the whole system of capitalism will be doomed.

Indeed, why should the workers sacrifice their children that the latter may be used to shoot their own parents? Therefore Syndicalism is not merely logical in its anti-military agitation; it is most practical and far-reaching, inasmuch as it robs the enemy of his strongest weapon against labor.

(*To be continued in the next issue.*)

MANUEL PARDINAS

By PEDRO ESTEVE.

HE died without being able to explain the motives that induced him to suppress Canalejas. Those of us who have known him can, nevertheless, understand them.

Pardinas was an intelligent workingman, industrious, simple and kind. His life was full of suffering. He left his native town to seek mental expansion and comfort for the body, and wherever he went he found misery, ignorance and persecution. He was in Catalonia, in France, in Cuba, in North America, and, notwithstanding the fact that he was an expert painter and decorator, sober in the extreme—he drank absolutely no liquor and nourished himself solely with fruits and vegetables in small quantities—he was out of work for long periods and, consequently, suffered much hardship.

"Why live," he said to me one day, "if life is to be one long-continued suffering?" To toil and eat (when you are able), sleep restlessly, always thinking of the morrow and having to contemplate innumerable injustices without being able to prevent or remedy them. No pleasures, not even that of finding among your comrades in distress collaborators in the work of redemption!

"Life is attractive even when you suffer, knowing that your own labor will benefit our fellow creatures," I replied.

"Sacrifice yourself for others! It isn't even an emulation, not even a consolation. Death is our only consolation."

And notwithsanding, he dreamed only of finding work, in order to save sufficiently to go to fight in Mexico, and, while waiting for this anxiously desired moment to arrive, wherever there was a comrade, or a child of a comrade, sick, there he went to assist, to apply the curative methods called natural, and of which he was a fervent advocate.

Even now it seems to me I can see him giving baths to my children and constructing a sun parlor in the yard of the house in which he lived, in order to give them a sun-bath!

He discussed, reasoned, and above all, he had feeling.

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acterizing the anti-social menace of such a spirit in the labor unions.

To the Editor of MOTHER EARTH:

Dear Comrade: I beg you to permit me space in your worthy monthly to voice my protest against the intolerance and shameful tactics of my union. The reason why I am applying to you is because I was refused space in all the so-called radical New York daily and weekly papers. Hence I am compelled to apply to you, and I sincerely hope that I shall meet better fate here.

I am a member of the Capmakers' Union, Local No. 1, and have been such for the past five years. Am now deprived of my membership for no other reason but that I dared to exercise my right of free speech.

On October 1st went into operation an agreement between the Capmakers' Union and the bosses, providing that the machines be furnished by the manufacturers. Hitherto the workers had furnished their own machines.

As soon as the new agreement became operative the union officials ordered that all workers owning machines should give them in at the union headquarters, while all those working on borrowed machines should pay an assessment of five dollars. There was considerable anger among the workers when the rule was made known and much murmuring against it. Most of them, however, complied with it, knowing full well that they would lose their jobs and membership if they refused to comply.

My friend Diamond and I refused to give in to what we considered an unjust demand. But the union ordered every manufacturer to withhold five dollars from the wages of each slave he employs.

Such an insult we could not longer bear. We protested and tried to bring our case to the notice of the press, but without success. For this "crime" charges were brought against me in the union and I was kept out of work for six weeks. No chance was given me to defend myself at the Executive Board. I was absolutely denied the right to express my opinion about the case, for fear I would influence the minds of the members.

The charges against me were so confused that during the six weeks that they kept me out of work they had to change them several times. After dragging out the case for six weeks and finding nothing against me, I was allowed to return to work.

Then I demanded a reason for my persecution, and pay for the time that elapsed, whereupon I was exeluded from the union on January 24 and again deprived of work, so that I am now absolutely unable to earn a living, not only in New York State, but all over the country. The only alternative given me is to scab against my brothers, whieh is a very unpleasant thing for a man with the least intelligenee.

N. B. I wish to remark that I have nothing personally against any of the union officials. The same thing was done to a member whose wife was sick in the hospital, and he unable to pay his dues. He was turned out from the shop.

Yours truly,

M. BECKER.

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

SYNDICALISM: ITS THEORY AND PRACTICE

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

(*Conclusion.*)

Now, as to the methods employed by Syndicalism—Direct Action, Sabotage, and the General Strike.

DIRECT ACTION.—Conscious individual or collective effort to protest against, or remedy, social conditions through the systematic assertion of the economic power of the workers.

Sabotage has been decried as criminal, even by so-called revolutionary Socialists. Of course, if you believe that property, which excludes the producer from its use, is justifiable, then sabotage is indeed a crime. But unless a Socialist continues to be under the influence of our bourgeois morality—a morality which enables the few to monopolize the earth at the expense of the many—he cannot consistently maintain that capitalist property is inviolate. Sabotage undermines this form of private possession. Can it therefore be considered criminal? On the contrary, it is ethical in the best sense, since it helps society to get rid of its worst foe, the most detrimental factor of social life.

Sabotage is mainly concerned with obstructing, by every possible method, the regular process of production, thereby demonstrating the determination of the workers to give according to what they receive, and no more. For instance, at the time of the French railroad strike of 1910, perishable goods were sent in slow trains, or in an opposite direction from the one intended. Who but the most ordinary philistine will call that a crime? If the railway men themselves go hungry, and the "innocent" public has not enough feeling of solidarity to insist that these men should get enough to live on, the public has forfeited the sympathy of the strikers and must take the consequences.

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Another form of sabotage consisted, during this strike, in placing heavy boxes on goods marked "Handle with care," cut glass and china and precious wines. From the standpoint of the law this may have been a crime, but from the standpoint of common humanity it was a very sensible thing. The same is true of disarranging a loom in a weaving mill, or living up to the letter of the law with all its red tape, as the Italian railway men did, thereby causing confusion in the railway service. In other words, sabotage is merely a weapon of defense in the industrial warfare, which is the more effective, because it touches capitalism in its most vital spot, the pocket.

By the General Strike, Syndicalism means a stoppage of work, the cessation of labor. Nor need such a strike be postponed until all the workers of a particular place or country are ready for it. As has been pointed out by Pelloutier, Pouget, as well as others, and particularly by recent events in England, the General Strike may be started by one industry and exert a tremendous force. It is as if one man suddenly raised the cry "Stop the thief!" Immediately others will take up the cry, till the air rings with it. The General Strike, initiated by one determined organization, by one industry or by a small, conscious minority among the workers, is the industrial cry of "Stop the thief," which is soon taken up by many other industries, spreading like wildfire in a very short time.

One of the objections of politicians to the General Strike is that the workers also would suffer for the necessaries of life. In the first place, the workers are past masters in going hungry; secondly, it is certain that a General Strike is surer of prompt settlement than an ordinary strike. Witness the transport and miner strikes in England: how quickly the lords of State and capital were forced to make peace. Besides, Syndicalism recognizes the right of the producers to the things which they have created; namely, the right of the workers to help themselves if the strike does not meet with speedy settlement.

When Sorel maintains that the General Strike is an inspiration necessary for the people to give their life meaning, he is expressing a thought which the Anarchists

have never tired of emphasizing. Yet I do not hold with Sorel that the General Strike is a "social myth," that may never be realized. I think that the General Strike will become a fact the moment labor understands its full value—its destructive as well as constructive value, as indeed many workers all over the world are beginning to realize.

These ideas and methods of Syndicalism some may consider entirely negative, though they are far from it in their effect upon society to-day. But Syndicalism has also a directly positive aspect. In fact, much more time and effort is being devoted to that phase than to the others. Various forms of Syndicalist activity are designed to prepare the workers, even within present social and industrial conditions, for the life of a new and better society. To that end the masses are trained in the spirit of mutual aid and brotherhood, their initiative and self-reliance developed, and an *esprit de corps* maintained whose very soul is solidarity of purpose and the community of interests of the international proletariat.

Chief among these activities are the *mutualitées*, or mutual aid societies, established by the French Syndicalists. Their object is, foremost, to secure work for unemployed members, and to further that spirit of mutual assistance which rests upon the consciousness of labor's identity of interests throughout the world.

In his "The Labor Movement in France," Mr. L. Levine states that during the year 1902 over 74,000 workers, out of a total of 99,000 applicants, were provided with work by these societies, without being compelled to submit to the extortion of the employment bureau sharks.

These latter are a source of the deepest degradation, as well as of most shameless exploitation, of the worker. Especially does it hold true of America, where the employment agencies are in many cases also masked detective agencies, supplying workers in need of employment to strike regions, under false promises of steady, remunerative employment.

The French Confédération had long realized the vicious rôle of employment agencies as leeches upon the jobless worker and nurseries of scabbery. By the threat of a General Strike the French Syndicalists forced the gov-

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ernment to abolish the employment bureau sharks, and the workers' own *mutualitées* have almost entirely superseded them, to the great economic and moral advantage of labor.

Besides the *mutualitées,* the French Syndicalists have established other activities tending to weld labor in closer bonds of solidarity and mutual aid. Among these are the efforts to assist workingmen journeying from place to place. The practical as well as ethical value of such assistance is inestimable. It serves to instill the spirit of fellowship and gives a sense of security in the feeling of oneness with the large family of labor. This is one of the vital effects of the Syndicalist spirit in France and other Latin countries. What a tremendous need there is for just such efforts in this country! Can anyone doubt the significance of the consciousness of workingmen coming from Chicago, for instance, to New York, sure to find there among their comrades welcome lodging and food until they have secured employment? This form of activity is entirely foreign to the labor bodies of this country, and as a result the traveling workman in search of a job—the "blanket stiff"— is constantly at the mercy of the constable and policeman, a victim of the vagrancy laws, and the unfortunate material whence is recruited, through stress of necessity, the army of seabdom.

I have repeatedly witnessed, while at the headquarters of the Confédération, the cases of workingmen who came with their union cards from various parts of France, and even from other countries of Europe, and were supplied with meals and lodging, and encouraged by every evidence of brotherly spirit, and made to feel at home by their fellow workers of the Confédération. It is due, to a great extent, to these activities of the Syndicalists that the French government is forced to employ the army for strikebreaking, because few workers are willing to lend themselves for such service, thanks to the efforts and tactics of Syndicalism.

No less in importance than the mutual aid activities of the Syndicalists is the cooperation established by them between the city and the country, the factory worker and the peasant or farmer, the latter providing the workers with food supplies during strikes, or taking care of the

strikers' children. This form of practical solidarity has for the first time been tried in this country during the Lawrence strike, with inspiring results.

And all these Syndicalist activities are permeated with the spirit of educational work, carried on systematically by evening classes on all vital subjects treated from an unbiased, libertarian standpoint—not the adulterated "knowledge" with which the minds are stuffed in our public schools. The scope of the education is truly phenomenal, including sex hygiene, the care of women during pregnancy and confinement, the care of home and children, sanitation and general hygiene; in fact, every branch of human knowledge—science, history, art —receives thorough attention, together with the practical application in the established workingmen's libraries, dispensaries, concerts and festivals, in which the greatest artists and literateurs of Paris consider it an honor to participate.

One of the most vital efforts of Syndicalism is to prepare the workers, *now,* for their rôle in a free society. Thus the Syndicalist organizations supply its members with textbooks on every trade and industry, of a character that is calculated to make the worker an adept in his chosen line, a master of his craft, for the purpose of familiarizing him with all the branches of his industry, so that when labor finally takes over production and distribution, the people will be fully prepared to manage successfully their own affairs.

A demonstration of the effectiveness of this educational campaign of Syndicalism is given by the railroad men of Italy, whose mastery of all the details of transportation is so great that they could offer to the Italian government to take over the railroads of the country and guarantee their operation with greater economy and fewer accidents than is at present done by the government.

Their ability to carry on production has been strikingly proved by the Syndicalists, in connection with the glass blowers' strike in Italy. There the strikers, instead of remaining idle during the progress of the strike, decided themselves to carry on the production of glass. The wonderful spirit of solidarity resulting from the Syndicalist propaganda enabled them to build a glass

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factory within an incredibly short time. An old building, rented for the purpose and which would have ordinarily required months to be put into proper condition, was turned into a glass factory within a few weeks, by the solidaric efforts of the strikers aided by their comrades who toiled with them after working hours. Then the strikers began operating the glass-blowing factory, and their cooperative plan of work and distribution during the strike has proved so satisfactory in every way that the experimental factory has been made permanent and a part of the glass-blowing industry in Italy is now in the hands of the cooperative organization of the workers.

This method of applied education not only trains the worker in his daily struggle, but serves also to equip him for the battle royal and the future, when he is to assume his place in society as an intelligent, conscious being and useful producer, once capitalism is abolished.

Nearly all leading Syndicalists agree with the Anarchists that a free society can exist only through voluntary association, and that its ultimate success will depend upon the intellectual and moral development of the workers who will supplant the wage system with a new social arrangement, based on solidarity and economic well-being for all. That is Syndicalism, in theory and practice.

"PRISON MEMOIRS".

By BAYARD BOYESEN

IN his Introduction to the "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist," by Alexander Berkman, Mr. Hapgood says that he wishes "that everybody in the world would read this book," and adds, with characterictic optimism, that "the general and careful reading of it would definitely add to true civilization." Unquestionably many people will read it; but they will do so, I fear, because human beings relish the sufferings of their fellows and find fascination in watching the turns of pain. Of the broad nobility that breathes from it, of the lessons it should teach, how much will they see who spend their days in rehearsing ceremonies designed to blind themselves and in erecting institutions designed to blind their brothers?

If it serves to oversome in even a few people the prejudices they cherish it will do so not because of a careful reading or an open mind on their part, but because of the extraordinary literary power with which Mr. Berkman has presented his story. At the very beginning of the book one feels a movement, a rustle of spiritual and physical events that portends catastrophe. But in the great tragedies of literature and of life the essence of catastrophe lies in the fact that the spirit of the hero, in the final isolation of his material defeat, rises the nobler, unconquered still. So here, after the climatic deed has been accomplished, the protagonist maintains his attitude through all the years of suffering, accepts the catastrophe as a challenge and overcomes it. If the author had been free to use his imagination only he could not have ordered the events to bring out more skilfully the spiritual significance of his deed.

These larger movements to which I have just referred, the movements of mind and emotion and spirit, are patterned with details of pathos and horror. Indeed, I know of few passages in literature more pathetic than that in which Mr. Berkman relates his meeting in jail with the Homestead striker. No one around has understood his motives; they have thought that he was concealing them or was crazy. But here at last is the man who can understand, one of the very men for whom the young Anarchist offered his life. So he explains to him. The striker says: "Some business misunderstanding, eh?"

Equally pathetic, though in a different way, are the incidents connected with the story of young Russell, whose character is the basis of some of the most beautiful passages in the book. Indeed, the characterization throughout is, if we judge from a literary view-point, the most remarkable thing about these remarkable Memoirs. No one who has met Russell, Wingie, Felipe, or the rest of the people portrayed will be likely to forget them. Something has been done to them that makes them more living than living beings; an imagination has touched them and bared them to our sight. I do not mean that they have been falsified by the author, or even added to; rather, that having been understood by

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erated to the point where nothing but politicians can find a welcome in it. Its deadening discipline, its dogmas, intolerance, and machine politics have exalted the political office seekers in every country where German Socialism has been taken as a model. The more thoroughly the international labor movement frees itself from the influence of the German Social Democracy, the sooner it will grow to manhood and come into its own.

In this sense our Comrade Most had fought against the paralyzing influence of the German Social Democracy. But Hunter does not give Most's position in the true light. To carry his point, to emphasize the danger of harboring Syndicalist elements in the Socialist party, Hunter creates the impression that Most propagated his subversive ideas in America within the Social Democratic circles. That is false. Already in London Most was *persona non grata* with the Social Democratic party. The Marxian bishops on both sides of the Atlantic had put him under the ban, long before he came into American exile. Moreover, his logical development to Anarchism had entirely alienated our Comrade from the party.

In his articles Hunter naturally tries very hard to prove the Anarchists and Syndicalists to be hopeless impossibilists; yet evidently without much satisfaction to himself. He expresses the fear that, all odds notwithstanding, they have a future in the labor movement, and that the solemn exorcism of the Social Democratic statesmen is powerless to suppress them. In one place he says, "It is perhaps inevitable that the views of the Anarchists should gain a larger and larger following. Political action is slow, and many of the younger, the more petulant and impulsive, are impatient."

Political action is not only slow; it leads nowhere save into the swamp of barrenness, disappointment, and futility. It is worse than slow; it is rotten. It is a most encouraging sign that the young generation is beginning to lose patience with it.

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ANARCHISM—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

VICTIMS OF MORALITY

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

NOT so very long ago I attended a meeting addressed by Anthony Comstock, who has for forty years been the guardian of American morals. A more incoherent, ignorant ramble I have never heard from any platform.

The question that presented itself to me, listening to the commonplace, bigotted talk of the man, was, How could anyone so limited and unintelligent wield the power of censor and dictator over a supposedly democratic nation? True, Comstock has the law to back him. Forty years ago, when Puritanism was even more rampant than to-day, completely shutting out the light of reason and progress, Comstock succeeded, through shady machination and political wire pulling, to introduce a bill which gave him complete control over the Post Office Department—a control which has proved disastrous to the freedom of the press, as well as the right of privacy of the American citizen.

Since then, Comstock has broken into the private chambers of people, has confiscated personal correspondence, as well as works of art, and has established a system of espionage and graft which would put Russia to shame. Yet the law does not explain the power of Anthony Comstock. There is something else, more terrible than the law. It is the narrow puritanic spirit, as represented in the sterile minds of the Young-Men-and-Old-Maid's Christian Union, Temperance Union, Sabbath Union, Purity League, etc. A spirit which is absolutely blind to the simplest manifestations of life; hence stands for stagnation and decay. As in antibellum days, these old fossils lament the terrible immorality of our time. Science, art, literature, the drama, are at the mercy of bigotted censorship and legal procedure, with the result that America, with all her boastful claims to progress and liberty is still steeped in the densest provincialism.

The smallest dominion in Europe can boast of an art free from the fetters of morality, an art that has the courage to portray the great social problems of our time.

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With the sharp edgc of critical analysis, it cuts into every social ulcer, every wrong, demanding fundamental changes and the transvaluation of accepted values. Satire, wit, humor, as wcll as the most intcnsely serious modcs of expression, are being employed to lay bare our conventional social and moral lies. In America wc would seek in vain for such a medium, since even the attempt at it is made impossible by the rigid régime, by the moral dictator and his clique.

The nearest approach, however, are our muckrakers, who have no doubt rendered great service along economic and social lines. Whether the muckrakers have or have not helped to changc conditions, at least thcy have torn the mask from the lying face of our smug and self-satisfied society.

Unfortunately, the Lie of Morality still stalks about in fine feathers, since no one dares to come within hailing distance of that holy of holies. Yet it is safe to say that no other superstition is so detrimental to growth, so enervating and paralyzing to the minds and hearts of the peoplė, as the superstition of Morality.

The most pathetic, and in a way discouraging, aspect of the situation is a certain element of liberals, and even of radicals, men and women apparently frec from religious and social spooks. But before the monster of Morality they are as prostrate as the most pious of their kind—which is an additional proof to the extent to which the morality worm has eaten into the system of its victims and how far-going and thorough the measures must be which are to drive it out again.

Needlcss to say, society is obsessed by more than one morality. Indeed, every institution of to-day has its own moral standard. Nor could they ever have maintained themselves, were it not for religion, which acts as a shield, and for morality, which acts as the mask. This explains the interest of the exploiting rich in religion and morality. The rich preach, foster, and finance both, as an investment that pays good rcturns. Through the medium of religion they have paralyzed the mind of the people, just as morality has enslaved the spirit. In other words, religion and morality are a much better whip to keep people in submission, than even the club and the gun.

To illustrate: The Property Morality declares that that institution is sacrcd. Woe to anyone that dares to question the sanctity of property, or sins against it! Yet everyone knows that Property is robbery; that it represents the accumulated efforts of millions, who themselves are propertyless. And what is more terrible, the more poverty stricken the victim of Property Morality is, the greatcr his respect and awe for that master. Thus we hear advanced people, evcn so-called class-conscious workingmen, decry as immoral such methods as sabotage and direct action, bccause they aim at Property.

Verily, if the victims themselves are so blinded by the Property Morality, what need one expect from the masters? It therefore seems high time to bring home the fact that until the workers will lose respect for the instrument of their material cnslavement, thcy need hope for no relief.

* * *

However, it is with the effect of Morality upon women that I am here mostly concernod. So disastrous, so paralyzing has this effect been, that some even of the most advanced among my sisters never thoroughly outgrow it.

It is Morality which condemns woman to the position of a celibatc, a prostitute, or a reckless, incessant breeder of hapless children.

First, as to the celibate, the famished and withered human plant. When still a young, beautiful flower, she falls in love with a respectable young man. But Morality decrecs that unless he can marry the girl, she must never know the raptures of love, the ecstasy of passion, which reaches its culminating expression in the sex embrace. The respectable young man is willing to marry, but the Property Morality, thc Family and Social Moralities decree that he must first make his pile, must save up enough to establish a home and be able to provide for a family. The young people must wait, often many long, weary years.

Meanwhile the respcctable young man, excited through the daily association and contact with his swcetheart, secks an outlet for his nature in return for money. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, he will be infected, and whcn he is materially able to marry, he will infect

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his wife and possible offspring. And the young flower, with every fiber aglow with the fire of life, with all her being crying out for love and passion? She has no outlet. She developes headaches, insomnia, hysteria; grows embittered, quarrelsome, and soon becomes a faded, withered, joyless being, a nuisance to herself and everyone else. No wonder Stirner preferred the grisette to the maiden grown gray with virtue.

There is nothing more pathetic, nothing more terrible, than this gray-grown victim of a gray-grown Morality. This applies even with greater force to the masses of professional middle-class girls, than to those of the people. Through economic necessity the latter are thrust into life's jungle at an early age; they grow up with their male companions in the factory and shop, or at play and dance. The result is a more normal expression of their physical instincts. Then too, the young men and women of the people are not so hide-bound by externalities, and often follow the call of love and passion regardless of ceremony and tradition.

But the overwrought and oversexed middle class girl, hedged in her narrow confines with family and social traditions, guarded by a thousand eyes, afraid of her own shadow—the yearning of her inmost being for the man or the child, must turn to cats, dogs, canary birds, or the Bible Class. Such is the cruel dictum of Morality, which is daily shutting out love, light, and joy from the lives of innumerable victims.

Now, as to the prostitute. In spite of laws, ordinances, persecution, and prisons; in spite of segregation, registration, vice crusades, and other similar devices, the prostitute is the real specter of our age. She sweeps across the plains like a fire burning into every nook of life, devastating, destroying.

After all, she is paying back, in a very small measure, the curse and horrors society has strewn in her path. She, weary with the tramp of ages, harassed and driven from pillar to post, at the mercy of all, is yet the Nemesis of modern times, the avenging angel, ruthlessly wielding the sword of fire. For has she not the man in her power? And, through him, the home, the child, the race. Thus she slays, and is herself the most brutally slain.

What has made her? Whence does she come? Morality, the morality which is merciless in its attitude to women. Once she dared to be herself, to be true to her nature, to life, there is no return: the woman is thrust out from the pale and protection of society. The prostitute becomes the victim of Morality, even as the withered old maid is its victim. But the prostitute is victimized by still other forces, foremost among them the Property Morality, which compels woman to sell herself as a sex commodity for a dollar per, out of wedlock, or for fifteen dollars a week, in the sacred fold of matrimony. The latter is no doubt safer, more respected, more recognized, but of the two forms of prostitution the girl of the street is the least hypocritical, the least debased, since her trade lacks the pious mask of hypocrisy; and yet she is hounded, fleeced, outraged, and shunned, by the very powers that have made her: the financier, the priest, the moralist, the judge, the jailor, and the detective, not to forget her sheltered, respectably virtuous sister, who is the most relentless and brutal in her persecution of the prostitute.

Morality and its victim, the mother—what a terrible picture! Is there indeed anything more terrible, more criminal, than our glorified sacred function of motherhood? The woman, physically and mentally unfit to be a mother, yet condemned to breed; the woman, economically taxed to the very last spark of energy, yet forced to breed; the woman, tied to a man she loathes, whose very sight fills her with horror, yet made to breed; the woman, worn and used-up from the process of procreation, yet coerced to breed, more, ever more. What a hideous thing, this much-lauded motherhood! No wonder thousands of women risk mutilation, and prefer even death to this curse of the cruel imposition of the spook of Morality. Five thousand are yearly sacrificed upon the altar of this monster, that will not stand for prevention but would cure abortions. Five thousand soldiers in the battle for their physical and spiritual freedom, and as many thousands more who are crippled and mutilated rather than bring forth life in a society based on decay and destruction.

Is it because the modern woman wants to shirk responsibility, or that she lacks love for her offspring, that

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drives her to the most drastic and dangerous means to avoid bearing children? Only shallow, bigoted minds can bring such an accusation. Else they would know that the modern woman has become race conscious, sensitive to the needs and rights of the child, as the unit of the race, and that therefore the modern woman has a sense of responsibility and humanity, which was quite foreign to her grandmother.

With the economic war raging all around her, with strife, misery, crime, disease, and insanity staring her in the face, with numberless little children ground into gold dust, how can the self and race-conscious woman become a mother? Morality can not answer this question. It can only dictate, coerce, or condemn—and how many women are strong enough to face this condemnation, to defy the moral dicta? Few, indeed. Hence they fill the factories, the reformatories, the homes for feeble minded, the prisons, the insane asylums, or they die in the attempt to prevent child-birth. Oh, Motherhood, what crimes are committed in thy name! What hosts are laid at your feet, Morality, destroyer of life!

Fortunately, the Dawn is emerging from the chaos and darkness. Woman is awakening, she is throwing off the nightmare of Morality; she will no longer be bound. In her love for the man she is not concerned in the contents of his pocketbook, but in the wealth of his nature, which alone is the fountain of life and of joy. Nor does she need the sanction of the State. Her love is sanction enough for her. Thus she can abandon herself to the man of her choice, as the flowers abandon themselves to dew and light, in freedom, beauty, and ecstasy.

Through her re-born consciousness as a unit, a personality, a race builder, she will become a mother only if she desires the child, and if she can give to the child, even before its birth, all that her nature and intellect can yield: harmony, health, comfort, beauty, and, above all, understanding, reverence, and love, which is the only fertile soil for new life, a new being.

Morality has no terrors for her who has risen beyond good and evil. And though Morality may continue to devour its victims, it is utterly powerless in the face of the modern spirit, that shines in all its glory upon the brow of man and woman, liberated and unafraid.

DIALOGUE IN HEAVEN

By HARRY KEMP

Persons { A Christian. / An Angel.

Christian: Well, I've seen the sights . . . Now lead me to heaven itself . . . I feel out of place here . . . This place is full of Jews . . . Who is that gray-bearded Jew over there?

Angel: Why, that's Moses!

Christian: (Surprised) Well . . . I suppose I ought to be respectful . . . If it's Moses! . . . But who is that long, thin Jew with a cadaverous face?

Angel: That's John the Baptist.

Christian: Interesting! . . . But who is that weazened, little, deformed Jew with the piercing eyes?

Angel: That's Saint Paul. . .

Christian: Indeed! . . . But look, who is yon pale-faced Jew sitting by the Old Man?

Angel: Hush! . . . That is He who saved you!

Christian: (Dumbfounded) My Saviour?

Angel: (Reverently) Yes, it is He!

Christian: (Stammering) But—but—but—the Old Man—who is He?

Angel: Sh-h-h! You must speak more reverently! . . . That is God!

Christian; (Frightened) Then this must be heaven!

Angel: Yes, of course! . . . But it's no place for an Anti-Semite!

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

ANARCHY—Absence of government; disbelief in, and disregard of, invasion and authority based on coercion and force; a condition of society regulated by voluntary agreement instead of government.

DIRECT ACTION—Conscious individual or collective effort to protest against, or remedy, social conditions through the systematic assertion of the economic power of the workers.

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THE FAILURE OF CHRISTIANITY

THE counterfeiters and poisoners of ideas in their attempt to obscure the line between truth and falsehood, find a valuable ally in the conservatism of language.

Conceptions and words that have long ago lost their original meaning continue through centuries to dominate mankind. Especially is this true if these conceptions have become a common-place, if they have been instilled in our beings from our infancy as great and irrefutable verities. The average mind is easily content with inherited and acquired things, or with the dicta of parents and teachers, because it is much easier to imitate than to create.

Our age has given birth to two intellectual giants, who have undertaken to transvalue the dead social and moral values of the past, especially those contained in Christianity. Friedrich Nietzsche and Max Stirner have hurled blow upon blow against the portals of Christianity, because they swa in it a pernicious slave

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morality,the denial of life, the destroyer of all the elements that make for strength and character. True, Nietzsche has oppos·d the slave-morality idea inherent in Christianity in behalf of a master morality for the privileged few. But I venture to suggest that his master idea had nothing to do with the vulgarity of station, caste, or wealth. Rather did it mean the masterful in human possibilities, the masterful in man that would help him to overcome old traditions and worn-out values, so that he may learn to become the creator of new and beautiful things.

Both Nietzsche and Stirner saw in Christianity the leveler of the human race, the breaker of man's will to dare and to do. They saw in every movement built on Christian morality and ethics attempts not at the emancipation from slavery, but for the perpetuation thereof. Hence they opposed these movements with might and main.

Whether I do or not entirely agree with these iconoclasts, I believe, with them, that Christianity is

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most admirably adapted to the training of slaves, to the perpetuation of a slave society; in short, to the very conditions confronting us to-day. Indeed, never could society have degenerated to its present appalling stage, if not for the assistance of Christianity. The rulers of the earth have realized long ago what potent poison inheres in the Christian religion. That is the reason they foster it; that is why they leave nothing undone to instill it into the blood of the people. They know only too well that the subtleness of the Christian teachings is a more powerful protection against rebellion and discontent than the club or the gun.

No doubt I will be told that, though religion is a poison and institutionalized Christianity the greatest enemy of progress and freedom, there is some good in Christianity "itself." What about the teachings of Christ and early Christianity, I may be asked ; do they not stand for the spirit of humanity, for right and justice?

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It is precisely this oft-repeated contention that induced me to choose this subject, to enable me to demonstrate that the abuses of Christianity, like the abuses of government, are conditioned in the thing itself, and are not to be charged to the representatives of the creed.

Christ and his teachings are the embodiment of submission, of inertia, of the denial of life; hence responsible for the things done in their name.

I am not interested in the theological Christ. Brilliant minds like Bauer, Strauss, Renan, Thomas Paine, and others refuted that myth long ago. I am even ready to admit that the theological Christ is not half so dangerous as the ethical and social Christ. In proportion as science takes the place of blind faith, theology loses its hold. But the ethical and poetical Christ-myth has so thoroughly saturated our lives, that even some of the most advanced minds find it difficult to emancipate themselves from its yoke. They have rid themselves of the letter, but have retained the spirit; yet it isthe spirit which is back of all the crimes and horrors committed by orthodox Christianity. The Fathers of the Church can well afford to preach the gospel of Christ. It contains nothi dangerous to the regime of authority and wealth; it stand

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for self-denial and self-abnegation, for penance and regret, and is absolutely inert in the face of every dignity, every outrage imposed upon mankind.

Here I must revert to the counterfeiters of ideas and words. So many otherwise earnest haters of slavery and injustice confuse, in a most distressing manner, the teachings of Christ with the great struggles for social and economic emancipation. The two are irrevocably and forever opposed to each other. The one necessitates courage, daring, defiance, and strength. The other preaches the gospel of non-resistance, of slavish acquiescence in the will of others; it is the complete disregard of character and self-reliance, and therefore destructive of li berty and well-being.

Whoever sincerely aims at a radical change in society, whoever strives to free humanity from the scourge of dependence and misery, must turn his back on Christianity, on theold as well as the present form of the same.

Everywhere and always, since its very inception, Christianity has turned the earth into a vale of tears; always it has made of life a weak, diseased thing, always it has instilled fear in man, turning him into a dual being, whose life energies are spent in the struggle between body and soul. In decrying the body as something evil, the

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flesh as the temptor to everything that is sinful, man has mutilated his being in the vain attempt to keep his soul pure, while his body rotted away from the injuries and tortures inflicted upon it.

The Christian religion and morality extols the glory of the Hereafter, and therefore remains indifferent to the horrors of the earth. Indeed, the idea of self-denial and of all that makes for pain and sorrow, is its test of human worth, its passport to the entry into heaven.

The poor are to own heaven, and the rich will go to hell. That may account for the desperate efforts of the rich to make hay while the sun shines; to get as much out of the earth as they can; to wallow in wealth and superfluity, to tighten their iron hold on the blessed slaves, to rob them of their birthright, to degrade and outrage them every minute of the day. Who can blame the rich if they revenge themselves on the poor, for now is their time, and the merciful Christian God alone knows how ably and completely the rich are doing it.

And the poor? They cling to the promise of the Christian heaven, as the home for old age, the sanitarium for crippled bodies and weak minds. They endure and

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and submit, they suffer and wait, until every bit of self-respect has been knocked out of them, until their bodies become emaciated and withered, and their spirit broken from the wait, the weary endless wait for the Christian heaven.

Christ made his appearance as the leader of the people, the redeemer of the Jews form Roman dominion; but the moment he began his work, he proved that he had no interest in the earth, in the pressing immediate needs of the poor and the disinnerited of his time. What he preached was a sentimental mysticism, obscure and confused ideas lacking originality and vigor.

When the Jews, according to the gospels, withdrew from Jesus, when they turned him over tothe cross, they may have been bitterly disappointed in him who promised them so much and gave them so little. He promised joy and bliss in another world, while the people were starving, suffering, and enduring before his very eyes.

It may also be that the sympathy of the Ro[illegible] especially of Pilate, was given Christ because the[y] garded him as perfectly harmless to their power an[d] The philosopher Pilate may have considered Christ[ian]

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"eternal truths" as pretty anaemic and lifeless, compared with the array of strength and force they attempted to combat. The Romans, strong and unflinching as they were, must have laughed in their sleeves over the man who talked repentance and patience, instead of calling to arms against the despoilers and ppressors of his people.

The public career of Christ begins with the edict, " Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand."

Why repent, why regret, in the face of something that was supposed to bring deliverance? Had not the people suffered and endured enough; had they not earned their right to deliverance by their suffering? Take the Sermon on the Mount, for instance. What is it but a eulogy on submission to fate, to the inevitability of things?

" Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven."

Heaven must be an awfully dull place if the poor in spirit live there. How can anything creative, anything vital, useful and beautiful come from the poor in spirit? The idea conveyed in the Sermon on the M... is the greatest indictment against the teachings o...

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Christ, because it sees in the poverty of mind and body a viftue, and because it seeks to maintain this virtue by reward and punishment. Every intelligent being realizes that our worst curse is the poverty of the spirit; that it is productive of all evil and misery, of all the injustice and crimes in the world. Every one knows that nothing good ever came or can come of the poor in spirit; surely never liberty, justice, or equality.

"Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

What a preposterous notion! What incentive to slavery, inactivity, and pauperism! Besides, it is not true that the meek can inherit anything. Just because humanity has been meek, the earth has been stolen from it.

Meekness has been the whip, which capitalism and governments have used to force man into dependency, into his slave position. The most faithful servants of the State, of wealth, of special privilege, could not preach a more convenient gospel than did Christ, the "redeemer" of the people.

"Blessed are they that hunger and thirst for

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righteousness, for they shall be filled."

But did not Christ exclude the possibility of righteousness,when he said, "The poor ye have always with you?" But, then, Chrsit was great on dicta, no matter if they were utterly opposed to each other. This is nowhere demonstrated so strikingly as in his command, "Render to Cesar the things that are Cesar's, and to God the things thar are God's."

The interpreters claim that Christ had to make these concessions to the powers of his time. If that be true, this single compromise was sufficient to prove, down to this very day, a most ruthless weapon in the hands of the oppressor, a fearful lash and relentless tax-gatherer, to the impoverishment, the enslavement, and degradation tothe impoverishment, the enslavement, and degradation of the very people for whom Christ is supposed to have died. And when we are assured that "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be filled," are we told the how? How? Christ never takes the trouble to explain that. Righteousness does not come from the stars, nor because Christ willed it so. Righteousness grows out of liberty, of social and economic opportunity and equality.

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But how can the meek, the poor in spirit, ever establish such a state of affairs?

"Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven."

The reward in heaven is the perpetual bait, a bait that has caught man in an iron net, a strait-jacket which does not let him expand or gorw. All pioneers of truth have been, and still are, reviled; they have been, and still are, persecuted. But did they ask humanity to pay the price? Did they seek to bribe mankind to accept their ideas? They knew too well that he who accepts a truth because of the bribe, will soon barter it away to a higher bidder.

Good and bad, punishment and reward, sin and penance, heaven and hell, as the moving spirit of the Christ-gospel have been the stumbling-block in the world's work. It contains everything in the way of orders and commands, but entirely lacks the very things we need most.

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The worker who knows the cause of his misery, who understands the make-up of our iniquitous social and industrial system can do more for himself and his kind than Christ and the followers of Christ have ever done for humanity; certainly more than meek patience, ignorance, and submission have done.

How much more ennobling, how much more beneficial is the extreme individualism of Stirner and Nietzsche than the sick-room atmosphere of the Christian faith. If they repudiate altruism as an evil, it is because of the example contained in Christianity, which set a premium on parasitism and inertia, gave birth to all manner of social disorders that are to be cured with the preachment of love and sympathy.

Proud and self-reliant characters prefer hatred to such sickening artificial love. Not because of any reward does a free spirit take his stand for great truth, now has such a one ever been deterred because of fear of punishment.

"Think not that I come to destroy the law or the prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill."

Precisely. Christ was a reformer, ever ready to patch up, to fulfill, to carry on the old order of things; never to destroy and rebuild. That my account for the follow-

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feeling all reformers have for him.

Indeed, the whole history of the State, Capitalism, and the Church proves that they have perpetuated themselves because of the idea "I come not to destroy the law". This is the key to authority and oppression. Naturally so, for did not Christ praise poverty as a virtue; did he notpropagate non-resistance to evil? Why should not poverty and evil continue to rule the world?

Much as I am opposed to every religion, much as I think them an imposition upon, and vrime against, reason and progress, I yet feel that no other religion had done so much harm or has helped so much in the enslavament of man as the religion of Christ.

Witness Christ before his accusers. What lack of dignity, what lack of faith in himself and in his own id... So weak and helpless was this "savious of Men" that he ... needs the whole human family to pay for him, unto all ... because he "hath died for them". Redemption bhrough ... is worse than damnation, because of the terrible bur... imposes upon humanity, because of the effect it ha... human soul, fettering and paralyzing it with the ... burden exacted through the death of Christ.

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Thousands of martyrs have perished, yet few, if any, of them have proved so helpless as the great Christian God. Thousands have gone to their death with greater fortitude, with more courage, with deeper faith in their ideas than the Nazarene. Nor did they expect eternal gratitude from their fellow-men because of what they endured for them.

Compared with Socrates and Bruno, with the great martyrs of Russia, with the Chicago Anarchists, Francisco Ferrer, and unnumbered others, Christ cuts a poor figure indeed. Compared with the delicate, frail Spiritdonova who underwent the most terrible torutures, the most horrible indignities, witot losing faith in herself or her cause, Jesus is a veritable nonentity. They stood their ground and faced their executioners with unflinching determination, and though they too, died for the people, they asked nothing in return for their geeat sacrifice.

Verily, we need redemption from the salvery, the deadening weakness, and humiliating dependency of Christian[illegible]

The teachings of Christ and of his followers have [illegible] because they lacked the vitality to lift the burden[illegible] shoulders of the race; they have failed because th[illegible] sence of that doctrine is contr ry to the spirit o[illegible] exposed to the manifestations of nature, to the [illegible] beauty of passion.

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Never can Christianity, under whatever mask it may appear -- be it New Liberalism, Spiritualism, Christian Science, New Thought, or a thousand and one other forms of hysteria and neurasthenia--bring us relief from the terrible pressure of conditions, the weight of poverty, the horros of our iniquitous system. Christianity is the conspiracy of ignorance against light, of submission and slavery against independence and freedom; of the denial of strength and beauty, against the affirmation of the joy and glory of life.

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for a wife and family is constantly growing larger, and as the sex instinct is the strongest in man, there remains for a great many no way out except prostitution.

Indeed, in the very name of a higher morality it would be advisable to place no obstacle in the way of the sex life of young people, except to advise them to postpone parenthood till economic prospects improve, so that their children may be born into a better world.

But the very thought of such a suggestion is enough to make the hair of the reformers stand on end. They deal only in obscurities and patent cures for the inevitable results of false morality and economic dependence.

* * *

THE men sentenced in La Sante prison, Paris, to be guillotined—and who are referred to by the international burgeois press as the "automobile bandits"—are revolutionists-actionists of the type of Pini and Ravachol. Whatever one's attitude toward their activities, it is beyond doubt that such men, who refuse to subject themselves to the organized barbarism of our social life, will continue to make their appearance. To them well applies the saying of Nietzsche that "criminals are strong men driven by the wretchedness of conditions into a dangerous zone."

One of these men, Lacombe, committed suicide in jail. His act aroused the fear of the authorities that the other condemned men will cheat the executioner, whereupon our comrades were strapped and bound in strait-jackets. According to last reports this barbarous mode of punishment had to be discontinued, because Dieudonne—one of the condemned, though apparently he is quite innocent of the charges—threatened to commit suicide by starvation rather than undergo any longer the horror of the strait-jacket torture.

How zealously civilized government guards its prey, that it may swallow it alive!

Whatever position the burgeois-minded may take regarding the "automobile bandits," revolutionists at least may be expected to show understanding and appreciation of men like our condemned Paris comrades. In these days of stupid adoration of the Moloch of the Law, and of the almost total paralysis of bold daring and manhood, it is encouraging to see men with red

blood in their veins defy the established idols that make for slavery and general degradation. In the spirit of our comrades in the La Sante prison lies, to a great extent, the hope of the Social Revolution.

* * *

IT is noteworthy that William Jennings Bryan, one of the mouldy idols of even some radicals, initiated his career as Secretary of State by a solemn protest against the proposed amnesty of political prisoners in Cuba.

As petty, reactionary, and shabby has been his attitude toward the protest made to him against the torture by forcible feeding to which Miss Emerson, an American suffragette, was subjected in an English prison. Of course, the Emerson influence was not very strong in Washington. An absconding banker with a long political pull would have found a more sympathetic ear in Mr. Bryan.

Our radical friends who worshipped at the shrine of the glib-tongued Nebraskan will now have to fashion for themselves another Baal.

* * *

THE FAILURE OF CHRISTIANITY

BY EMMA GOLDMAN

THE counterfeiters and poisoners of ideas in their attempt to obscure the line between truth and falsehood, find a valuable ally in the conservatism of language.

Conceptions and words that have long ago lost their original meaning, continue through centuries to dominate mankind. Especially is this true if these conceptions have become a common-place, if they have been instilled in our beings from our infancy as great and irrefutable verities. The average mind is easily content with inherited and acquired things, or with the dicta of parents and teachers, because it is much easier to imitate than to create.

Our age has given birth to two intellectual giants, who have undertaken to transvalue the dead social and moral values of the past, especially those contained in Christianity. Friedrich Nietzsche and Max Stirner have hurled blow upon blow against the portals of Christianity, because they saw in it a pernicious slave morality,

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the denial of life, the destroyer of all the elements that make for strength and character. True, Nietzsche has opposed the slave-morality idea inherent in Christianity in behalf of a master morality for the privileged few. But I venture to suggest that his master idea had nothing to do with the vulgarity of station, caste, or wealth. Rather did it mean the masterful in human possibilities, the masterful in man that would help him to overcome old traditions and worn-out values, so that he may learn to become the creator of new and beautiful things.

Both Nietzsche and Stirner saw in Christianity the leveler of the human race, the breaker of man's will to dare and to do. They saw in every movement built on Christian morality and ethics attempts not at the emancipation from slavery, but for the perpetuation thereof. Hence they opposed these movements with might and main.

Whether I do or do not entirely agree with these iconoclasts, I believe, with them, that Christianity is most admirably adapted to the training of slaves, to the perpetuation of a slave society; in short, to the very conditions confronting us to-day. Indeed, never could society have degenerated to its present appalling stage, if not for the assistance of Christianity. The rulers of the earth have realized long ago what potent poison inheres in the Christian religion. That is the reason they foster it; that is why they leave nothing undone to instill it into the blood of the people. They know only too well that the subtleness of the Christian teachings is a more powerful protection against rebellion and discontent than the club or the gun.

No doubt I will be told that, though religion is a poison and institutionalized Christianity the greatest enemy of progress and freedom, there is some good in Christianity "itself." What about the teachings of Christ and early Christianity, I may be asked; do they not stand for the spirit of humanity, for right and justice?

It is precisely this oft-repeated contention that induced me to choose this subject, to enable me to demonstrate that the abuses of Christianity, like the abuses of government, are conditioned in the thing itself, and are not to be charged to the representatives of the creed. Christ and his teachings are the embodiment of submission, of inertia, of the denial of life; hence responsible for the things done in their name.

I am not interested in the theological Christ. Brilliant minds like Bauer, Strauss, Renan, Thomas Paine, and others refuted that myth long ago. I am even ready to admit that the theological Christ is not half so dangerous as the ethical and social Christ. In proportion as science takes the place of blind faith, theology loses its hold. But the ethical and poetical Christ-myth has so thoroughly saturated our lives, that even some of the most advanced minds find it difficult to emancipate themselves from its yoke. They have rid themselves of the letter, but have retained the spirit; yet it is the spirit which is back of all the crimes and horrors committed by orthodox Christianity. The Fathers of the Church can well afford to preach the gospel of Christ. It contains nothing dangerous to the régime of authority and wealth; it stands for self-denial and self-abnegation, for penance and regret, and is absolutely inert in the face of every dignity, every outrage imposed upon mankind.

Here I must revert to the counterfeiters of ideas and words. So many otherwise earnest haters of slavery and injustice confuse, in a most distressing manner, the teachings of Christ with the great struggles for social and economic emancipation. The two are irrevocably and forever opposed to each other. The one necessitates courage, daring, defiance, and strength. The other preaches the gospel of non-resistance, of slavish acquiescence in the will of others; it is the complete disregard of character and self-reliance, and therefore destructive of liberty and well-being.

Whoever sincerely aims at a radical change in society, whoever strives to free humanity from the scourge of dependence and misery, must turn his back on Christianity, on the old as well as the present form of the same.

Everywhere and always, since its very inception, Christianity has turned the earth into a vale of tears; always it has made of life a weak, diseased thing, always it has instilled fear in man, turning him into a dual being, whose life energies are spent in the struggle between body and soul. In decrying the body as something evil, the flesh as the tempter to everything that is sinful, man has muti-

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lated his being in the vain attempt to keep his soul pure, while his body rotted away from the injuries and tortures inflicted upon it.

The Christian religion and morality extols the glory of the Hereafter, and therefore remains indifferent to the horrors of the earth. Indeed, the idea of self-denial and of all that makes for pain and sorrow, is its test of human worth, its passport to the entry into heaven.

The poor are to own heaven, and the rich will go to hell. That may account for the desperate efforts of the rich to make hay while the sun shines, to get as much out of the earth as they can: to wallow in wealth and superfluity, to tighten their iron hold on the blessed slaves, to rob them of their birthright, to degrade and outrage them every minute of the day. Who can blame the rich if they revenge themselves on the poor, for now is their time, and the merciful Christian God alone knows how ably and completely the rich are doing it.

And the poor? They cling to the promise of the Christian heaven, as the home for old age, the sanitarium for crippled bodies and weak minds. They endure and submit, they suffer and wait, until every bit of self-respect has been knocked out of them, until their bodies become emaciated and withered, and their spirit broken from the wait, the weary endless wait for the Christian heaven.

* * *

Christ made his appearance as the leader of the people, the redeemer of the Jews from Roman dominion; but the moment he began his work, he proved that he had no interest in the earth, in the pressing immediate needs of the poor and the disinherited of his time. What he preached was a sentimental mysticism, obscure and confused ideas lacking originality and vigor.

When the Jews, according to the gospels, withdrew from Jesus, when they turned him over to the cross, they may have been bitterly disappointed in him who promised them so much and gave them so little. He promised joy and bliss in another world, while the people were starving, suffering, and enduring before his very eyes.

It may also be that the sympathy of the Romans, especially of Pilate, was given Christ because they regarded him as perfectly harmless to their power and sway. The philosopher Pilate may have considered Christ's "eternal truths" as pretty anaemic and lifeless, compared with the array of strength and force they attempted to combat. The Romans, strong and unflinching as they were, must have laughed in their sleeves over the man who talked repentance and patience, instead of calling to arms against the despoilers and oppressors of his people.

The public career of Christ begins with the ediet, "Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand."

Why repent, why regret, in the face of something that was supposed to bring deliverance? Had not the people suffered and endured enough; had they not earned their right to deliverance by their suffering? Take the Sermon on the Mount, for instance. What is it but a eulogy on submission to fate, to the inevitability of things?

"Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven."

Heaven must be an awfully dull place if the poor in spirit live there. How can anything creative, anything vital, useful and beautiful come from the poor in spirit? The idea conveyed in the Sermon on the Mount is the greatest indictment against the teachings of Christ, because it sees in the poverty of mind and body a virtue, and because it seeks to maintain this virtue by reward and punishment. Every intelligent being realizes that our worst curse is the poverty of the spirit; that it is productive of all evil and misery, of all the injustice and crimes in the world. Every one knows that nothing good ever came or can come of the poor in spirit; surely never liberty, justice, or equality.

"Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

What a preposterous notion! What incentive to slavery, inactivity, and parasitism! Besides, it is not true that the meek can inherit anything. Just because humanity has been meek, the earth has been stolen from it.

Meekness has been the whip, which capitalism and governments have used to force man into dependency, into his slave position. The most faithful servants of the State, of wealth, of special privilege, could not preach a more convenient gospel than did Christ, the "redeemer" of the people.

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"Blessed are they that hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be filled."

But did not Christ exclude the possibility of righteousness when he said, "The poor ye have always with you?" But, then, Christ was great on dicta, no matter if they were utterly opposed to each other. This is nowhere demonstrated so strikingly as in his command, "Render to Cesar the things that are Cesar's, and to God the things that are God's."

The interpreters claim that Christ had to make these concessions to the powers of his time. If that be true, this single compromise was sufficient to prove, down to this very day, a most ruthless weapon in the hands of the oppressor, a fearful lash and relentless tax-gatherer, to the impoverishment, the enslavement, and degradation of the very people for whom Christ is supposed to have died. And when we are assured that "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be filled," are we told the how? How? Christ never takes the trouble to explain that. Righteousness does not come from the stars, nor because Christ willed it so. Righteousness grows out of liberty, of social and economic opportunity and equality. But how can the meek, the poor in spirit, ever establish such a state of affairs?

"Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven."

The reward in heaven is the perpetual bait, a bait that has caught man in an iron net, a strait-jacket which does not let him expand or grow. All pioneers of truth have been, and still are, reviled; they have been, and still are, persecuted. But did they ask humanity to pay the price? Did they seek to bribe mankind to accept their ideas? They knew too well that he who accepts a truth because of the bribe, will soon barter it away to a higher bidder.

Good and bad, punishment and reward, sin and penance, heaven and hell, as the moving spirit of the Christ-gospel have been the stumbling-block in the world's work. It contains everything in the way of orders and commands, but entirely lacks the very things we need most.

The worker who knows the cause of his misery, who understands the make-up of our iniquitous social and industrial system can do more for himself and his kind than Christ and the followers of Christ have ever done for humanity; certainly more than meek patience, ignorance, and submission have done.

How much more ennobling, how much more beneficial is the extreme individualism of Stirner and Nietzsche than the sick-room atmosphere of the Christian faith. If they repudiate altruism as an evil, it is because of the example contained in Christianity, which set a premium on parasitism and inertia, gave birth to all manner of social disorders that are to be cured with the preachment of love and sympathy.

Proud and self-reliant characters prefer hatred to such sickening artificial love. Not because of any reward does a free spirit take his stand for a great truth, nor has such a one ever been deterred because of fear of punishment.

"Think not that I come to destroy the law or the prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill."

Precisely. Christ was a reformer, ever ready to patch up, to fulfill, to carry on the old order of things; never to destroy and rebuild. That may account for the fellow-feeling all reformers have for him.

Indeed, the whole history of the State, Capitalism, and the Church proves that they have perpetuated themselves because of the idea "I come not to destroy the law." This is the key to authority and oppression. Naturally so, for did not Christ praise poverty as a virtue; did he not propagate non-resistance to evil? Why should not poverty and evil continue to rule the world?

Much as I am opposed to every religion, much as I think them an imposition upon, and crime against, reason and progress, I yet feel that no other religion had done so much harm or has helped so much in the enslavement of man as the religion of Christ.

Witness Christ before his accusers. What lack of dignity, what lack of faith in himself and in his own ideas! So weak and helpless was this "Saviour of Men" that he must needs the whole human family to pay for him, unto all eternity, because he "hath died for them." Redemption through the Cross is worse than damnation,

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because of the terrible burden it imposes upon humanity, because of the effect it has on the human soul, fettering and paralyzing it with the weight of the burden exacted through the death of Christ.

Thousands of martyrs have perished, yet few, if any, of them have proved so helpless as the great Christian God. Thousands have gone to their death with greater fortitude, with more courage, with deeper faith in their ideas than the Nazarene. Nor did they expect eternal gratitude from their fellow-men because of what they endured for them.

Compared with Socrates and Bruno, with the great martyrs of Russia, with the Chicago Anarchists, Francisco Ferrer, and unnumbered others, Christ cuts a poor figure indeed. Compared with the delicate, frail Spiridonova who underwent the most terrible tortures, the most horrible indignities, without losing faith in herself or her cause, Jesus is a veritable nonentity. They stood their ground and faced their executioners with unflinching determination, and though they, too, died for the people, they asked nothing in return for their great sacrifice.

Verily, we need redemption from the slavery, the deadening weakness, and humiliating dependency of Christian morality.

The teachings of Christ and of his followers have failed because they lacked the vitality to lift the burdens from the shoulders of the race; they have failed because the very essence of that doctrine is contrary to the spirit of life, exposed to the manifestations of nature, to the strength and beauty of passion.

Never can Christianity, under whatever mask it may appear—be it New Liberalism, Spiritualism, Christian Science, New Thought, or a thousand and one other forms of hysteria and neurasthenia—bring us relief from the terrible pressure of conditions, the weight of poverty, the horrors of our iniquitous system. Christianity is the conspiracy of ignorance against reason, of darkness against light, of submission and slavery against independence and freedom; of the denial of strength and beauty, against the affirmation of the joy and glory of life.

THERE IS NO PEACE

By Ross WINN.

THE class struggle between labor and capital becomes more bitter and strenuous, and the signs of the times portend an approaching crisis. The efforts of the Socialists to transfer the class struggle from the economic to the political field has not been successful. Organized labor has learned the futility of the ballot, and more and more the workers realize from experience that they can expect nothing to their gain from parliaments and politicians. Direct action on the economic field is the dominant thought of international labor, a thought that has given rise to the new Syndicalism, which though yet in a formative and experimentive stage, is rapidly supplanting the old trade unionism with new tactics of industrial warfare.

These new tactics are chiefly the sympathetic strike, the general strike, and sabotage. These weapons with which organized labor is learning to attack its enemy, capital, are not the weapons of peace but of force and violence. So we see that the character of the conflict between labor and capital is assuming more and more the aspect of real war. The outlook for the peaceable settlement of the industrial question was never less favorable.

Everything points to a coming crisis, the outcome of which will be an armed clash between the workers and their masters—a conflict in which the State will use its military arm against the workers. The final outcome will largely depend upon the education of the workers.

Constructive thinking must necessarily be the foundation for the success of destructive action, as evolution must precede revolution. Anarchism is the real constructive social philosophy of to-day. It represents both evolution and revolution. As revolutionary action inevitably follows the evolution of thought, so Anarchism, which is purely evolutionary in principle, methods and spirit, is none the less revolutionary in its consequences and inevitable effects.

The Anarchists view the class struggle as the great factor that is directing the trend of social progress. The issue involved in this class struggle is plainly the com-

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TO OUR FRIENDS

DEAR FRIENDS:—

No doubt you have been wondering why I have so far said nothing about our tour, in MOTHER EARTH. Perhaps you have come to the conclusion that I have forgotten my promise to keep in touch with you through our magazine.

Indeed, that is not the case. But MOTHER EARTH being very limited in size, I have always felt that in justice to our readers, space should not be taken up unless there is something interesting to say.

Well, dear friends, our tour this time has been so uninteresting and tedious that I could not impose the recital of it on you, much as I wanted you to know how things fared with us.

To be sure, our tour has been "safe and sane"; but, like all safe and sane things, dreadfully uneventful and dull,—a situation harder to bear for a true rebel, than persecution. Nor is it the fault of our friends along the route that our meetings have been unsatisfactory. They have tried hard enough. In Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Kansas City, and Denver, the faithful few have left nothing undone to make our lectures known.

It is therefore not lack of coöperation on the part of our comrades, that was responsible. It's the lack of spirit all through the country.

It's the same old story that repeats itself quite regularly in this great land, before and after presidential elections. Before the election the average American worker or middle-class man is as fervent in his faith in his political candidate as the most bigoted Catholic believes in hell fire. After election the tension is broken. All the clamor, excitement, hope and faith resolves itself into mental sluggishness and spiritual apathy; in the idea, "Now we have done it. Let's give the chosen one a chance, and see what he can do."

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Such is the deception, the poisonous effect, of the political lie. It robs the people of judgment before election, and of interest after election.

In the face of such a dead weight in the life of the American nation, any movement that repudiates the political lie as the prostitution of the intellect, must needs carry on a continual, incessant struggle against this national plague, and that is what we have been doing since we left New York. Hence the lack of events to justify my taking up space in MOTHER EARTH.

However, we have reached the point where silence may prove more harmful than speech. For the first time in eight years, MOTHER EARTH is in danger of being suspended, at least during the summer months, since its principal source of support—our tour—is at an ebb just now.

Friends, it is because I did not wish to burden you too much that I have, year after year, defied the "gods," that I have gone out on the road even though the struggle often seemed beyond endurance. But so long as we met with some interest, we continued on the thorny road.

But now I must come to you. Surely our magazine has endeared itself to you sufficiently to prevent the break in its continuity, to help us through the summer months,—the most critical time every year, and more critical this year because our tour has been below par.

If I am not mistaken in my opinion as to your attitude to MOTHER EARTH, you will respond to my appeal to send us your mite to our Sustaining Fund, and to do it without delay, as we must know whether we can go on with the next issue, or suspend. There never is an ebb without a flow. We know that the change will come, if only we can keep up during this critical period.

MOTHER EARTH represents quite a family. With each one demonstrating his kinship, we could easily weather the storm, and our magazine will again raise its drooping head. Immediate assistance is needed. Who will be the first to give? For I know you all will give.

Emma Goldman.

P. S.

From the 11th till the 18th of May I shall lecture in Los Angeles, at Mammoth and Burbank Hall. From the 25th of May till June 1st, in San Francisco, at Jefferson Square Hall. If the "fairies" favor us, we may remain in San Francisco until June 15th. Then to Portland, Seattle, Tacoma, Spokane, and Butte. I can be reached through the office of MOTHER EARTH.

At the close of the tour, I hope to give a general survey of our trip, with special reference to the cities that have justified this year's effort.

TWO SONGS FROM THE GHETTO

Translated from the Yiddish of Morris Rosenfeld,
By FLORENCE KIPER.

A MILLIONAIRE OF TEARS.

'Tis not a golden tuning fork
Attunes my voice to song,
Nor at a beckon from the stars
Do silver fancies throng.
A child's sad whimper in the night,
A wearied worker's moan,
O these alone awake my heart
Its music to intone,
And with a flame my song takes life
From my poor brothers' grief;
Therefore I die before my time,
With meagre days and brief.
What will they give me as reward—
In wretchedness my peers?
A millionaire of tears am I;
With tears they pay for tears.

WHAT IS LIFE?

If our life is but a sleep
For a few and fleeting years,
Must my aching eyelids keep
Only wearied dreams of tears?

If our life is but a feast,
We the guests about the board,
May I never taste at least
Some sweet morsel of the hoard?

If the world a garden is,
Where all roses bloom and blow,
Must I, yearning for their bliss,
Ever ecstasy forego?

If the world is but a strife,
Clashing sword and blood that drips,
Then I too can give my life
With a laugh upon my lips.

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he was director, during last year's visit of Comrades Reitman and Goldman to that vigilante town.

Mr. Edwards has generously presented us with copies of the "Hurricane" music, the proceeds of the sale to be devoted to the Voltairine de Cleyre Publication Fund.

* * *

THE UPS AND DOWNS IN THE LIFE OF AN ANARCHIST AGITATOR

THE ups and downs in the life of an Anarchist propagandist are indeed remarkable. Till the writing of my last recital of woe it seemed as if we were doomed to meet nothing but dulness and inertia to the end of our tour. But no sooner had I posted my MSS. to MOTHER EARTH, when a change took place, as sudden and unexpected as the indifference we met since we left New York.

Due to the conspiracy of silence on the part of the press, including the Denver *Post*—which was so anxious and eager last year to have me contribute to its columns—our first week in Denver was a frost of the most disheartening character. But the moment I opened my drama course, the interest spread like a fire, increasing every day, until the closing meetings brought larger and more representative audiences than we have ever had in Denver. This remarkable and sudden change is the more difficult to explain, considering that I had already given the same drama course twice in that city, early in April, 1912, and in July of the same year.

I cannot account for this happening, except by the tireless energy and persistent personal canvass carried on by our devoted friends, Ellen E. Kennan, Gertrude Nafe and Edith Chase, teachers in the Denver High School, and Ida Kruse McFarlane, teacher of literature in the Denver University, Mrs. Grace Kassler and her sister, Mrs. Stahl, who worked among their group of friends. I know of no other group of teachers in this country, who have demonstrated the possibility of individual effort in the rut of American education, as have these four women in the City of Denver.

It may be contended that the Board of Education in Denver consists of more liberal minds than in other cities, but that is not the case. As a matter of fact, it was

in this city that a very able and earnest teacher of sex hygiene was hounded from her position, because she was "too radical." It was also in this city, during my stay, that the principal of the High School, wherein our friends teach, delivered himself of an eulogy over the "goodness and greatness" of Pierpont Morgan. On that very day several brave teachers addressed their classes on the same subject, turning on the light on the real Pierpont Morgan. One of them asked her class if any pupil could think of a single human act Morgan had done. A little girl replied, "I know. He died!!" Tableau.

Yes, indeed, it is individual effort, always, which paves the way and accomplishes the seemingly impossible.

The usual excuse given by so-called liberals and radicals, "If not for my bread and butter, my job, etc., I would speak out," is only a cloak for cowardice. If these pseudo-idealists were half as devoted to their cause as our friends in Denver, they would speak up and, what is more, they would keep their jobs. And that because every one respects courage and consistency, and despises those who deny their ideal. No doubt there is a storm brewing for our brave Denver women, but as one of them said, "What of it! We will fight to the end and we are sure to win, because we have the children on our side." What other backing can compare with the devotion and love of the children, and how many teachers can boast of that?

No wonder these women succeeded in interesting so many people in my work. It's their earnestness and devotion that helped to turn what at first seemed a bitter disappointment into a most encouraging and satisfying result. So much so, that we have promised to come back to Denver for several weeks, now that the ice has been melted by the glow of fellowship and solidarity.

California has ever been the land of the golden promise. But this time it was Los Angeles and not San Francisco which proved a red letter day. Not only because of the numbers attending our meetings, but chiefly because of the spirit, the wonderful spirit.

One can no more fathom the changes in the psychology of cities, than in that of individuals. It would therefore

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be a futile attempt to explain or find a cause for the change in spirit between Los Angeles and San Francisco.

It has been suggested as an explanation that for a number of years a steady educational campaign has been carried on in Los Angeles. No doubt, that has helped to some extent to fertilize the soil. But there are greater forces at play. Perchance the shades of the boys in San Quentin are beginning to loom up out of the darkness of prejudice, bitterness, and misunderstanding.

Action speaks louder than words, always. A great deal was expected from the labor men who were on trial in Indianapolis; but they made a pitiable failure of the greatest opportunity in the history of American labor. It is that which has broken the spirit in San Francisco. Again it has been demonstrated that the masses, though themselves not blessed with an abundance of courage, yet instinctively hate cowardice in their leaders. When, oh when, will the workers realize that leaders are but the reflex of their flock!

But enough of philosophy in the face of facts. The Los Angeles spirit has acted like a tonic upon my soul, which on this journey has hungered for it more than ever before.

The number 13 is supposed to be "unlucky," but it proved a talisman in Los Angeles. We had 13 lectures packed to the limit of the hall's capacity, and still our friends are not appeased. Like Oliver Twist, they ask for more. Therefore we are returning to Los Angeles, after we have finished our engagement in San Francisco.

Our stay in Los Angeles was broken by one incident, San Diego. How our friends fought against our going, in turn begging, pleading and scolding, because we insisted on going. At one large meeting the audience unanimously voted their appeal for us not to go. Of course, it was their fears for our safety that made them so insistent, and though their devotion meant more to us than words can possibly express, we had to go to San Diego.

As Ben Reitman has reported the event in that benighted town, I shall not go into details, save making a few remarks.

I naturally wanted to return to San Diego, but I admit it frankly that the experience of last year, while not

forgotten, was not the ever present reminder with me that it was with Reitman. When he says that San Diego was in his blood, that it was with him always, he is but mildly expressing the hold that terrible night of May 14th, 1912, had on him. But it could not mean the same to me, since my experience was only of an indirect nature,—the horror of uncertainty while pacing the floor at the Grant Hotel. Therefore my return to that town was only partly due to the desire to be heard; much more so to my determination to be with Reitman, whatever may happen, faithful to the old German slogan, "Zusammen gefangen, zusammen gehangen."

But now the tables are turned. Reitman says, "I am through with San Diego." And I tell you, I have only now begun with San Diego!

How explain this change in our psychology? I have but one explanation, which I wrote to a friend. It is this: When Ellida Wangel, in "The Lady from the Sea," was asked by her husband what held her to the "Stranger," she said: "He is terrible, but fascinating." That strange, blood-thirsty mob, surrounding the jail, was terrible, but fascinating. The horrible cry, "We want Reitman! We have the rope. We will get Reitman if we have to break into the jail. We want Reitman!" was terrible, but fascinating. It still rings in my ears in all its horror, in all its wild savagery. And it will continue to ring in my ears, until I have again faced that mob, terrible and fascinating.

The mob did not call for E. G., nor did it clamor for our brave Comrade Gerke, who had preceded us to San Diego to arrange the meeting, and who was arrested when he came to the station to meet us in the early morning hours of May 20th. It was Reitman they wanted. They could not forgive him his impudent return after the treatment of May 14th. This time it was to be a complete job, the kind of a job which alone would appease wild beasts.

The solicitous "chivalry" of the police, the bravado of Chief Wilson, his loud assurance that he would "protect Reitman with his own body," were all so clumsy, so contemptibly cheap, they do not merit any comment. As Reitman has explained, it was all staged in advance, and we were used as the supers.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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There was one person genuinely interested, and that was the police matron, a beautiful plant in poisonous soil. She is still a novice, and that accounts for her humanity not only to me, but to the other prisoners at the time in the jail—nine girls who are the victims of the new "moral wave." The matron touched me deeply with her consideration and kindness towards the girls—a sentiment so rare within prison walls. She felt unhappy because she could do nothing for me. She brought me a red carnation, little dreaming how much she had really done for me.

After San Diego we returned to our friends in Los Angeles, and though they had opposed our visit to the benighted town, they met us without a word of reproach. Indeed, Charles Sprading, who was most strenuous against our going, Ada Sprading, Rudi Wirth, our "big fellow" Elmer, and numerous other friends showed us increased devotion and tenderness. But the roar of San Diego rings in my ears, terrible and fascinating, and will draw me on to the end of my days to San Diego, until I shall have been heard.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

From June 15th to July 3rd we will again be in Los Angeles. Address, c. o. Mammoth Hall, 517 S. Broadway. From July 6—16th, Portland, after that Seattle for two weeks. Both places, General Delivery.

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

AMONG THE ENEMIES

By FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE.

There the gallows, rope and hooks;
And the hangman's beard is red;
People round and poisoned looks,
Nothing new and nothing dread!

Know it well, from fifty sources,
Laughing in your face I cry:
Would you hang me? Save your forces!
Why kill me who cannot die!

Beggars yel who hate the tougher
Man who holds the envied lot;
True I suffer, true I suffer—
As to you—ye rot, ye rot!

I am breath, dew, all resources,
After fifty hangings; why!
Would you hang me? Save your forces!
Why kill me who cannot die!

⁂ ⁂ ⁂

SAN DIEGO AGAIN

By BEN L. REITMAN.

I CAME, I saw, but I didn't conquer. Ever since the 14th of May, 1912—the date on which I was kidnapped, tarred and feathered—San Diego has been in my blood, and I can honestly say that every waking hour San Diego has been in my mind, and often my dreams were troubled by visions of San Diego, and I made up my mind that whenever we got back to California, I would make another attempt to have a meeting.

It was with a good deal of misgiving and nervousness that E. G. and I went on board the "Owl" at Los Angeles for San Diego. E. G. soberly read through "Comrade Yetta," Albert Edwards' latest book, and I tossed in my bunk unable to rest or to sleep, feeling that danger was near.

When we arrived at San Diego, at twenty minutes to five in the morning, we were met at the depot by four policemen and Francis Bierman, who was and is one of the most active Vigilantes, and the man who writes most of the articles in the San Diego *Union*, inciting the mob to patriotism and brutality. We had a quiet walk from the depot to the jail. I was placed in a cell with Comrade Gerke, and then followed seven restless hours. At six o'clock there was a noise of excited voices in front of the prison. At seven o'clock the noise of many automobiles re-echoed in our cells. At eight the turnkey took me from my cell to the window and showed me the mob in front of the jail. At nine o'clock a riot call was blown and practically everybody in the town congre-

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kindly treatment can more easily soften the heart of the most hardened criminal than all the straight-jackets that any man's devilish ingenuity ever manufactured.

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THE UPS AND DOWNS OF AN ANARCHIST PROPAGANDIST

IT HAS been suggested that to keep up the interest of the American people in revolutionary ideas it would be necessary to hang a revolutionist at least once a week. Exaggerated as this may seem, it is yet not far from the truth.

So long as the events in Los Angeles, emanating from the *Times* explosion, were at a high pitch, labor was ready for almost anything; but as the American workers in the past had always depended for action upon the signal from their leaders, they waited breathlessly for two years to be told what to do. And the leaders! They gave the signal all right enough, but it spelled: "Back to Rome! Back to obedience, back to the endless wait."

First was offered the excuse to save the McNamaras, even though they did not wish to be saved. Then it was for the sake of Clarence Darrow that they waited; for the 56 labor leaders in Indianapolis; for the sake of any and every petty excuse; and finally waiting became the ultimate aim, because the fires of rebellion had been burned out, and the people hurled back to the snail-like pace of inertia and cowardice.

This is borne out nowhere so much as in San Francisco, where the most radical of radicals in labor ranks have drawn in their horns. Whatever of the timid forces survive, are being spent on petty jurisdictional fights and useless wrangle of personal envy and jealousy. On the other hand, the few sincere individuals have lost hope and float with the tide.

Under such circumstances our stay in San Francisco could be naught but depressing, although our meetings were well attended and large quantities of literature disposed of. The most interesting meeting was at the Trades Building Temple, on "Syndicalism." The workers are like Catholics: they worship only at their own church, hence the large attendance at the Temple. The discussion entered into by all factions proved particularly interesting because the political Socialist and the I. W. W. were the bitterest opponents to "Syndicalism."

History repeats itself. The I. W. W., but recently having gained recognition, are already fighting, as have all centralized movements and parties of the past, the very people that have helped them in every struggle. The I. W. W. are following suit, because, forsooth, Syndicalism may take away a few of their customers! But then, the historic mission of Anarchism is to come to the aid of every sincere economic struggle, regardless of the bigotry of any particular clique. However, it is interesting to note the tendency of centralization in a movement, leading, as it always does, to the exclusion of libertarian and revolutionary thought.

After the regular course of Propaganda lectures, one week was devoted to Drama Talks, which proved tremendously interesting. As a result of that, and partly also out of innocent rivalry with Los Angeles, I was asked to come back to San Francisco for a second course of Drama Lectures, a number of people having subscribed before we left that city.

However, "Coming Back" does not always prove practical, although it is very necessary in the life of a Propagandist. As I reported in the last issues of our magazine, 50 people in Los Angeles subscribed to a second course of the Drama. The sponsers of this project were Dr. F. Percival Gerson and Mrs. Gerson, two of the most charming and beautiful free spirits in Los Angeles. Deeply interested and sincere as they are themselves, they did not know how little promises count with a certain class of people, who dabble in all sorts of ideas, not because they are sincere, but because time hangs heavy on their hands.

Fortunately there exists in every city a small number of earnest people who make up in quality for the lack of quantity. Thus our return to Los Angeles proved worth while after all; besides there is the tremendous drawing power of Anarchism. What other philosophy of life would induce people to attend 35 lectures in five weeks, at an admission, without any sort of publicity and with but a few faithful comrades to help in the work? And how they worked! Charles T. Sprading, Ada Sprading, Rudi Wirth, Dr. A. W. Lumm, Morris Lisner,

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F. E. Van Ceave, Dr. and Mrs. Gerson, and a number of other friends helped with the sale of tickets; and finally our old dear Irish rebel, Pat. Thanks to these good comrades, our work during the last three weeks proved a great joy to us; and, more than that, it taught us a great many things.

One of the most valuable lessons derived during our stay in Los Angeles is this: that people who are sincerely desirous of listening to a truth will never be deterred by place or cost. We of the European movement know how the most delicately-reared boys and girls would walk miles to the most deserted districts of cities in order to attend a meeting, who would sit for hours in dark, dismal rooms, inhaling putrid air for the sake of their ideal, It was this devotion, this ardor, this zeal, which made the revolutionary movement in European countries possible, and it is the lack of these traits that accounts for the lukewarm character of the movement in America. Americans, whether middle class or workers, hug their comforts too much to risk anything for their ideals; and unless you give them time, place and circumstances to suit their convenience, they cannot be roused. We have, therefore, come to the conclusion that those who will be deterred by locality or by other insignificant externalities from hearing a message will never gain anything vital or lasting from that message.

Being in Los Angeles during the month which marked the anniversary of the death of our beloved comrade, Voltairine de Cleyre, we came together to pay her tribute, and at the same time to interest people in the publication of her writings. The affair took place June 28th, and, while the attendance was not very large, it was spirited and dignified. W. C. Owen, Charles T. Sprading and myself spoke of the life and work of Voltairine. Her inspiring poem, the "Hurricane," was read by Bertha Fiske, and the music of George Edwards, composed for this poem, was played by Ollie Steedman Rossner. By the way, all our friends who can sing or play should not fail to get a copy of George Edwards's music from MOTHER EARTH office. It is not only very powerful, but very significant, because it marks the beginning of the revolutionary music in America by an American composer. Altogether the anniversary was very successful,

and has netted something to help publish the works of our dead comrade. A similar affair was held in San Francisco early last month.

After a week's rest, the first since we left New York, February 21st, we are to return to San Francisco for three weeks. The meetings will again take place at Jefferson Square Hall, 925 Golden Gate avenue, six Sunday Propaganda lectures, and nine "Drama Talks" will be held. Mail will reach us there.

August 3rd we open up in Portland, Oregon, for a week, at Alisky Hall, with two Sunday lectures, five "Drama Talks" during the week, and a debate.. August 10th, we begin in Seattle for two weeks. Place of meetings will be announced later.

The "Ups and Downs of an Anarchist Propagandist" are many, but they are the flavor of life, and prevent one from rusticating.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

INDIVIDUALISM*

PROFESSOR FITE has rendered the thinking world a signal service in the publication of this book. So far as my knowledge goes, he is the first to base a discussion of individualism and the rights and liberties of the individual primarily upon the extent of that individual's social consciousness. If no more conscious of (alive to) their relations to each other than are billiard balls, Prof. Fite argues that humans are entitled to only the rights of billiard balls as against one another.

Herbert Spencer gave us the biologic aspects of human society. In the opinion of many, he passed over the psychic aspect too lightly. To correct such oversight, Lester Ward wrote his "Psychic Factors of Civilization." But while Ward clearly demonstrated the importance of these factors, his vision was not always so clear as to their nature.

In this book on "Individualism," Prof. Fite's most important contribution to sociology is the clarity of his

* Four lectures on the Significance of Consciousness for Social Relations. By Warner Fite, Ph.D., professor of philosophy in Indiana University. Longmans.

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and there some branch strike is occasionally won? Capitalism possesses no end of means to nullify the success of such strikes. Its power to revenge itself economically upon the workers, to intensify exploitation, raise the cost of living, and so forth, is practically limitless. Local strikes, if conducted in a revolutionary spirit, with an eye to the ultimate destruction of the robber system of private property, have propagandistic value. But as a means to the essential, fundamental emancipation of the toilers, they cannot be seriously considered by the intelligent student. The solution of the problem of labor —the abolition of wage slavery—is not to be found within the State-capitalist régime. Our thoughts and actions must transcend these narrow boundaries. The old-time local or branch strike, that by sacrifice, hardships and starvation tries to force the plutocrats to concessions, in vain seeks materially to improve the conditions of labor. It continually travels within the same vicious circle. It is becoming every day more imperative to familiarize oneself with the thought that the old methods of striking must give place to the revolutionary General Strike, which wars not only against the effects, but attacks the very sources of wage slavery.

These sources are private property, the State and—the third in the *Räuberbund*—the Church.

The rule of this trinity absolutely excludes the producers from well-being, justice and liberty. No diplomatizing and politicianizing can help in this matter. So long as this trinity is not overthrown, misery, dependence and slavery are unavoidable.

That is the point where the Anarchists and the labor movement must finally meet on common ground. If the workers are not to turn utter traitors to the ideal of their emancipation, they must prepare for the final struggle with this trinity, and in that struggle the Anarchists will be their staunchest fellow-fighters. The moment that the social revolutionary philosophy of Anarchism will combine with the intelligence of the workers, with their energy and strength, the doom of the dominant institution will be sealed.

The more intelligent representatives of the capitalist régime instinctively feel this vital connection between Anarchism and the labor movement. Therefore their

strenuous efforts to malign and revile the Anarchists as criminals and murderers, for whose ideas and tactics there is no room in the labor movement. Let it be. From the history of all great movements we know that the best and truest friends of the people—before the days of Marat and since—have always been the most misrepresented and persecuted. Nor was this persecution the worst they had to suffer. Still sadder for them was the lack of interest they met with in the people themselves. And yet, notwithstanding, they continued ever forward, fearless and unbending.

Thus also we Anarchists. In the face of the many dangerous errors and false conceptions dominating the labor movement, we shall neither bless nor curse, but persistently continue our labor toward the hour when the more intelligent element of the proletariat will learn to understand us and will hold out to the Anarchists the hand of brotherhood, together to battle with the common enemy.

Our full sympathy is with every popular movement that in one way or another helps to clarify the necessity of this struggle, and to inspire the proletariat to the Social Revolution. To aid in this noble work is to us the best and greatest mission.

Force and violence,—that is the motto of the rulers. But the people will presently awaken to the thought expressed by the philosopher Kant: "When it becomes a question of force only, the people might learn to make use of their power, and sweep away the established institutions."

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THE UPS AND DOWNS OF AN ANARCHIST PROPAGANDIST

EVER since I have begun the interpretation of the revolutionary spirit in the Modern Drama, I have been confronted by the question: "What has the Modern Drama to do with Anarchism, or revolution?" This question is the more significant because it brings to light the fact that the limitation of vision is as much at home among radicals as it is among conservatives.

From the point of view of some radicals, everything

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which doesn't contain the time-worn vocabulary of "bloated plutocrats," "economic determinism," "class consciousness," etc., is to be repudiated.

On the other hand, the conservative sees danger only in the advocacy of the Red Flag and the disrespect for the law. Both are equally blind to the fact that any mode of creative effort which portrays life boldly, earnestly and unafraid, may become more dangerous to the present fabric of society than the loudest harangue of the soap-box speaker. Take, for instance, the sentence of Mrs. Alving in "Ghosts": "I began to look into the seams of your doctrine. I only wished to pick at a single knot, but when I had got that undone, the whole thing ravelled out. And then I understood that it was all machine-sewn." Is there anything in revolutionary thought more powerful than this, and does it not turn the light on the whole structure of society, on every phase of it?

In oher words, make men and women conscious of the machine-sewn fabric of society which ravels out the moment you pick at one knot, and you will rob society of all its glare and pretense, of all its sham and hypocrisy; and that means the beginning of the end of such a society.

Therein lies the revolutionary and social value of the Modern Drama, not only for the workers, but for those who need enlightenment as much as the workers, the professional middle-class, men and women who are only now beginning to buck up against life and who by training and habit are utterly unfitted for the shock.

In countries where political oppression affects all classes, the aristocrat no less than the peasant, the intellectual no less than the ignorant, feel the paralyzing effect of despotism. That is why the intellectuals there have made common cause with the people, have become their teachers, comrades and spokesmen; but in America political pressure has so far affected only the "common" people. They are thrown into prison; they are clubbed, mobbed, tarred and deported. Therefore another medium is needed to arouse the intellectuals of this country, to make them realize their relation to the people, to the social unrest and to the brutalities and abuses going on day after day in this wide land.

The medium which has the power to do that is the

Modern Drama, because it reflects all life and embraces every ramification of society. The Modern Drama, showing how each and all are in the throes of the tremendous changes going on, makes it clear that they must either become part of the process or be left behind.

At any rate, facts speak louder than theories, and the extraordinary interest which my drama-work has aroused on this tour is proof of the power of the Modern Drama.

As I reported in the last issue of MOTHER EARTH, the attendance at the dramatic lectures in Los Angeles, while not very large, made up in enthusiasm, an enthusiasm which endured to the very last, regardless of the sweltering heat. Indeed, so intense was this enthusiasm that it brought to life a movement to establish a little radical theatre, not for the purpose of catering to the fads of the rich, but to satisfy the growing needs of the poor for good intellectual food, for plays that will have the warm glow of life, so woefully lacking in our so-called "culture" to-day. Our friends Charles T. Sprading, Elmer Ellsworth, Dr. and Mrs. Gersen, Mr. and Mrs. Johnson have the preparatory work in hand, and will acquaint our readers with the development of the project. So much for the result of the drama-work in Los Angeles.

As to our second visit to San Francisco, it proved a tremendous success; even more so than our first trip. The Sunday lectures, especially the one on the Social Evil, were attended by crowds far beyond the capacity of our hall. Apropos of the Social Evil, the San Francisco *Bulletin*, the only advanced paper on the Coast, is running a story by a girl from the underworld. Alice Smith's recital of how she became a prostitute is commonplace and without merit, but it has called forth a number of interesting letters of deep, human, and social significance from girls and women of the underworld. At the same time it has helped dispel the hypocritical fog which had been hanging over this all-embracing problem.

Whether it be due to the interest centered around the Alice Smith story, or to the announcement that I would discuss the Social Evil, the meeting attracted the largest and most representative audience. Doctors, lawyers, and

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judges rubbed elbows with procurers and dive-keepers, while good, moral ladies sat side by side with the Alice Smiths, and last but not least, the so-called cultured gentlemen were compelled to listen to the strong, revolutionary language of I. W. W.'s, Anarchists, and other free elements.

Next to this event, the debate with a Socialist, Prof. Maynard Shipley, was of importance, inasmuch as it demonstrated the truism that retrogression in principle is always followed by a decline in mentality. So lacking in revolutionary principle is the Socialist movement on the Coast, that it must needs cling to the coat-tails of any one who might lend it respectable prestige. And who is there better equipped for that than a college professor? How our Socialists worship a degree, and how little they realize that a degree often only covers a mass of ignorance! Certainly the ignorance of Prof. Maynard Shipley as to Socialism beats anything I have ever encountered before. O, Socialism, what sins are committed in thy name! The only valuable result of the debate was the moral and financial sympathy expressed by the audience in behalf of the Paterson strike; $73.61 was collected and forwarded to Paterson.

Now, to the Drama. Nine lectures were delivered before a constantly increasing attendance. Indeed, the last evening had the largest audience, which merely goes to prove that the interest did not relax until the last. San Francisco also has begun work for a little theatre. In fact, it looks as if it will beat Los Angeles in the race, if our friends there do not speed up. Two hundred and fifty people have pledged subscriptions and contributions to secure the theatre for at least six months, and a few friends are at work to find a suitable place. Most active among them is a young American woman of splendid spirit and great ability, Bertha Fiske, who is to be in charge of the artistic phase of the venture.

A social gathering in the true Anarchist-communistic spirit capped the climax of the three remarkable weeks in San Francisco, remarkable because it was our second visit in six weeks and because we were able to hold forty meetings, with our friends remaining faithful to the end. Not less remarkable, however, was the phenomenal demand for literature, and the energy and devotion of the group of workers who helped so tirelessly in all of the hard work. Bertha Fiske, Pearl Vogel, Mania and Vacelie Semenoff, Rhoda Smith, our friend Berger, and our boys Frank, Sam and Jim, were not a little instrumental in bringing about our success.

Thus San Francisco might be considered the bright spot in our long and weary tramp, but for one dark cloud, the hanging of Jacob Oppenheimer. As fate would have it, we arrived the day before and were near the place where the horrible scene was enacted, July 11th. Legal murder is such a common affair in this great land, that one grows callous to it, but Jacob Oppenheimer had been brought so close to us during our stay in California that it seemed as if we had known him all our lives, and therefore the event affected us so deeply.

Jacob Oppenheimer, who was driven by Fate itself from one tragedy to another; who was eighteen years in prison and had come to be looked upon as the "Human Tiger"! Yet when Jacob Oppenheimer was given the slightest opportunity, his soul, like the sun-kissed flower, began to unfold its petals. Jacob Oppenheimer who had been beaten, tortured, brutalized and denied the possibilities of life, and who could yet write about children, music and poetry. Jacob Oppenheimer, who to the very last pleaded against Capital Punishment, not in behalf of himself but for those left behind. He who died with such fortitude and firmness.

Thousands of men and women appealed to the Governor of California in behalf of this remarkable man, but the Governor had hardened his heart, and yet we are told that Governor Johnson is a liberal man. A more wanton murder the most reactionary official could not have committed. Jacob Oppenheimer was killed because the State of California did not know what to do with him. Verily, a greater indictment government has never hurled against itself. It creates its criminals and, unable to do anything with them, becomes the arch-hangman.

Jacob Oppenheimer told his friends he was glad to die, he was so tired from the terrible struggle of life, with the blind cruel forces that drove him on against his own will. It is therefore not so much because of what the State of California has done to Jacob Oppenheimer that

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the tragedy of July 11th affected us so deeply, but it is because of what the people and the State of California have done to themselves, of what all States and governments do to themselves in their relentless mowing down of human life and the marring of human character.

The ups and downs of an Anarchist-propagandist are never burdened with too much harmony, but the fate of Jacob Oppenheimer, his life so murderously snuffed out, was the most cruel, discordant note in our entire journey, and yet we may not halt as long as such horrors exist.

We are in Portland now for a week; then in Seattle until August 24th. General Delivery will reach us there. We also hope to be in Spokane and Butte, Montana, for a few days, and then homeward bound.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

THE REVOLT OF THE ARMY*

THE period of social dissolution could not continue for ever. The Government was anxious to bring this state of things to an end; for the persistence of the strike, which strengthened the Unions, produced for the Government only increased disintegration and exhaustion. The State found itself dismantled; everything creaked; the vital organs of society, which had given it its prestige, cut off, it found itself reduced to little more than the machinery of repression; magistrates, prisons, police. They had, of course, the army,—but its fidelity became more and more problematical.

Wishing to end the insurrection, the authorities resolved to proclaim a state of siege. They had the approbation of Parliament. This was only a matter of form. The Chambers were only a remnant which survived; panic stricken, seeing red everywhere, they could, in the course of their interminable sittings, discuss, decide, vote resolutions and orders of the day,—but the real interest was elsewhere. They not longer represented anything. Parliamentarism was dying.

* A chapter from "Syndicalism and the Cooperative Commonwealth," by Emile Pataud and Emile Pouget, describing the situation after the General Strike had disorganized the State and deprived the government of the means of provisioning the army.

Although resolved on carrying out the sanguinary work of an implacable and ferocious repression, the Government were perplexed. The revolutionary movement that they wanted to crush out had this typical feature, that it was not centralized, but scattered about, which rendered the undertaking more difficult. Which were the suitable points for the decisive effort? To occupy with soldiers the office of the Confédération Générale du Travail, or even of the Labor Exchange, hardly helped towards a solution. To imprison the principal militants, the members of committees and commissions? This had already been tried without appreciable results. The arrests they had succeeded in making, and they were numerous, had disorganized nothing. The imprisoned members had been automatically replaced,—many times in succession in some organizations,—without these organizations having been broken up, or even caused to waver.

As a result of these attacks, and to guard against their renewal, the Strike Committee took precautions: they sat in permanent session in the public halls, where, day and night, many strikers were on guard.

And then it was not alone the committees that had to be neutralized, annihilated,—there were also the people.

Where to attack them? How to strike at them? They had the prudence not to lend themselves to repression; they knew how to steal away, to make themselves invisible, make it impossible to get hold of them. Besides, how can they be coerced? To overcome their inertia, to lead them back to work, to put them again under their masters' yoke, it would be necessary to overwhelm them with numbers; and the Government had no longer the numbers on their side. They no longer had the army in hand. Worse still, they could only half trust the municipal guards; in their barracks they hummed "The International." In fact, as far as soldiers were concerned, they had only a few corps of élite, chiefly cavalry, on whom they could certainly depend. In addition, they had the police; but there too the severe character of the police hunt had thinned their ranks.

But what did it matter? The present situation was untenable. They would bring cannons and machine guns

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Lauds the Hobo / Emma Goldman. – p. 13 ; 43 cm. *In* Seattle Post-Intelligencer. – (Aug. 12, 1913).

Obtained from the Center for Research Libraries, Chicago.

Rex Kingman, Miss Esther Wylie, Miss Margaret Griffiths, Miss Katherine [illegible], Miss Frances Markey, Miss Mary Jane Collins, Miss Marjorie Capps, [illegible]

• • •

Mrs. [illegible] Miss Madge Bell, Miss Bertha Stolz, Miss Dorothea Stolz, Miss Bertha [illegible] of Everett, Miss [illegible] Farmer, Miss [illegible] Anderson, Mr. [illegible] Harris, Mr. Jack Harris, Mr. [illegible] and Mr. Ted [illegible].

• • •

[illegible] Miss Esther Wylie, Miss Margaret Griffiths, Miss Katherine [illegible], Miss Frances Markey, Miss Mary Jane Collins, Miss Marjorie Capps, [illegible] Miss [illegible] Miss [illegible] Agnew, Miss Alice [illegible], Miss Madge Bell, Miss [illegible], Miss Bertha Stolz, Miss Dorothea Stolz, Miss [illegible] of Everett, Miss [illegible] Farmer, Miss [illegible] Anderson, Mr. [illegible] Harris, Mr. Jack Harris, Mr. [illegible] and Mr. Ted [illegible].

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[illegible]

• • •

[illegible] Miss Dora K. Gleissner, who has been spending the past year at Bryn Mawr College, has returned home to Seattle to make her home with her sister, Mrs. Joseph J. Stockham.

• • •

Mr. and Mrs. John Lawrence Monteith have been the guests of Mr. and Mrs. H. A. Kjos on Queen Anne Hill. Mr. Monteith is [illegible] and

• • •

Miss Lizzie Nevin has returned to the Newberry apartments. Mrs. Nevin was the guest last week of friends at Fairweather Bay on Lake Washington.

• • •

Miss [illegible] Macpherson of Queen Anne Hill is spending the month of August on Lake Washington.

• • •

[illegible] Mr. and Mrs. Frank [illegible] of Lancaster, N. Y., who have been spending the summer [illegible] left last week for Alaska.

• • •

Miss Marion Napier and Miss Nellie Hallett were the week-end guests of Miss Mary Stewart Hope [illegible].

• • •

Miss [illegible] left for a week's visit with friends in Mount Rainier with [illegible].

• • •

[illegible] Miss Mary Lucile [illegible] and Miss [illegible] Lee Street, [illegible] Lake Washington [illegible].

• • •

[illegible]

Personal Mention

The Misses Zilla and Winifred Chambers of Tacoma are visiting at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Robert S. Mackay and family at 2121 Twenty-first avenue north.

• • •

Miss Frances Jackling left last week for Berkeley, where she will complete her college work at the University of California. Miss Jackling is captain of the women's tennis team of that university and was disappointed at not being able to play in the Washington-California match this week.

• • •

Mrs. Roger Mary Coffin, of Chehalis, was a guest last week at the home of Dr. and Mrs. George F. Cottle, 401 Harvard avenue north.

• • •

Dr. and Mrs. J. Watson Mackie left Saturday for the East, where they will visit relatives in Montreal and Ontario.

• • •

Miss Mildred Purdy, of Bremerton, is the guest this week of Mr. and Mrs. Manson F. Backus at their residence, 1116 University street.

• • •

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• • •

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ARTHUR JACKSON DIES FROM HIS INJURIES.

Fire Association Ranger Crushed Under Falling Limb While Fighting Forest Fire.

Arthur Jackson, one of the Washington Fire Association rangers who was fighting fire at Hazel Station, died yesterday morning in the hospital at Arlington.

Jackson was crushed by a falling limb while fighting fire on the woods of the Stanfield Railway and Timber Company sprocket near Hazel. He had been with the Washington Forest Fire Association for four years and Chief Warden O. C. Jones said last night he was one of their best men. His home was at Oso near Hazel, Snohomish county.

The fire is now practically extinguished, all danger from it being over.

EMMA GOLDMAN LAUDS THE HOBO

Says He's to Be Envied for His Resistance to "Machine;" 200 Hear Her Talk.

Two hundred persons paid admission to hear Miss Emma Goldman speak at Labor Temple last night. There was [illegible] entrance in or about the hall, and a policeman stood [illegible] but had nothing to do.

"We don't have to preach violence," said Miss Goldman. "What we are preaching is opposition against violence which is epitomized in our modern industrial war, capital punishment, prisons, militarism and autocracy. The hobo is to be envied as he has [illegible] against the machine that would [illegible] of his birthright. He [illegible] law is as honorable [illegible] who rides in a private car.

The Ideals Destroyed.

[illegible] all of the present system which makes a man hate labor [illegible] relation to the work [illegible] and that is fine and [illegible] makes him cunning, sneaky and [illegible]. These are the only [illegible] of character he has [illegible] our children are [illegible] to take the best of their [illegible] all that is healthful and [illegible] out and leaves the [illegible] will do anything to get ahead.

[illegible] is a mad chase after [illegible] and the poor [illegible] to the [illegible] and think [illegible] if they [illegible] pray and work [illegible].

Truth Feared, Not Dynamite.

[illegible] the good [illegible] and the [illegible] to [illegible] deal that [illegible] independent [illegible] of [illegible] the history of [illegible] that [illegible] to [illegible] of man[illegible] and its liberty. [illegible] cannot see [illegible] or must assert itself. The working man has never felt [illegible] giving and receiving [illegible] without [illegible] law and the policeman's club.

Miss Goldman took occasion to say a few words in defense of Alexander Berkman, who was [illegible] Pittsburg [illegible] Frick. Berkman might [illegible] declared she was [illegible] and [illegible] advocated [illegible].

Reitman Sells Her Books.

Miss Goldman was assisted in [illegible] by Ben Reitman, who [illegible] copies of [illegible] and [illegible] before the lecture.

Miss Goldman speaks tonight in Finnish Socialist hall on the modern drama.

President Has Fine Voyage.

The Pacific Coast Steamship Company's steamer President reached Seattle at 8:30 last night from San Francisco and Southern California ports after a fine run up the coast. The vessel brought 361 passengers and a big cargo of general shipments.

ROB HOSTS: ARRESTED.

Special to The Post-Intelligencer.

ELLENSBURG, Aug. 11.—John Terrana and Tony Parisi, each 17 years old, were arrested by the sheriff's force. The boys were from New York. They were working their way across the country. They were fed by Greek workmen at Ryan and paid for the meal by stealing shoes, watches and a revolver. The boys acknowledged their guilt.

HOW MRS. BROWN SUFFERED

During Change of Life—How Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound Made Her a Well Woman.

Iola, Kansas.—"During the Change of Life I was sick for two years. Before I took your medicine I could not bear the weight of my clothes and was bloated very badly. I doctored with three doctors but they did me no good. They said nature must have its way. My sister advised me to take Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound and I purchased a bottle. Before it was gone the bloating left me and I was not so sore. I continued taking it until I had taken twelve bottles. Now I am stronger than I have been for years and can do all my work, even the washing. Your medicine is worth its weight in gold. I cannot praise it enough. If more women would take your medicine there would be more healthy women. You may use this letter for the good of others."—Mrs. D. H. BROWN, 309 N. Walnut St., Iola, Kan.



Change of Life is one of the most critical periods of a woman's existence. Women everywhere should remember that there is no other remedy known to so successfully carry women through this trying period as Lydia E. Pinkham's Vegetable Compound.

If you want special advice write to Lydia E. Pinkham Medicine Co. (confidential) Lynn, Mass. Your letter will be opened, read and answered by a woman and held in strict confidence.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Aid Young Actors / Emma Goldman.— 24 cm. *In* [The Chronicle?, Spokane]. —(Aug. 22, 1913).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

EDITION FRIDAY, AUGUST 22, 1913.

AID YOUNG ACTORS

Emma Goldman Plans to Establish Theaters to Develop Local Talent.

Establishment of theaters and stage societies in Spokane and every other large city of the country for the development of local talent, the production of modern radical plays with accentuated social and human significance and for the overthrow of the present "box-office" system is the next mission upon which Emma Goldman, characterized as the "queen of the anarchists" is to venture.

Miss Goldman announced her plans in [illegible] at the Victoria hotel today to a representative of the Chronicle. She lauded the work of the English stage societies which, she declared, have been instrumental in developing much dramatic talent that would otherwise have been lost to the world, and the music teachers association of Los Angeles in developing local musical talent.

"As soon as I have finished my present tour, which ends at Butte, where I go after leaving Spokane tonight, I shall arrange for the publication of my new book, "The Social and Revolutionary Significance of the Modern Drama," stated Miss Goldman.

Starts New Tour Soon.

"My next tour, which probably will be made within a few months, will be devoted to an effort to fulfil my ambition for the establishment of theaters in every large city for the presentation of the modern radical dramas touring upon the great social problems of the day.

"The stage today is the most important place for putting before the people the great pressing social and economical questions, and I shall try to induce every city to provide a place in which the modern dramas dealing with the social problems of the world may be presented.

"I do not intend to give up the lecture platform in the work that I have done for so long. I will take that up later.

Miss Goldman will end her lecture engagement in Spokane tonight at McVay's hall, 609 Trent avenue, where she will speak from the subject "The Social and Revolutionary Significance of the Modern Drama."

SPOKANE WOMAN CHARGES FRAUD

PORTLAND, Ore., Aug. 21.—The story of the [illegible]

MOTHER ARRIVES HERE FROM RUSSIA

Mr. and Mrs. I. Hoffman of 0608 Maple street have as their guests Mrs. Hoffman's mother, Mrs. Grossman, and six children, from Russia. They left Russia three weeks ago and came by way of Germany. Their arrival came as a pleasant surprise to Mrs. Hoffman, as she had not seen her mother [illegible] years. Mr. Grossman has been [illegible] time, and they expect to [illegible] here permanently.

G. A. R. MONUMENT TO BE DEDICATED

A handsome bronze soldiers' monument has been erected at Evergreen cemetery, north of Hillyard, by the Nathan P. Gregg post No. 12, G. A. R., of the department of Washington and Alaska, and the Woman's Relief corps of Hillyard, and will be unveiled and dedicated Wednesday afternoon, September 3, at 2 o'clock.

The monument has been erected at a cost of $327, and is the result of three years' almost constant effort on the part of the members of both organizations. The monument is fully paid for, most of the money having been raised by the members of the Relief corps, in giving suppers and other entertainments.

The names of all the members of the post and corps, both living and dead, appear on the bronze tablet. A speaker for the dedication ceremony has not as yet been chosen.

RED MEN WILL GO TO LIBERTY SUNDAY

Each of the three Spokane tribes of the Improved Order of Red Men and the Hillyard tribe are expected to be well represented at the first annual pow wow, which will be held in Kalez park at Liberty lake Sunday.

The first train for the lake will leave at 8:15 a. m., and service will be hourly thereafter. The last train to leave the lake will be at 11:15 p. m. Games and dancing are planned.

CORONER SEABERG TO HOLD INQUEST

Coroner Seaberg this afternoon announced that an inquest over the body of Alois Arpadas, who was killed by a street car on Broadway Thursday night, will be held Saturday or Monday at Buchanan's Undertaking rooms. The [illegible] Crawford and C.

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The Emma Goldman Papers
The Ups and Downs of an Anarchist Propagandist / Emma Goldman. – pp. 203-207 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 8, no. 7 (Sept. 1913).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

in conformity to law. That he cannot play billiards, play cards, use tobacco, drink beer, or do chores on sabbath without a permit from legislation.

As he becomes a man, he learns that he cannot stand a moment in front of another man's house, see the belligerent roosters wrangle in the barnyard, or float a log down stream to a sawmill, without legislation and a red tag of some kind that costs him more or less, paid to the fee snatcher. That he cannot bury his dead without legislation. That he cannot express his opinion about a public thief, print an account of a lottery, or engage in a cooperative business without legislation.

He finds out, that legislation has forbidden him to read certain books, to look at pictures, branded by legislation as "immoral," to speak on public places and street corners without permission of the legislature, in spite of Declaration of Independence and Constitution. Soon it becomes clear to him, that a person cannot express his ideas of God or devil, good or evil, government, society or people, without legislation. That he cannot remain on earth or get to heaven without legislation. That he cannot work a piece of land, or hang a sign over his store without legislation. That he cannot sell apples, peanuts, shoe strings, or bibles on the streets without legislation.

Between the legislation and law-making that is going on by heads of families, heads of churches, reform societies, schools, manufacturing monopolies, boards of aldermen, town officials, county officials, State legislatures, Congress, and Almighty God, one is justified indeed in thinking that liberty, freedom of conscience and self-government are a job lot up for sale as relics, if not already parted with.

And yet in Congress and State legislatures nearly fourty thousand new laws were proposed last year. At this rate twenty-five years from now the number of courts in this country will be threefold the present number, and between usury and litigation the man who wants to be honest will be completely crucified, as was Jesus, between two official thieves, who will see to it that he gets all the benefits of the law.

THE UPS AND DOWNS OF AN ANARCHIST PROPAGANDIST

VERILY, they are many and strange. Thrilled by our San Francisco success, and full of anticipation of our trip to Portland (which by the way is the most beautiful city on the Pacific Coast), we were thrown from our exalted state by a telegram, announcing "danger ahead" in Portland. It read:

Strong rumor afloat to the effect you will be met at station and deported. Do you wish to frustrate scheme by stopping at Oregon City, nearest stop, different county, from which place could come in by electric car or machine. May be nothing in it, but friends here expect trouble. Advise your plan of action.
KITTIE.

While we did not credit the news, still our journey was spoiled, since even Anarchists cannot escape the power of suggestion, especially when they have San Diego in their bones.

However, the anxiety of our Portland friends was groundless. Not only did we meet with no disturbance, but we found Portland lazy and inert with the heat, as a result of which our meetings were poorly attended, except for the debate with Prof. Ries, author of "Man and Mules."

The Socialist local, and especially C. W. Barzee, the organizer, worked very hard for the debate and brought together a large audience. Prof. Ries is an experienced speaker, and as he had his chart to prove his points, he no doubt pleased his comrades. As to direct action or Anarchism, a Socialist is not supposed to know either. Prof. Ries intends to publish the debate, so that the readers will have a chance to judge for themselves.

Yet the Portland visit is among the most joyous on this tour, owing to a few friends who vied with each other in devotion and attention. First, there is Katherine Beck—timid, shrinking, reticent—yet one of the bravest and truest spirits it has been my fortune to meet. But more than that is her exquisite way of doing and giving, which makes Katherine Beck such a wonderful woman. To know how to give is to my mind a greater art, than to know how to paint or write. No wonder so few people possess that gift. Yet it is as inspiring to sensitive people, as a painting or good music is to the art lover. It

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makes one forget the sordidness of today, and opens the boundless vista when giving and taking among humans will stand in the same relation as sunshine and dew to the rose and forget-me-not. Katherine Beck is the pioneer of that glorious time to come, and as such she is the inspiration and joy of all those who know her.

There are other faithful friends and comrades in Portland—"The Rosies," Paulin Cantor, as idealistic and intense as if she had just emerged from some Russian town; Louise Olivereau, John Spicer, "Tomboy Mary," and many others.

The last evening, when a dozen I. W. W. and Anarchists demonstrated the superiority of labor for love to labor for pay, and the Bohemian gathering, with sandwiches, beer, stories and song ended a week of beautiful comradeship, of which the world at large little dreams.

And again the ups and downs in rapid succession. Weeks before we came to Seattle, faithful Herman Michailovitch, or "Mickie," as he is known to us, had secured halls in the most desirable part of the town. Cards had been printed and circulatd, and much interest aroused in our coming.

Then happened the drunken orgy of Uncle Sam's "brave boys." The sailors and the soldiers, incited by the Seattle *Times,* one of the yellowist and most criminal sheets in the country, vented their patriotism on the I. W. W.

When friend Mickie returned from Portland, where he had gone to help with the meetings, he was informed by the owner that E. G. could not speak in his hall. In vain Mickie pleaded, begged and threatened; but no hall, and all money, effort and labor wasted. Then began a search for halls, but no place could be found, under any consideration. Our chances looked pretty down indeed. Finally, the Finnish Socialists let us have their hall for two nights, and the I. W. W. for three meetings.

The Finnish hall is on the outskirts of Seattle, yet we had packed houses both times, and the spirit was wonderful. The I. W. W. hall is what is commonly called the toughest part of the town, the entrance through a dark, filthy alley, since anything is good enough for the poor. Much trouble was predicted. Besides, who of that district would be interested in anything but ordinary

harangue or be able to pay admission? But the miracle happened. The god-forsaken, man-abused, and society cast-out flocked by the hundreds and listened breathlessly to things many of them had never heard before. Indeed, the three meetings in the I. W. W. hall were the most wonderful I have addressed in many years, and if only we could have continued for at least another week, we would have been able to demonstrate that the poor are more hungry for intellectual food, even than they are for pork chops. Hence the error of our good economic determinists.

But the conservative element in the I. W. W., which opposed my speaking in their hall altogether, would not consent to our having the hall for a second week, though the real rebels fought for it very hard. Among them was "Daddy" Price, the most unique and wonderful character among the I. W. W. of the West. Price was born in 1829, and began work at the age of seven. He has never stopped since, for if he does not work for his master, he works for his ideal. And "Daddy" Price is an idealist, as pure and fine and inspired, as one rarely meets in this our Mammon age. "Daddy" Price has participated in many strikes, and in nearly every free speech fight, tramping hundreds of miles to get to San Diego, where he was given the same Christian kindness, as all the free speech fighters received at the hands of the respectable Vigilante rowdies. But "Daddy" could not be daunted; he held out to the last, selling *The Industrial Worker* on the streets against all odds.

I asked him when he became a rebel. And he replied, "When I got my first pay, $1 per week, at the age of seven. I asked my father how it was that I should get so little, and was told to shut up and obey the master." That was seventy-seven years ago, and "Daddy" has never ceased to be a rebel nor to ask why he should receive so little; nor has he ever learned to obey. Far from it; his spirit is at red white heat over the injustice and crimes perpetrated upon his class. But he has the divine fire of youth and the unbounded faith of the dreamer in the ultimate victory of his class. With it all, he is tender and chivalrous, the gentleman of soul and mind—not of cloth.

"Daddy" Price fought hard to get us the I. W. W.

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hall for a second week, but failed, so we had to discontinue at the height of the interest.

Still we have no fault to find with the boys. They have their own work to do. So long as it was a question of free speech, they set their own interests aside, which they probably could not do just for general lectures. If revolutionists would only stand by each other in time of real need, they would learn to know and respect each other's differences better, when the enemy is not so hard at their heels. And this the I. W. W. boys have done.

Altogether Seattle, with its ups and downs, its anxieties and results, its stupid persecutions and its splendid comradeship, was the banner experience and will long stand out in our memories.

After Seattle came a lecture and debate in Everett, where we were stopped and forced out of town four years ago. The debate was with Maynard Shipley, who was as uninteresting as he had been in San Francisco.

Spokane, after Seattle, was quite a cold plunge. Still, we had three good meetings and met a lot of able and splendid I. W. W. boys.

Then came Butte, Montana, as the last stop in our long pilgrimage. If for no other purpose it is a joy to come to Butte because of our devoted, unchangeable old friends, Abe and Annie Edelstadt. But this time our meetings too were worth the trip. Thanks to the Edelstadts and a few other comrades, we were able to hold free meetings, which were attended by no less than 1,200 people. Especially the one on "The Growing Danger of the Power of the Church." Next to the mine owners, the Catholic Church is the most poisonous force in Butte. No wonder there is so much anti-religious sentiment in that town. It was demonstrated to its fullest in our meetings. The Saturday before Ben Reitman held forth for two hours on the street, disposing of a large quantity of literature, and on Sunday we had two packed houses.

As usual, our friends gathered in the ever hospitable house of Annie, Abe and their children, Sadie, Albert and the baby, for a real Anarchist reunion.

This closes a most remarkable tour of seven months. Remarkable because it had such a dismal beginning; so many ups and downs, so many despairs and hopes; and such a wonderful ending.

And now for a short rest, and then to work again. New lectures, new plans, new hopes; above all, ever ready and unflinching to face the ups and downs in the life of the Anarchist propagandist.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

THE FARCE OF LEGAL JUSTICE

> Human justice appears to me as the most farcical thing in the world. The spectacle of a man judging his neighbor would make me laugh to exhaustion, did it not cause in me the feeling of contemptuous pity, and were I not now engaged in the study of that system of absurdities on the strength of which men regard it as a right to judge others. I know of nothing more senseless than jurisprudence, save perhaps the study of it.—G. FLAUBERT.

LEGAL justice is the synonym for oppression, stupidity, and crime. Those familiar with the legal machinery know that acquittal or conviction depends much more on the prisoner's ability to secure influential lawyers rather than on the question of guilt. Theoretically every accused person is innocent in the eyes of the law till proven guilty, but as a matter of fact every prison has a large quota of men innocently convicted because their purse or pull was not sufficient to prove their innocence. But even those so-called guilty are the victims of vicious conditions that often stamp as criminal the noblest impulses of human nature.

A case in point is the letter we have received from a prisoner in Dannemora, N. Y., whom a merciful Christian judge doomed to 40 years at hard labor for a theft committed to save an old man from prison.

The letter of the prisoner, A. von F., reached me almost by accident. I know what a cesspool of crime, hypocrisy and brutality is hidden by the usual "process of law." But for fiendish inhumanity the case of A. von F. exceeds even the professional viciousness of our judicial Torquemadas. I am in correspondence with a number of prisoners in various penitentiaries, but I am particularly interested in this case and I have secured the aid of a friendly attorney in behalf of F. I hope that his letter—the simple recital of his case—may move

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In Japanese] Fujin Kaihó no Higeki / Emma Goldman.— pp. 1-14 ; 21 cm. *In* Seitó[Tokyo]. —Vol. 3, no. 9 (Sept. 1913).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: East Asiatic Library.

Seito
1913 September (Vol 3 #9.)

婦人解放の悲劇

——エンマ・ゴルドマン——

人類の間に存する種々なる集團の根本的差異を論ずるあらゆる政治及び經濟上の學說、階級と種族の差異、女權と男權とを劃する全ての人工的境界線などいふ樣々なものが在るにもかゝはらず、この樣な色々な差異が次第に成長して何時か完全なる一つのものとなるの日が來るといふ確信を私が抱いてゐる者であるといふことを豫め含んで置いて頂きたい。

と云つて私はなにも平和條約を提供しやうといふのではない。今日に於ける社會生活の全般を通じて幾多の矛盾せる利害關係の勢力から生じて來る社會的鬪爭は正しき經濟上の原理を基礎としたる社會的生活改造の實現と同時に徹底に粉碎せらるゝであらう。

兩性及び個人間の平和もしくは調和といふことは必ずしも人類の淺薄なる平等といふことに基するものではない。或は又個性及び個人の特長を沒却するといふことでもない。最近の將來が解決しなければならない今日當面の問題は如何すれば人は自分自身であると同時に他の人々と一つになれるか、全く類と深く感ずると共に各自の個性を維持してゆけるかと

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いふことである。これが群集と個人と、眞の民主々義者と個人主義者と、或は男と女との如何を問はず悉く何等の反抗衝突なしに握手し得る根底土臺であると私には思はれる。私どもの座右銘は「おたがひに許しあへ。」と云ふのではなく、寧ろ「おたがひに理解せよ。」と云ふのでなければならない。よく引照せられるスタエル夫人の「全てを理解するといふことは全てを許すことである。」といふ文句に對して私はこれまで特に感心したと思つたことは一度もない。その文句にはなんとなく懺悔室の臭ひがついてゐる。自分の同胞を許すといふ言葉は傲慢なパリサイ人でも云ひさうな文句である。同胞を理解すると云へばそれで澤山だ。婦人解放とその全性に及ぼす影響に對する私の見解の根本的方面がこれによつて略々讀者に推察せらるゝことゝ思ふ。

解放は女子をして最も眞なる意味に於て人たらしめなければならない。肯定と活動とを切に欲求する女性中のあらゆるものがその完全な發想を得なければならない。全ての人工的障碍が打破せられなければならない。偉なる自由に向ふ大道に數世紀の間横たはつてゐる服從と奴隷の足跡が拂拭せられなければならない。

これが婦人解放運動そも〳〵の目的であつた。然るにその運動の齎らした結果はと云ふと反つて女子を孤立せしめ、女性にエンセンシャルである幸福の泉を彼女から奪つてしまつたのである。單なる外形的解放は近代の婦人を人工的の者と化し去つた。それはあらゆる光輝かの佛蘭西の植木家の手になるピラミッド形、車輪形或は花環形の奇異なる草木を徒らに聯想せしむるのみで、女子内部本性の發想によつて達せらるゝ何等の形をも現はしてはゐないのである。かくの如く人工的に成長せる女性植物の大多數が特に現社會の所謂智識階級中に發見せらるゝのである。

女子のための自由と平等！　この言葉が初めてかの高潔勇敢なる人々によつて發言せられたる時、どの様な希望と向上心を女性の間に呼び醒したであらう。太陽はあらゆる光輝と榮光をもつて新世界に昇臨せんとした。この世界に於て女子は自己の運命を指導すべく自由ならんとした。——その目的は確かに偏見と無智の世界に對し全てのものを賭して戰つた男女先驅者の偉大なる熱誠と、勇氣と忍耐と不斷の努力とを價したのである。

私の希望も又元よりその目的に向つて進んでゐるのである。しかしながら今日實際解釋せられ、適用せられてゐる婦人の解放はその偉大なる目的に達することを誤つたと私は主張する。今や、眞に自由ならんことを切望する婦人はかの解放より再び自己を解放せざるべからざる必然に面してゐるのである。これは如何にもパラドキシカルに聞えるかも知れない。しかも、それは唯だあまりに眞である。

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如き信用と報酬とを得てはゐない。而して偶々その憧憬せる平等に達することを得るにしても一般に身體と精神の健全を犧牲にしてゐるのである。かの大多數の婦人勞働者の如き、家庭の狹隘と自由の缺乏とが只だ工場、デパアトメントストア、事務所等に移されたるのみとすれば果してどれ程眞の獨立を得てゐるであらうか。のみならず、終日の激しい勞働の後、「ホーム、スヰートホーム」を求むる多數の婦人の上に冷やかにして氣持惡く、不秩序にして快からざる家庭の重荷が背負はされるのである。光榮ある獨立よ！ 數百の少女が帳場、ミシン機械或はタイプライタアの後にかくれたる「獨立」に痛み疲れて結婚の最初の申込をよろこんで承諾するは少しも怪しむにたらぬことである。彼等は親權の軛を脫せんと欲する中流の少女の如く結婚を待ち望んでゐる。單に衣食の道を得せしむる所謂獨立とはそのために凡てを犧牲にすることを婦人に期待する程理想的なものでもなく、又欽慕すべきものでもない。私等のあまりに高く賞めすぎる獨立とは畢竟婦人の天性、愛の本能、及び母の本能等を鈍磨する方法に過ぎないのである。

それにも關らず、少女勞働者の位置はより多く敎養を要する職業に從事する一見幸福なるが如く見ゆる姉妹の位置よりもより自然に又人間(ヒューマン)である。かの體面を維持するに急がはしき敎師、醫師、法律家、技師の如き姉妹の內部生活はその實日に日に空虛に凋死しつゝ

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あるのである。

現在に於ける婦人の獨立と解放の觀念の僅淺に解せらるゝこと、自己と社會上の位置を同じうせざる男子を戀するの恐怖、戀愛が自己の自由と獨立とを奪はんとの怖憂、母たるの愛と喜びが職業に全力を捧ぐることを障げんとの怖憂、全てこれ等の意識の集合は近代の解放せられたる婦人を强迫的に尼僧たらしめんとするのである。人生は彼女の前にその偉なる淸き悲哀と深く恍惚たらしむる歡喜を抱きながら、少しも彼女の靈魂に觸るゝことなくして回轉するのである。

大多數の論者によつて解せらるゝが如き、所謂解放は眞の自由なる婦人、愛人、母等の深き情緒中に含まれたる無限の愛と歡喜とを許すにはその範圍があまりに狹隘である。

經濟的に自主自由なる婦人の悲劇は經驗の過多より生ずるのではなく反つてその過少に起因してゐるのである。誠に、彼女の社會及び人生に對する智識は過去の姉妹に比して遙かにすぐれてゐる。何故なれば彼女は常に人生の核心の缺乏を痛感してゐるからである。それのみが只だ人類の精神を豐富にする。それを把まずしては女子の大多數は單に職業的自働機械と化し終つてしまふのである。

斯くの如き狀態の來るべきことは、かの倫理學の領域にあつて、當然男子が女子に卓越

した時代の多くの遺物が尙ほ殘存してゐるといふことを明らかにした人々によつて夙に先見せられた。而してその遺物は今なほ有益であると考へられてゐる。更らに重要なる事は、解放せられたる婦人の大多數がその遺物を必用としてゐることである。現存せるあらゆる制度を破壞し社會を更らに進歩せる、更らに完全なるものに改めんとする運動は理論に於て最も急進的思想を抱いてゐる人々によつて行なはれてゐる。然しながら彼等はそれに反し、その日常の行爲に於ては月並の俗人と變ることなく體面を裝ひ、反對者の讃同を得んことを切りに求めてゐる。例令へば「財產は盜奪なり。」といふ思想を代表してゐる社會主義者或は無政府主義者の中にすら留針半ダース程の價を返濟しないといふので怒り出す者がある。

同型の俗人が又婦人解放運動中には發見せられるのである。黃色新聞雜誌記者或は浮薄なる文士等は屢々解放せられたる婦人を措いて善良なる市民とその忠實なる妻とを戰慄せしめた。女權擴張運動者は悉く道德を絕對に無視するヂョージサンの如くに描き出されたのである。彼女はその眼中に神聖なる一物をも有せず、兩性間の理想的關係に對する何等の尊敬をも有せざる女として現はされた。要するに解放とは社會と宗敎と道德とを無視する放恣と罪惡の無分別な生活の別名であるかの如く見做されたのである。女權論の代表者は

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かくの如き誤解に對して甚だしく憤激した。彼等はユウモアを缺いてゐるので所謂世俗が解するが如き女とは全然正反對であることを極力辨明せんと務めた。勿論女子が男子の奴隷であつた間は善良にも純潔にもあり得なかつた。然し今では自由でもあり、獨立もしてゐるのであるからこれ程自己が善良であるか、そうして社會全般の制度を純化する上にこれ程の効果を與へることが出來るかといふことも證據立てなければならない。實際、女權論者の運動は多くの苦き繩墨を破壞した。然し又同時に新しきものを造り出したのである。偉大なる眞の解放運動は單に皮相の自由のみを認めた多數の婦人と面を通はせなかつた。彼等の偏狹なる清敎徒的空想は男子を女性の惑亂者或は邪魔者と見做して彼等の情緒生活外に放逐した。如何にも男子は父としての資格以外に——父なくして生るゝ子供はあらざるが故に——如何なる賠償を拂つても許さるる資格を缺いてゐた。幸にして如何程嚴格なる清敎徒と雖も母たることの肉的欲求を殺す程強くはない。併し女子の自由は男子の自由と離して見ることは出來ない。而して解放せられたる多くの姉妹は自由に生れたる子供はその傍にある男女兩者の愛と献身を必要とするものであるといふ事實を見逃してゐる樣に思はれる。近代男女の生活に大なる悲劇を齎らしたるは不幸にして、人間關係に對する此の狹隘なる觀念なのである。

今から十五年前に素晴しきノルウエー人ラウラマルホルムのペンから、"Woman, a Chur[illegible]ucter Study"といふ著作が現はれた。彼女は現在の婦人解放に對する觀念の空虛狹隘なること及び婦人の內部生活に及ぼすその悲劇的結果に對して注意を促がした最初の一人であつた。ラウラマルホルムは彼女の著述の中に天才エレオノラデューゼ、大數學者兼著述家ソニヤコワレフスカイヤ、天死せる詩人風の藝術家マリイ　バシュカアトセフの如き世界的名聲を有する天賦ある數人の婦人の運命に就て語つてゐる。かくの如く異常なる心力を有する婦人の生涯の記述を通じて圓滿、完全なる美しき生活に對する不滿の欲求とその缺乏より生ずる不安と寂寞の著しき足跡が印せられてゐる。これ等の立派なる心理的描寫を通じて吾人は女子の智力が發達すればする程彼女にその性ばかりでなく、人類、友人、伴侶及び強き個性を認める樣な配偶者に出遇ふことが愈々むづかしくなつてゆくのを見ない譯にはゆかない。彼女の配偶者は彼女の性格の一點一劃をも見逃してはならないのである。

男子は一般に自負心を有してゐる。而して女性に對し當然保護の力あるもの丶如く滑稽なる虛勢を示すものが多い。かくの如き男子はラウラマルホルムによつて描かれたる婦人の配偶者たるべく到底不可能である。又只管彼女に智力と天才とを認むるばかりで女子の天性を覺醒することをあやまるが如き男子も等しく彼女に協はざる者である。

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豊富なる智力と美しき心とは通常深く美しき性格の必然なる属性と考へられてゐる。近代婦人の場合に於ては、これ等の属性は彼女の存在の完全な肯定に對して障碍となつてゐるのである。「死が別離を餘儀なくするまで」といふが如き言葉を有する聖書を基礎とした舊い結婚の形式が百年以上も女子を壓服する男子の主權、男子の氣まぐれと命令に對する女子の絶對服從、彼の名と扶助に對する絶對の依賴等を代表する制度として定められてゐた。舊るき結婚關係が女子をして只だ男子の下婢であり、子供の携帶者たらしむるものであるといふことはこれまでも度々斷乎として證明せられた。然るに解放せられたる多くの婦人が獨身世界の陝隘なるを厭ふて、樣々の缺點あるにもかかはらず結婚生活に走る傾向がある。これは全く女子の本性を拘束する道德上及び社會上の偏見の鐵鎖が頑はしく耐へがたきものになつてきたからである。

多數の進步せる婦人がかくの如き矛盾に陷るの理由は解放の意義を實は理解してゐなかつたといふ事實によつて說明せられる。彼等は只管に外部よりの壓迫を脫して獨立することをのみ必要であると考へた。而して人生と成長とに更に更に有害なる內部壓制者である道德及び社會上の習俗はそのままに打捨てて省みなかつたのである。習俗はそのとるべき道を進んだ。而してそれは今尙ほ吾人の祖母の頭と心とに榮へたるが如く依然として婦人

解放論者の最も活躍せる代表者の頭と心とに美しく生きてゐる樣に思はれる。

これ等の內部壓制者は輿論の形に於て、或は父母、兄弟、親戚の言葉となつて現はれてゐる。グランデイ夫人、コムストック氏、屋主、文部省等はなんと云つてゐるか？ 全てこれ等の御世話好きと、品行探偵と人間精神の獄吏この人等はなんと云つてゐるが？ 全てかくの如き者をものともせず、自己の立場を確立し、何等の拘束なき自由を主張し自己本然の聲——それが生の最大寶庫なる男子に對する愛にせよ、或は最も光榮する分娩の特權にせよ——に耳傾くることを學ぶまで婦人は眞によく解放せられたりと稱することは出來ないのである。解放せられたる婦人にして自己の胸底に絕へず波動しつつ、聞かれんことを求め、滿されんことを望んでゐる愛の聲を眞に自己の天職なりと信じ、進んでそれを承認せんとする婦人は果してどれ程あるであれう？

佛蘭西の作家ジエーンライブラハは小說 "Mon Beauty" の中に解放せられたる理想的美人を描き出さんと企ててゐる。その理想は醫師を職とする一少女に體現せられてゐる。彼女は青兒法に就て極めて巧妙に物語る。彼女は又親切であつて貧困なる多くの母に自由に藥を供給する。その理想は醫師を職とする一少女に體現せられてゐる。彼女はある知己の青年と未來の衞生狀態に關して會話する。而して汚れたるボロを打捨て、石の壁と床を使用することによりて多くの黴菌が驅除せらるるといふ

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ことなどを話す。彼女は勿論甚だ質素に實用的な服裝をしてゐる。衣物の色はたいてい黒である。青年は彼女との最初の會合に於て解放せられた友人の智識に敬服する。彼は次第に彼女を理解しやうとする。而してゐるうちらかな日に、彼はさう〳〵彼女を愛してゐるといふ意識を持つ。彼等は二人とも若い。女は親切で美しい。たゞへ服裝はキチンと整ひすぎてはゐるが一點の汚れもない白いカラアとカフスによつて柔かい感じを與へてゐる。讀者は青年が彼女に戀を打明けることを期待するであらう。然し彼は馬鹿〳〵しきロマンスを實行する様な人間ではない。詩と戀の情熱とはその婦人の純潔なる美の面前に紅葉する顔を被ふてしまふ。青年は自己の自然の聲を默殺して方正な態度をとる。彼女も又いつもキチョウメンで、理性的で、品行方正である。若し彼等が結合を作つたなら、青年は恐らく凍死するの危險を冒さなければならなかつたかも知れないと私は氣づかつてゐる。私はこの新しき美人に何等の美を發見することが出來ないものであることを告白しなければならない。彼女はその夢想する石の壁や床の如く冷淡なのである。私はかの物尺によつて計らるが如き品行方正よりも寧ろロマンチック時代の戀歌、ドンフハンとプイナス夫人の戀、或は父母の呪詛と悲哀と憐人の道德的辯明等を後にして梯と繩とによる日夜の出奔を讃美したい。戀愛にして無制限に與へ取ることを知らないなら、それは戀愛でもなんで

もない。單にプラスとマイナスに力瘤を入れることを忘れない取引の如きものである。

現代に於ける婦人解放の最大缺點は人工的に堅苦しきこと、及び陝隘なる虛勢を張らんとしてゐる處に存してゐる。かくして女子の靈魂に空虛が生じ彼女は生命の泉を飲むことが出來ない様になつてしまふのである。私は且て眞に新しき婦人と所謂普通の解放せられたる姉妹との間に有する關係よりも、常に子供の幸福と、自己の愛する人々の幸福を祈る舊き母と主婦とかの眞に新しき婦人との間に有する關係が遙かに深いものであるといふことを述べたことがある。單純なる解放論者は私を異端視し火刑に處すべき者であると公言した。盲目なる情熱に走る彼等は私の新舊婦人の比較の如何なるものなるかを洞察することが出來なかつたのである。私は今日諸官省學校等に散在せる所謂解放せられた多數の職業的婦人よりも我々の祖母の多數がその脈管中により多くの血を有し、更らに多くの機智と諧謔と、自然らしさと、素朴と親切の多量を有してゐたといふことを證據立てんとしたのみである。これは徒に過去に婦人をかへそうといふのでもなければ又女子を彼女の舊き牢園氣なる臺所と育兒室に押込めの様とするのでもない。

救濟は更らに光明なる未來へ全力を擧げて猛進する處に有する。我々は舊き傳說と習慣の拘束を脫して自由に成長することを必要とする。婦人解放運動はその方向に向つて只だ一

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歩を進めたのみである。私はこれから更に力を集中してその第二歩を進まんことを希望する。選擧權或は公民權は如何にも善い要求であるかも知れない。併しながら眞の解放は選擧場或は法庭では初まらないのである。解放は先づ女子の心靈中に初まる。全ての壓服せられたる階級はそれ自からの努力によつてのみ眞の自由を得てゐることは歷史が我々に語つてゐる。故に女子はその教訓を學び、自由は自己の自由に對する努力次第で達せられるものであるといふことを實現することが必要である。故に、あらゆる偏見と傳說と習俗の羈絆を切斷し、自己心內の新生を創始することが遙かに重要である、人生のあらゆる方面にわたる權利の平等を要求することは正しく公平なことである。しかしながら最も根本的の權能は畢竟愛し、愛せられることである。實際、婦人の解放が完全にして眞正なるものとなるの曉にはかの愛せらるることと——即ち戀人であり母であること——が奴隸であり、附屬品であるといふことと同意義であるといふ樣な滑稽な觀念は排除されてしまはなければなるまい。或は又男性と女性とは二個の相反せる世界を實現するものであるといふが如き性的二元說の無稽なる觀念も等しく取去られなければならないであらう。

琐々たるものは分離し、廣きものは結びつく。私等は相互に博大な心を持つ樣にならなければいけない。我々の周圍に群がる有象無象のために、ものの根本を見逃してはならない。兩性關係の眞の意義は征服者、被征服者といふが如き關係を許さない。それは只だ一ツの偉大なることを知つてゐる——即ち自己をより豐富に、より深く、より善くするために自己を限りなく與ふるといふことである。それのみが只だ安慮を滿たし、婦人解放の悲劇を無限の歡喜に變ずるであらう。

881108011

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Minorities versus majorities. In Japanese] Shosù To Tasù / Emma Goldman.— 22 cm. *In* Kindai Shisó[Tokyo]. —(Oct. 1913, advertisement).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: East Asiatic Library.

大正弐年十月一日第三種郵便物認可　（毎月一回一日發行）　大正二年十月一日發行　第二卷　第一號

近代思想

十月號

■自由（詩）……寒（一）
■生の道徳（評論）……大杉榮（二）
■『出發前半時間』の人生觀（評論）……伊庭孝（八）
■戒（詩）……寒村（三）
■都會小詩（詩）……土岐哀果（一四）
■胡麻鹽頭（雜錄）……堺利彥（一六）
■郊外生活（短歌）……安成二郎（一八）
■いやな類（詩）……鐮永保之助（二五）
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■『內部』と『モンナ・ヴンナ』（批評）……佐藤綠葉（二三）
■暴風雨（小說）……荒畑寒村（二三）
■大久保より（雜錄）……榮（二九）
■六雜誌管見（批評）……寒村（三）
■消息……（三二）

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十月號 青鞜 十月號

十月號内容

少數と多數（堺枯川）
戀愛の進化（同）（エルトマン）
女性に於ける性的轉回（エリス）
所感（伊藤野枝）
行路（チエホフ）
響の影（ツルゲーネフ）
小說 ワンナ（加藤みな子）
短歌（小笠原貞子）
動物四題（長谷川時雨）
柴田かよの（柴田かよ）
珠の人（野枝）

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Vigorously Flays State and Church / Emma Goldman. – pp. 1-2 ; 38 cm. *In* The Daily Star [Trenton, NJ]. – (Oct. 27, 1913).
Obtained from the Boston University Libraries.

Circulation Exceeds 11,000

DAILY STA

VOL. 61, NO. 357. TRE[illegible]ON, N. J., MONDAY, OCTOBER 27, [illegible]

POLL OF STATE SHOWS FIELDER LOSING TO COLBY

Stokes is Holding Most of Votes Cast for Lewis in 1910, According to Newspaper Canvass.

WILSON MEN FOR G. O. P.

Special to State Gazette.

NEWARK, Oct. 27.—The Newark Sunday Call Independent, is making a poll of New Jersey, and in its issue of today says the results show that Colby is apparently gaining more votes from the Fielder side than from that of Stokes." The Call also says that Stokes is making "an excellent campaign," and that Fielder is running substantially behind the vote polled by Woodrow Wilson for governor.

Three years ago the Call conducted a similar poll and forecasted the election of Wilson for governor by a big plurality. In describing the results of the poll now going on, the Call says:

"Edward C. Stokes, the Republican gubernatorial nominee, is making an excellent campaign. This is indicated by the Sunday Call's statewide poll of the situation. Returns received from every section of the state show that the ex-governor is holding practically even with the whole vote polled by Vivian Lewis in 1910, while James F. Fielder is running substantially behind the vote polled by Woodrow Wilson.

"The poll is also showing that Everett Colby is gaining votes from both candidates, but in numbers insufficient to put him in the running. The majority of these Colby votes are votes that were cast for Wilson in 1910. The majority votes given Lewis in 1910, which are being credited by the Sunday Call poll to Colby, are nearly offset in the Stokes column by Wilson votes in 1910 which are now believed to be for Stokes. These represent some of the Republican vote which gave the Wilson landslide its majority. No landslide, however, is in sight this year.

"Up to the present time the Sunday Call poll has covered each of the twenty-one counties of the state, the [illegible] reached being most complete [illegible] Hunterdon and Middlesex [illegible]

EMMA GOLDMAN VIGOROUSLY FLAYS STATE AND CHURCH

Anarchist Declares for General Strike and Sabotage to "Emancipate Humanity for Slavery."

NO RISE FOR MAN'S LAW

Other churches, system the str and cr been s thought Miss E over se to Mrs. which s yesterday.

In t "Anarchi op "The clared th the radi source in

Both a dominated withal th ters who revolution Anarchi

Unfortu ers and c Goldman s treet the audience [illegible] in regist

It must to Miss Gol auditors a none were Captain of tain Hetting cupied a bo bury said th turs and no

In phrase the fire-eate lead to beh utterances t

Sturdily and in the some of the red from pul background of ol frank for ma whom were m

Miss Gold years old, is dined to obs yesterday in a tailored skirt.

With her ap and knowledge the attention [illegible] reaching out [illegible] tenets of the

Miss Goldman [illegible] ing the general [illegible] tion, o [illegible] laws, and sele she termed the ity.

Dr. Ben R Anarchists, o He said anar anarchy in th wages and ma to detroy the All this he Goldman's tal parties with speaker. The an audience o the evening

After each answered ques sent up to evening.

In reply to a young man who asked Miss Goldman sorry for her ought kind o

To another that religio church, tha and that the ture the hor nity of eac spouse to o the present human, ener giving all from the a

She paid became con er they wo in answer Christ taug Christ taug things tha Lord the She did n were fell mutuality.

Concludi Miss Gol Communis which wa do work

rejecting the state and the gorously denouncing the present of property, as all representing holds of man's enslavement, the drama of such writers as the means of revolutionizing the maturaming such strongholds, ma Goldman, known the world most active Anarchist, talked auditors in the two addresses made at Broad Street theatre

afternoon she explained o," and in the evening she took Modern Drama," which she de most powerful disseminator of al thought which found its narchism.

Pictures were cosmopolitan, pre- by those of foreign birth, but were many among her audi- pride themselves on their coun- their patriotic regard for institutions.

He there were curiosity seek- radical utterances of Miss rist, though appeared to be while the remainder of the gravity broke into her talk their appreciation by applause. ave been somewhat a motley him not to have among her ore or more of policemen, but tailed to the lack of rumors. Detectives Cleary and Cap- of the Second district, re- in the afternoon, though were there only as audi- us policemen.

ugh Miss Goldman is not that the public has been e, but underlying all her re is the fire of the zealot. orded were both the talks. ruing, when she took up nys which have been bar- ir library shelves on the eulty, she was most too r of her auditors, among ny women.

n looks to be about 40 f medium height and fig- e. She dressed plainly white shirtwaist and blue

arrant sincerity, eloquence of her subject, she held all, [illegible] she spared not [illegible] of the plutocrat and [illegible] anarchistic order.

was candid in appeals [illegible] strike of the workers, di- resistance to man-made [illegible] to accomplish what emancipation of humani-

n, a field agent for the master of ceremonies istic literature, announced s to boost the sale of his an appeal for collections expenses of the meeting. d as a prelude to Miss wiording up the preliminar- the introduction of the afternoon collection from 00 amounted to $27, and llection amounted to $32. ecture Miss Goldman an- ers, about a dozen being r in the afternoon and

a question put to her in the evening audience. What is the right love?" replied that she felt sorry if he did not know the love.

question she answered as represented by the ht an artificial morality. new morality would harmo- an needs with the opportu- ting such needs. In re- er questions, she said that system rested on waste of ies and life and resulted in the few and taking away ity.

ted that when the workers ence of their economic pow- uld revolutionize things, and in the question of whether t perfect morality, she said it, render unto Caesar's the are Caesar's, and unto the things that are the Lord's. [illegible] answer that if this teaching ed there could be perfect o there could be no peace.

g her last evening's talk, man spoke of the Trenton library at 424 Bridge street, doing Anarchistic propaganda under whose auspices she ctures here. Those interested thought she might to become [illegible] to her minds.

EVENING ADDRESS.

America, she said, had not yet created the radical modern drama, such as has been written by Ibsen, Strindberg, Shaw, Tolstoy, Brieux and others, the American public being fed on moving pictures

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO.)

SAVE BOY FROM ENDING LIFE ON TROLLEY TRACKS

Colored Lad Placed Head on Rails, But Was Discovered Before the Car Passed the Spot.

HE HAD TROUBLE AT HOME

Two young men late last night prevented a boy from killing himself by pulling him from the trolley tracks along the Lawrenceville road, where he had lain in the hopes of having his head severed.

The lad who wanted to die because his parents had chastised him is Samuel Thompson, a twelve-year-old colored boy, of 15 Barclay street, who will be watched in the future to prevent him from carrying out his threat.

Ralph Applegate, of Harney's Corner, and Albert Johnson, of Indiana avenue, were walking along the Lawrenceville road last night when they saw the colored boy lying along the tracks with his head upon the rail.

They grabbed the youngster and asked him what he was doing. The lad said that he wanted to die and that he was going to have his head cut off. The young men took the youngster to Mulberry street and Ohio avenue and turned him over to Patrolman Fay.

The policeman called the police ambulance and had the boy removed to his home. The lad's father told the police that the boy would not return home after he had gone to school and would steal out at night.

It is thought that young Thompson is mentally unbalanced.

LOCAL DELEGATES TO PURITY CONVENTION

Mayor Donnelly has appointed the following delegates to represent Trenton at the Seventh International Purity Congress, to be held in Minneapolis November 7 to 12, inclusive. Rt. Rev. James A. McFaul, Mrs. Charles E. Hammitt, Rev. Guy L. Brown, Rev. George H. Ingram, Mrs. F. V. Cantwell, Mrs. J. H. Welling, Edward A. [illegible] and Joseph Dalzell.

The congress, which is held under the auspices of the World's Purity Federation, has as its cardinal motive the spreading of the propaganda for the education of race and the promotion of purity.

THOUSANDS OF STRIKERS AT FUNERAL OF VICTIM

Associated Press.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 26.—Thousands of striking garment workers and their sympathizers today attended the funeral of Abraham Kaplan, the nineteen-year-old striker, who was shot and killed on Thursday night in an altercation between strikers and men who had returned to work. After viewing the body, in a hall near the dead man's home in the southern section of the city, the strikers and their friends marched to the subway and rode to the city line, where they resumed the march to the cemetery. The strike has been in existence for sixteen weeks.

NO GOOD MAN IN SALOON BUSINESS, WOMAN DECLARES

Associated Press.

NEW YORK, Oct. 26.—Enthusiasm was aroused at a mass meeting held at the Brooklyn Academy of Music this afternoon, when eight sailors from the United States ship Washington, the receiving ship at the Brooklyn navy yard, made their appearance at the convention of the World's Women's Christian Temperance union. Many people in the audience rose and cheered.

Mrs. Mary Harris Armor, of Georgia, in a stinging speech, declared that there is no good man in the saloon business.

PLOUGH FUNERAL TO-DAY.

The funeral of David Plough, the fruit dealer of South Broad street, will be conducted this afternoon at 2 o'clock from the residence of his brother, Harney Plough, 1410 South Second street, Philadelphia. Interment will be in the Mutual cemetery, Philadelphia.

Members of Ark Temple No. 130, Dramatic Knights of Khorassan, Pythias Lodge No. 61, Knights of Pythias; General Lewis Lawton Camp, and Iroquois Tribe No. 93, Improved Order of Red Men, have been invited to attend the services. Ashmore & Margerum are in charge of the arrangements.

Late last night the condition of Martin McDermott, a janitor of Middle Rose street, who is confined to McKinley hospital, suffering from knife wounds alleged to have been inflicted by Joseph Arnone, of Canal street, was much improved, and it is thought that he will recover.

REV. H. C. MAKES AN FOR FREE

Tells First Pres gregation Tha Not Called I

ALL AUTHORITY

PUPILS TO HONOR ANNIVERSARY OF PEACE PAINTING

ST. FRANCIS SCHOLARS HAVE ARRANGED INTERESTING PROGRAM FOR TO-DAY.

DECORATIONS A FEATURE

"WINGLESS ANGEL" CONTEST TO

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...ORNING, OCTOBER 27, 1913.

...NS AT THE BROAD ST. THEATRE TODAY

...BUR... EMMA GOLDMAN VIGOROUSLY FLAYS STATE AND CHURCH

(CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.)

...and vaudeville and being the laughing stock of all Europe for their restriction on moral grounds of the radical plays.

She characterized Ibsen as an arch Anarchist and rebel, who was the pioneer of the radical play and who undermined the pillar of "dead rotten society." She read to his "Ghosts," which, she said, ... the fallacy of the marriage in...

...day idea of a great hus... the speaker, is a man ... dead and plenty of money. ... woman who is a real woman ... the speaker, is a man she ... who inspires in her real ... but the selections made by the ... who are looking for a successful ...

...ing of Strindberg, she said ... did not understand him ... Strindberg, she said, made ... mother who understood chil... understood the psychology of ... and who was a spiritual ... well as physical mother. She ... Strindberg's "The Father," as ... great works.

...of the German dramatists, she ... Sudermann and Hauptman. ... Sudermann protested against ... for women and the restric... ...ful code for men. She in... ...Wagon," as one of his best ...

...ling of Hauptman, she said that ... in his "The Weavers" awakened the workingman to the necessity of "throwing off the rich and cultured off his back." In Ireland, she said, had produced George Bernard Shaw, John Galsworthy, Pinero and others who saw the sins of society. Discussing Shaw's "Mrs. Warren's Profession," the speaker said that it showed how women were driven to crime by the greediness of the wealthy. She declared Galsworthy's "Justice" was a severe indictment of the institution of the courts of justice as they exist today.

Referring to the Russian dramatists, she spoke of Tolstoy as the greatest Christian since Christ, though he opposed the Christian church, which excommunicated him for his play "The Power of Darkness," in which he tried to show that the superstition taught by the church was resulting in crime.

She also referred to Gorky, and concluded her talk with a narrative of Hauptman's play, "King Hunger," which ... of the workers who, driven by the ... tion of hunger, rose against the ...

AFTERNOON TALK.

By way of introduction Miss Goldman ... that anarchy was not a modern ... and that Dr. Wesley, of the University of Michigan, had traced its origin way back to the highest period of culture and learning in ancient Greece. It was a mistaken idea, continued she, ... matter of fact Josiah Warren just a century ago had given serious consideration to anarchistic thought and advocated its philosophy.

Anarchy, stated the speaker, finds its ... the belief that all government ... the individual ... Anarchism ... that government rests on violence and is therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

Maintaining that all government is a failure, the speaker said that even democracy, as exemplified by the union, had proven rotten to the core. She declared that man had no more rights in this country than he did in Russia, but that the Russian knew he was a slave, while the American was fool enough to believe he was free.

What better proof, demanded the speaker, that all government is a failure than that there is always a constant revising, amending and supplementing of laws to meet the evils growing out of government. This constant changing of laws does not mean that government is ... but that the principle of government is wrong.

She took a crack at the educational ... of today, declaring that it ... to be ... rid of the pre... ... and added ironically, a ... of character.

"What we need in education is training," she said, "as the public schools kill the innate qualities of a child ... him with superstitions.

It was Miss Goldman's ... that the government was on ... the wholesale theft and ... against the masses, and was ... to the principles of liberty, and ... enslaved the human mind and ...

She attacked the church, ... that it, by teaching fear and ... ordination to a higher power ... man in bondage, and that ... maintained its right to take ... and never stood for human ...

"The Anarchists," she declared, "propagate no violence. The ... gates violence, and that is ..."

Violence she criticised ... by the capitalistic system. ... system, she asserted, and ... without its cruise cannot live.

Capitalism, she contended, was the ... terrible destructive power, which could not live without the church and the state.

The Anarchists, she argued, did not recognize the sacredness of property, as does the present capitalistic regime, from which spring and upon which thrive the evils of today. It was surprising to her that under such a system there were not more criminals than there are.

She referred to the movement to allow convicts more freedom, the result of prison reformers' observations that society was better served by treating convicts with less severity ... by condemning them to hideous cells. This movement, she insisted, was a step toward anarchy.

Society, she believed, ... be organized on the basis of the ability of each man and the need of each man.

"The present system ... government, church and capitalism—... said, provided a moral crutch for society, while as a matter of fact society ... should be placed upon its own support.

She seemed to think ... that woman ... free and she could not ... hurt the ballot for woman would ... her free.

In the fight to gain ... ...terial and economic freedom, she ... the working-man in a general ... direct action and sabotage. She ... direct action ...

Finally, she said that ... the jailing of an Anarchist ... kill the ideal of anarchism ... ferred to the hanging of ... archists involved in the ... market riots in 1887 as ... death of five of the group.

TO KEEP BARBER SHOP OPEN UNTIL MIDNIGHT

Until Conte Angelo ... there at 8 East Hanover ... to try a new experiment ... establishment open until ... announcement caused a ... bers and Conte was ... before the Master Barber ... and the Journeymen Barber ... failed to show up yesterday ... of George Engemach, 21 E... street.

It is said that Conte ... many of the rules of the ... give work to more men ... scheme. He will have to ... shifts of men and will ... union hours.

It is said that other ... of a barber ... street, is going ... and keep his ... midnight. The ... running bar... ...d to appear ... association ... union. He ... at the shop ... at Lafayette ...

...not violate ... you, but will ... by his new ... employ two ... their only ...

barbers in ... the centre of the city will also keep ... open into at night and see if the plan will pay.

BROKE HER WINDOW.

Mrs. John LaRue, of 211 Brunswick avenue, notified the police yesterday that some unknown person threw a stone through one of her big front windows.

The Llewellyn Piano
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If you would have ... possible price, you will ... at $195 to $250, accordi...

This piano is in no ... alone, and we think y... one owner who is not ...

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We can arrange ea... first payment and your ...

thoroughly reliable piano at the lowest ... find it in the LLEWELLYN that we sell ...g to style.

...y twenty thousand homes in this state ... would find great difficulty in locating ...more than satisfied with his purchase.

...d singing; the action is easy and respon... thoroughly good taste.

...e terms, accepting TEN DOLLARS as a promise to pay SIX DOLLARS monthly.

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107 East ...tate Street, Trenton

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Gold Stamps bring Christmas Cheers.



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The Emma Goldman Papers

Our Moral Censors / Emma Goldman.– pp. 270-273 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 8, no. 9 (Nov. 1913).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Consternation in the camp of politicians. The governments of Europe and America even are growing anxious. If the ballot sheep refuse to be corraled in the shearing booths, how in the name of Moloch are you going to get their wool? Why, government could not exist a day if the people were to refuse recognition and support! And the industrial barons—how are they to skin the cattle if the brutes refuse to abide by the rules laid down for skinning them?

You can't sit on a fellow's back if he persists in standing up straight, and if the workers will no longer bend in supplication to earthly divinities and straighten their backs in the very holy of holies—the temple of authority—the whole laborious framework of exploitation and robbery will fall to the ground.

Sad days are in store for the high priests of law and life.

OUR MORAL CENSORS

By Emma Goldman

THE period in human history known as the dark ages still continues to conjure up pictures of horrors, of religious censorship and persecution.

To-day we are passing through a similar stage which, though perhaps not as violent as the past, is still full of bigotry, persecution and outrageous imposition. It is our moral censorship.

Both the old and the new are closely related to each other. Both spring from the religious, especially Christian, mania of the only true God and the only pure faith. A mania that has been back of the Inquisition of the past and is responsible for the moral censorship of today.

This spirit can no longer inflict physical pain with implements of torture, but it can rob you of your livelihood, drive you out of town, send you to prison for years, and can inflict mental tortures harder to bear for the modern man than physical pain was for the heretic of the past.

Indeed, there is any number of good people—judges.

preachers, social workers and other old maids of both genders—who would, if they could, inaugurate a reign of terror, depicted in the great American classic, "The Scarlet Letter." Nor would they hesitate to make the modern Hester Prynne pay the same terrible price as the heroine in Hawthorne's novel.

More than one Hester Prynne has already had the scarlet letter "A" branded on her breast, and many more would be exposed to the same degradation, if our professional moralists would dare go so far.

That the spirit of perverse cruelty to persecute and humiliate human beings for no other offence except that they lead their own lives, is making itself felt even to-day, no one familiar with the activity of our moral censors can possibly deny.

Only the other day it was suggested in the newspapers that prostitutes should be publicly flogged to cure them from "their evil tendencies."

A similar heroic was recently performed in San Francisco. Barbary Coast, the erstwhile home of prostitution, was closed by the police, and the unfortunate girls scattered to the winds. As to what becomes of them is not the concern of our moralists. They are above human considerations.

Already that brutal act has borne fruit. One of the girls atempted suicide, and then it was learned that 400 other girls had decided upon the same course, because of their utterly destitute state. On the other hand, those of them who still cling to life, will find quarters in the so-called respectable part of the city, and all of San Francisco will become a Barbary Coast.

Time and again the ghosts, as Ibsen calls our social wrongs, have been hidden in our social closets, locked away behind iron bars and driven into hiding places. But again and again they have crawled from their graves, spreading infectious disease and social epidemics.

As it is in life, so it is in the various phases of life expressed in art. The sincere dramatist and writer, whose inspiration is human nature with its ebb and tide of passion and longing, will never be deterred by moral pigmies from placing his observations before the world. And those who have nothing to say, who are crude and unreal in their portrayal, will be of less danger to man-

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kind if given a chance to be heard than if their works are suppressed. That was certainly borne out by the stupid attempt to censor the "Lure" and the "Fight" and to suppress the *Suffragette*.

Had the police and the newspapers kept their hands out of the pie, the plays could have existed but a very brief period, so utterly unreal, crude and inartistic are they. But thanks to our moral idiots the plays have had a phenomenal run. The same holds good of the leading paper of the English militants. Had Saint Anthony not meddled with the sale of the *Suffragette*, no one outside of the suffrage ladies' inner circle would have learned anything from the wisdom of Christabel Pankhurst. Truth is that she has out-Comstocked Comstock in her "Plain Facts About a Great Evil." Her narrow, limited attitude towards life and towards prostitution should net her a medal from the Purity League, but the moment Comstock laid his dirty paws on the paper, the *Suffragette* sold like hot cakes. Therein lies the result of moral censorship: it creates a perverted curiosity that the frankest and ablest discussion could never produce.

Yet when our authors and dramatists are confronted with the menace of moral censorship, they, instead of making a defiant stand, go down on their knees and declare for the "highest kind" of morality, although they must know that real art has no more to do with good or bad than nature has. Both are beyond good or evil; their function is life, and the latter is entirely too complex, too limitless, too subtle, to permit of any moral yardstick of value.

Bearing in mind the play-making calibre of the Veillers the Scarboroughs and their ilk, one is not at all surprised at their weak-kneed protestations. But what is one to think of the author of "Hagar Revelly"? Mr. Daniel Carson Goodman has made a commendable attempt, at least, at a real social novel, and while the work is uneven and inadequate from a literary point of view, it yet proves him to be free from the moral hypocrisy of the ordinary American writer. Yet when the antiquated Comstock sweeps down upon the publisher, Mitchell Kennerley, and in open daylight commits highway robbery in stealing the plates and copies of the book, Mr. Goodman also begins to whine about his high moral intentions, and how he really aimed to make vice unattractive, thereby in a measure lending power to the outrageous imposition on the part of our moral censors.

Advanced men and women are beginning to see that the whole scheme of curtailing human expression, in whatever form, is rooted in our present-day morality, imposed on us by the State and the Church for the protection of their crimes against humanity. It is precisely for this reason that libertarians will not stand for our moral sneaks who, like thieves in the night, creep into their lives and spread themselves in all their vulgarity. Anyone with a spark of self-respect and with love of freedom must oppose the invasion into thoughts and ideas, and must insist on untrammeled opportunity to express himself, whether by pen, brush, or speech, or in his personal relations, on the all-absorbing issues of modern times. That is the only way to rid society from its arch-enemies, the moral censors and inquisitors.

THE VALUE OF CHASTITY

BY JOHN R. CORYELL

I REALIZE that it may seem odd that I should elect to discuss such a subject as this; particularly as this may be called one of woman's problems, just as marriage is called a woman's problem. Not long ago I heard a woman say that marriage, being a woman's problem, could never be properly treated by a man. I think she was mistaken. Any problem of life is man's problem quite as much as woman's, even though the bulk of the hardships in the problem seem to bear most heavily on woman. For, in the very nature of things, whatever affects woman in an almost equal degree affects man; for their relations whether physical or psychical are so close and constant that neither can be uplifted or degraded alone.

Now, as I view it, chastity in a true sense is just as much the concern of man as of woman, notwithstanding that it is the essence of the common understanding that

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SEITO NOV 1913
(VOL 3 #11)

タングゥテンの泣かまほしけれ

知らぬ間に
糸瓜がいたくたけのびぬ
わびしや秋も深みそめたる

みつ豆も
鰌も納豆も買の家の
なき街ぞかし、岐阜はかなしき

少數と多數

——エンマ・ゴルドマン——

私は現代の傾向を要約して「量（コンティナイ）」であると云ひたい。群衆と群集精神とは隨所にはびこつて「質（クオリティ）」を破壞しつつある。今や私どもの全生活——生產、政治、敎育——は全く數と量との上に置かれてゐる。且て自己の作品の完全と質とにプライドを持つてゐた勞働者は自己に對しては無價値に一般人類にとつては有害な多額の物品を徒らに產出する無能の自働機械に變つてしまつた。かくして「量」は人生の慰籍と平和を助くるに反して唯だ人間の重荷を增加した。

政治に於ては量以外に何物も省みられない。量の增加につれて、主義、理想、正義等は悉く多數者のために沒却せられてしまふ。政治上の種々なる黨派は常に虛僞と欺瞞と狡猾と陰謀を逞しうして相互の主權を爭つてゐる。成功さへすれば勝利者として必ず多數者の歡迎を受ける——彼等は皆なそう信じてゐる。成功——それのみが唯一の神。品性に對してど

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れ程高い恐しい價を拂つてゐるかといふことなどはまるで問題にもしてはゐない。私ども
は今更進んでこの悲しい事實を證據立てる必用はない。
政府の腐敗と堕落とがあばかれて今の様にはつきりと目前に示されたことはこれまでに
ないことである。數年の間、人民の權利自由の保護者と仰がれ、社會制度の本綱として全
然誹難の外に立つてきた政府がか程迄にユダの如き性質を現はさうとは私どもの全く思ひ
設けなかつたところである。

かの黨派の罪惡が次第に厚顏になつてきて盲人さへそれを見分けることが出來るやうに
なつた時、彼等は自黨に對する阿諛追從者を頻りに召集するの必要に迫られた。而してそ
の權勢は愈々確立せられた。幾度となく欺かれ、裏切られ、蹂躙せられた犧牲者等はひた
すら勝利者のためにのみ事を計つた。困惑せる少數者はこの時、亞米利加の自由はどうし
てこの様に多數者のために裏切られたのであるか？　と訊ねた。かくの如きことを敢へて
行つた多數者の判斷と推理力とは何處にあつたのであらう？　多數者には推理などいふこ
とは出來ないのだ。判斷などいふものは皆無なのだ――ただそれのみ。徹頭徹尾獨創力と
道義的勇氣とを缺いてゐる多數者は常に自己の運命を他の手に托した。自己の責任を負ふ
て立つことが出來ない彼等は指導者の導くがままに奈落の淵にまでも追從せんとするので

ある。"われ等の中にあつて最も恐るべき眞理と正義との敵は團結せる多數者である。呪は
れたる群衆であると。"叫んだ。ストツクマンは正しかつた。凡そ群衆の如く革新を憎むも
のはあるまい。彼等には新しき第一步を踏み出す力もなければアンビションもないのであ
る。彼等は常に新しき眞理の革新者、先驅者を彈劾し迫害し來つたのである。

現代は個人主義の時代であり、少數者の時代であるとは全ての政治家、社會主義者を問
はず一樣に提唱し、又屢々繰返される鯨波（スローガン）である。只だ淺薄皮層に止まる人々のみかくの
如き見解によつて惑はされるかも知れない。如何にも少數者は世界の富を蓄積した。彼等
は實に現代の主人であり、絕對の帝王である。然しながら彼等の成功は決して個人主義の
影響によるものではない。否、全く群衆の怯懦と怠慢と絕對服從とに起因してゐるのであ
る。群衆は只管支配せられ壓制せられ、指導せられんことをのみ求めてゐる。凡そ現代の
如く個人主義がその完全な發想をなすの機會を失ひ、健全なる狀態に於て自から肯定する
ことを得ざる時代は人類の歷史以來初めてのことなのではあるまいか。

正直なる目的のために沒頭せる個人的特色ある教育家、獨創的思想を抱く文學者及び藝
術家、獨立不羈の科學者或は探究家、妥協せざる社會改良家――これ等の人々は老衰のた
め學識と創造力とを全く失つてしまつた人々によつて日々壁の一隅に押付られてゐる。

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フエラア型の教育者（Francisco Ferrer—革命的教育家、一九〇九年九月一日、教権に反抗せりとの故をもつて西班牙政府の捕ふるところとなり、同十月十三日獄中にて銃殺せらる。——譯者）は現在會にあつては何處にも入れられないのである。衆愚と自働機械の時代に於てはかの俗流に媚ぶるエリオット或はバットラア教授の如き人々でなければ成効と永續とは覺束ないのである。文界及び劇界に於てもハンフレイ・ワアズ或はクライド・フイチエスの如きが群衆の偶像（アイドル）であるにひきかへ、エマアソン、トロウ、ホイットマン、イブセン、イエツ、ステフエン・フイリツプスの如き天才の美を認識する者は極めて少數に過ぎない。彼等は群集地平線の遙かなたに輝く孤獨なる星辰である。

出版業者、演劇主任、所謂批評家等は創作に離るべからざる「質」を無視して、その賣れ行きと俗受とを先つ問題とする。悲しいかな、俗衆の口は塵芥箱（はきだめ）の如く、心力の咀嚼を要せざるもののみを受入れんとする。その結果として平凡陳腐なる作物のみが代表的作品として歡迎せられるのである。

藝術界に於ても同一の悲しき事實に面することは改めて云ふまでもない。所謂藝術製造品の俗惡と見悧さとが知りたければ公園や大通りを觀察して歩けば直にわかることである。俗惡なる多數趣味以外になにものかかくの如き藝術の蹂躙を默許することが出來やう。都市の隨所に竦立せる銅像の類は悉く低級虚僞の作品のみであつて、眞の藝術に比する時は恰かもミケルアンヂエロの作物に對する土人の偶像であるかの如き觀がある。然しそれ等が成効に價する唯一の藝術品である。社會の概戈觀念に囚はるることなく、自在に獨創を發揮し、ひたすらライフに眞實ならんと努力する藝術的天才は常に慘憺零落の生涯を送る。勿論彼の作物と雖も何日か彌次馬の玩弄品となる時があるかも知れない。然しそれは少なくとも彼の心血が悉く注ぎ盡された後である。

今日の藝術家はかの古のプロメシヤスの如く絶へず經濟的必迫の巖上に縛せらるるが故に自由なる創造に從事することが出來ないのであると一般に云はれてゐる。然しながらそれは孰れの時代を問はず常に眞の藝術家に供つてゐたことなのである。かのミケルアンヂエロすら保護者（パトロン）に依立してゐた。唯だ當時の藝術鑑識家は現代の盲目なる群衆とは遙かにその趣きを異にしてゐたのである。彼等は眞に藝術の殿堂に參することを光榮と感じてゐた人々である。

現代の藝術保護者は弗（ダラア）といふ唯だ一つの標準、價値を知つてゐる。彼は傑作の眞實に關してなく沒交渉である。彼に藝術品のために支拂はるる金の價にのみ重きを置く者である。かくしてミルボウの「商賈は高貴だ」中の財政家はある不明な書を指して「如何ですこの

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傑作は、なんしろ五萬フランですからな——」と云つた。現代成金の口吻そのままである。藝術品のために沸はるる無意味の金高は彼等の貧弱なる趣味の埋合せをしなければならない。

思想の獨立ということが又社會に於て最も許すべからざる罪になつてゐる。これが民主主義を標榜してゐる國に最も著しく現はれてゐるということは甚だ意味深いことでなければならない。恐るべき多數者の力。

ウエンデル・フイリップスは五十年以前に云つた。『絶對民主平等のわが國では輿論は唯だに萬能であるばかりでなく、遍在でもある。輿論の暴戻から逃るべき道もなく、隠るべき場所もない。例令諸君がかの古の希臘の提燈を携へて探しまはつても、世間の評判によつて自己の社會上の位置や仕事の上に何等の利害得失を蒙らない人を見付出すことは不可能であらう。吾人は自己の確信を臆することなく吐露する個人の集團ではなく、他の國民に比して極めて臆病なる群衆である。吾人は相互に恐れ合つてゐるのである。』これによつて見ると現代はかのウエンデル・フイリップスを障げた當時の狀態から幾許も進んではゐないのである。

今日もかの當時に於けるが如く輿論は遍在せる暴君である。現代の多數者は臆病者の群

集を代表し、自己の心靈の貧弱を遺憾なく映ずる人間を喜んで歡迎してゐる。それはかのルウズベルトの如き人間が前例になき程の位置を得てゐるのでも解かる。彼は群衆心理の最惡なる要素を體現してゐる。彼は多數者が理想と純潔とを無視してゐるということをよく知りぬいてゐる政治家である。群集の欲求するものは見世物である。それが犬芝居であらうが、懸賞決鬪であらうが、黒奴の私刑であらうが、結婚披露であらうがかまはない。精神顚倒が恐しければ恐しい程、群衆の歡喜と稱讃とが激烈になるのである。かくして貧弱なる理想と俗惡なる精神とを有するルウズヴェルトの如き人間が時代の寵兒として名聲を博するに至るのである。

然るに一方にあつて、かくの如き政治上の小人の上に高く位する敎養あり眞に才能ある人々が懦夫として嘲弄せられてゐる。現代を個人主義全盛の時代であると主張するが如きは極めて猾稽である。現代は歷史上に繰返される全ての現象中の最も有害なるものである。宗敎と云はず、政治經濟上の自由と云はず。人類の進歩に對する全ての努力は悉く少數者より發生するのである。而して今日に於てもなほ少數者はたへず誤解せられ、迫害せられ投獄せられ、或は殺戮せられてゐるではないか。

ナザレの叛逆者によつて說かれたる同胞主義はそれが少數者の光明である間は生命、眞

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理、正義の芽を保存してゐた。然しながら多數者がそれを捉へた瞬間、その偉大なる主義は一種の符號となり、到る處に苦痛と災厄とを傳播する血と火の先驅者となつた。カルヴイン、ルウテル等の巨人が羅馬の萬能に對する攻擊は夜の暗黑に輝く旭日の如くであつた。然しながらルウテルとカルヴインが政治家と變じ貴族並びに群集精神に呼應し初むると同時に彼等は改革の本旨を危地に陷れた。彼等は多數者の味方を得て遂に成功した。群集もその多數者はかの舊敎の怪物（モンスタア）と同じく思想と理性に對する殘酷な迫害者であつた。常の輿論の前に低頭せざる少數異端者は禍なるかな。不斷の熱誠と忍耐と犧牲によつて人心は遂に宗敎的妄想より覺醒し、初めて自由なることを得るのである。少數者は新なる勝利の前途に猛進する。然るに年と共に虛僞に變りゆく眞理を背負ふ多數者は疲れたる歩みをつゞけてゐるのである。

王者及び壓制者の權力に反抗して一步一步自己勝算の道を踏みしめつつ惡戰するジョンヽボール、ワツト・テイラア、テルの如き巨人等が澤山出て來なければ人類は永久に絕對的奴隸狀態を脫することは至難であらう。個人的先驅者の力によらなければかの佛蘭西革命の巨濤も遂に社會をその根底から震憾させるとは出來なかつたであらう。大事は常に小事によつて先立たれてゐる。かくしてカミイル・デスモリンの熱烈なる雄辯はバスチル牢獄

と苛酷なる政治とあらゆる傳習とを顚覆するエリコの前の喇叭であつた。

如何なる時代に於ても少數者は常に偉大なる思想と自由の旗幟を眞先に飜がへすのである。鉛の如く縛されたる群衆は何事をもなし得ない。この事實は露西亞に於て最も力强く證明せられた。數千の生命は血政のために犧牲となつた。しかもかの玉座の怪物は以前として滅はされない。最深最善の情緒が鐵の輪の下に呻吟しつつある時、如何して文學、敎養、思想の發達進步を見ることが出來やう？　かの惰眠を貪る不活潑愚昧の露西亞農民は言語に絕する悲慘、鬪爭、犧牲の一世紀を經たる後もなほ『白き手の人々』を絞殺せる繩は幸運の御呪になると信じてゐるのである。

亞米利加に於ける自由獲得の歷史に於ても多數者は常にその障碍となつてゐる。今日に於てもなほジャフヽソン、パトリック・ヘンリイ、トマス・ペイン等の思想は後世のために拒否せられ、或は賣られてゐる。群衆にとつてかかる思想は無用なのである。リンコルンの偉大と勇氣とは當時の背景を創造した人々に於ては全く忘れられてゐる。黑人の眞の保護者はボストン、ロイド・ガリソン、ウエンデル・フイリツプス、トロウ、マアガレット・フラア、セオドル・パアカア等の少數者によつて代表せられた。その人々の不窟なる勇氣は巨人ジョン・ブラウンとなつて現はれた。彼等の不撓なる熱心と雄辯と忍耐とは遂に南方領主の要塞

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を顚覆した。サンコルン及び彼の徒は奴隷廢止が實行となつて現はれ、萬人によつて承認せられた時、始めて運動に從事したのである。

約五十年以前、彗星の如き思想は世界の社會的地平線上に現出した。その思想は全世界の壓制者を悉く戰慄せしめた。遠大にして革命的な思想は又萬人の歡喜であり希望であつた。バイオニヤアは彼等の進みゆく道の如何に險惡であるかを自覺してゐた。然しながら、害と反抗と艱難と痛苦とが彼等を待つてゐるといふことを知りぬいてゐた。

彼等は自若として彼等の信ずる道に進み、進み、進んだ。今や、その思想は全世界のスローガンとなつた。今日に於て人は皆な一個の社會主義者である。富豪とその哀れむべき犧牲者と、律法と權威の維持者と、不幸なる犯罪者と、自由思想家と、虛僞なる宗教傳道者と流行界にときめく淑女と襤褸をまとふ工女と皆な等しく社會主義者である。然るにかの五十年以前の眞理は全く虛僞と變つてしまつた。當時の盛なる青春の意氣と勢力と革命的理想とは悉く萎縮し去つたのである。何故にかくの如き現象が生じたのであらう？ かの思想は今は美しき幻影でなく、多數者の意思を基礎として行はるる『實際的計畫』と變じたからである。政治的權謀はここしへに虐げられたる哀れな群集の稱讚を歌つてゐる。

私は全ての選擧者と共に如何に群衆が常に簒奪せられ、利用せられつつあるかを知つて

ある。この恐るべき狀態に對して當然責任を有すべきはかの一團の寄生虫ばかりでなく、群衆それ自身であると主張したい。群衆は常にその主人に屈從し、鞭撻せらるるを好む。而も一度、朽廢せる制度と資本家の神聖に對する反抗の聲の擧げらるる時、「十字架につけよ！」と眞先に叫ぶ者は實に彼等である。群衆にして兵士たり、政治家たり、獄吏たり、死刑執行者たるの意志なくんば、如何にしてかの當局者と私有財產の存在を維持することが出來やう。私が改めて云ふまでもなくこれは社會黨の主領もよく心得てゐることである。然しながら彼等の生活法が權力の永續を意味してゐるので、彼等は多數者の効力といふ神話を主張してゐる。如何にも、權力と强迫と從屬とは群集を基礎として成立せられてゐる。然しながらかの個人の自由を主張し得る自由なる社會の出現は到底望むことが出來ないのである。

かく云ふ私は必ずしも地上の追放者と被壓制者に對する同情がないからではない。又彼等の送る生活が如何に悲慘であり、侮辱せられたるものであるかを知らないからではない。私は只だ善の創造力を缺如せるが故に群衆を唾棄するのである。否、否、私は只だ彼等が一團の群集として何等の正義、平等をも代表し得ないことをあまりによく知りぬいてゐるから。彼等は人類の精神を壓服し、肉體を束縛した。群衆は常に人生を砂漠の如く單調

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Minorities versus majorities. In Japanese] Shosù To Tasù / Emma Goldman. – pp. 53-64 ; 21 cm. *In* Seito [Tokyo]. – Vol. 3, no. 11 (Nov. 1913).

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灰色なるものと化さんことをのみ目的とする。彼等は常に獨創と個人主義と自由思想の絶滅者である。『群衆は淺薄で不具で彼等の要求と勢力とは常に有害である。彼等に媚びる必要は決してない、彼等は只だ敎育せらるべきである。私は群集に對して讓歩すべき何物も有してはゐない。私は彼等を訓練し、分離せしめて優秀なる個人を撰拔せんと欲するばかりである。群集！　彼等は禍なるかな。群衆は無用である。私は唯だ正直なる男子と美しく愛らしい賢婦人とを要求する。』とエマアソンは云つた。私はその言葉を彼と共に信ずる。

言葉を換へて云へば、健全なる社會狀態の幸福と眞理とは唯だ賢明なる少數者の妥協せざる熱心と勇氣と決斷によつて實現せられるのである。

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自己の或る心に與ふ

―西崎花世―

○

此の心が斯う云ふ方向に向いて、激しく歩き出しさうになつた。何故この心が自分の存在の安全を破壞する方向に向いて、自分を墜落させる斷崖に向いて、恐怖と苦痛とにみちた世界の方へ、越えてはならぬ界を蹈み出さうとするのであらう。このまま歩かせては危い。このまま育てていつては自分は奈落に落ちてゆくより外はない。この心を抱き止めねばならない、この育つてゆく芽を燒かねばならない、この眼を開かせてはならない、どうしてもこの心はさへぎらなければならぬ心だ。この心は處を得た當然のものではない。

或る境遇と或る性格には、その世界は直ぐ正しく、直ぐ美しく、直ぐ販に開いてゆく事が出來る。或る境遇と或る性格には、その世界にゆく道が正面につくられてゐる、而してその境遇とその性格とは他の方面に置かれてゐて、この自分の内容には無い。この自分の所

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The Emma Goldman Papers

The Tragedy of Buffalo / Emma Goldman.– pp. 55-57 ; 27 cm. *In* The Revolutionary Almanac, 1914 / edited by Hippolyte Havel. – New York : The Rabelais Press, 1914.
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

CZOLGOSZ

He murdered! Hasten! Let the Nation kill!
A godly State, we wield the chastening rod.
Dumb in the chair he waits—Oh hush, be still!
Once more a priest insults our patient God!

With fire of Heaven he withers like a leaf—
This hideous offering to our social Jass!
But, as of old, beside the punished thief,
Unseen, Christ hangs upon a neighboring cross!

This futile Brutus struck at Caesar's life;
He killed a husband and the People's friend.
Oh, Caesar hath not flesh to feel the knife!
Still Caesar lives—and this is not the end!

Hark to the human groans from mire and muck!
Oh, still the streams of sunless millions flow!
He missed the tyrant's heart at which he struck,
Nor do we kill the Thing that struck the blow!

The pistol ball wounds not the vaporous mark!
Nor can the dagger pick our prison lock!
Strike Night!—you stab some brother in the dark!
And Henry Fourth survives poor Ravaillac!

JOHN G. NEIHARDT.



Leon Czolgosz

THE TRAGEDY OF BUFFALO

EMMA GOLDMAN

For they starve the little frightened child
Till it weeps both night and days
And they scourge the weak, and flog the fool,
And gibe the old and gray,
And some grow mad, and all grow bad,
And none a word may say.

OSCAR WILDE.

NEVER before in the history of governments has the sound of a pistol shot so startled, terrorized, and horrified the self-satisfied, indifferent, contented, and indolent public, as has the one fired by Leon Czolgosz when he struck down William McKinley, president of the money kings and trust magnates of this country.

Not that this modern Caesar was the first to die at the hands of a Brutus. Oh, no! Since man has trampled upon the rights of his fellow men, rebellious spirits have been afloat in the atmosphere. Not that William McKinley was a greater man than those who throned upon the fettered form of Liberty. He did not compare either in intellect, ability, personality, or force of character with those who had to pay the penalty of their power. Nor will history be able to record his extraordinary kindness, generosity, and sympathy with those whom ignorance and greed have condemned to a life of misery, hopelessness, and despair.

Why, then, were the mighty and powerful thrown into such consternation by the deed of September sixth? Why this howl of a hired press? Why such blood-thirsty and violent utterances from the clergy, whose usual business is to preach "peace on earth and good will to all"? Why the mad ravings of the mob, the demand for rigid laws to curtail freedom of press and speech?

For more than thirty years a small band of parasites have robbed the American people, and trampled upon the fundamental principles laid down by the forefathers of this country, guaranteeing to every man, woman and child "Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." For thirty years they have been increasing their wealth and power at the expense of the vast mass of workers, thereby enlarging the army of the unemployed, the hungry, homeless, and friendless portion of humanity, tramping the country from east to west and north to south, in a vain search for work. For many years the home has been left to the care of the little ones, while the parents are working their life and strength away for a small pittance. For thirty years the sturdy sons of America were sacrificed on the battlefield of industrial war, and the daughters outraged in corrupt factory surroundings. For long and weary years this process of undermining the nation's health, vigor, and pride, without much protest from the disinherited and oppressed, has been going on. Maddened by success and victory, the money-powers of this "free land of ours" became more and more audacious in their heartless, cruel efforts to compete with rotten and decayed European tyrannies in supremacy of power.

With the minds of the young poisoned with a perverted conception of patriotism, and the fallacious notion that all are equal and that

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Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

each one has the same opportunity to become a millionaire (provided he can steal the first hundred thousand dollars), it was an easy matter indeed to check the discontent of the people; one is therefore not surprised when one hears Americans say, "We can understand why the poor Russians kill their czar, or the Italians their king, for think of the conditions that prevail there; but he who lives in a republic, where each one has the opportunity to become President of the United States (provided he has a powerful party back of him), why should he attempt such acts? We are the people, and acts of violence in this country are impossible."

And now that the impossible has happened, that even America has given birth to the man who struck down the king of the republic, they have lost their heads, and are shouting vengeance upon those who for years have shown that the conditions here were beginning to be alarming, and unless a halt be called, despotism would set its heavy foot on the hitherto relatively free limbs of the people.

In vain have the mouthpieces of wealth denounced Leon Czolgosz as a foreigner; in vain they are making the world believe that he is the product of European conditions and influenced by European ideas. This time the "assassin" happened to be the child of Columbia, who lulled him to sleep with

"My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,"

and who held out the hope to him that he, too, could become President of the country. Who can tell how many times this American child has gloried in the celebration of the 4th of July, or on Decoration Day, when he faithfully honored the nation's dead? Who knows but that he, too, was willing to "fight for his country and die for her liberty"; until it dawned upon him that those he belonged to have no country, because they have been robbed of all that they produced; until he saw that all the liberty and independence of his youthful dreams are but a farce. Perhaps he also learned that it is nonsense to talk of equality between those who have all and those who have nothing. Hence he rebelled.

"But his act was mad and cowardly," says the ruling class. "It was foolish and impractical," echo all petty reformers, Socialists, and even some Anarchists.

What absurdity! As if an act of this kind can be measured by its usefulness, expediency, or practibility. We might as well ask ourselves of the usefulness of a cyclone, tornado, a violent thunderstorm, or the ceaseless fall of the Niagara waters. All these forces are the natural results of natural causes, which we may not yet have been able to explain, but which are nevertheless a part of nature, just as all force is natural and part of man and beast, developed or checked, according to the pressure of conditions and man's understanding. An act



of violence is therefore not only the result of conditions, but also of man's psychical and physical nature, and his susceptibility to the world surrounding him.

Does not the summer fight against the winter, does it not resist, mourn, and weep oceans of tears in its eager attempt to shield its children from the icy grip of frost? And does not the winter enshroud Mother Earth with a white, hard cover, lest the warm spring sunshine should melt the heart of the hardened old gentleman? And does he not gather his last forces for a bitter and fierce battle for supremacy, until the burning rays of the sun disperse his ranks?

Resistance against force is a fact all through nature. Man being part of nature, he, too, is swayed by the same force to defend himself against invasion. Force will continue to be a natural factor just so long as economic slavery, social superiority, inequality, exploitation, and war continue to destroy all that is good and noble in man.

That the economic and political conditions of this country have been pregnant with the embryo of greed and despotism, no one who thinks and has closely watched events can deny. It was, therefore, but a question of time for the first sign of labor pains to begin. And they began when McKinley, more than any other President, had betrayed the trust of the

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people, and became the tool of the moneyed kings. They began when he and his class had stained the memory of the men who produced the Declaration of Independence, by the blood of the massacred Filipinos. They grew more violent as the recollection of Hazleton, Virden, Idaho, and other places, where capital has waged war on labor; until the 6th of September the child begotten, nourished and reared by violence matured.

That violence is not the result of conditions only, but also largely depends upon man's inner nature, is best proven by the fact that while thousands loath tyranny, but one will strike down a tyrant. What is it that drives him to commit the act, while others pass quietly by? It is because the one is of such a sensitive nature that he will feel wrong more keenly and with greater intensity than others.

It is, therefore, not cruelty, or a thirst for blood, or any other criminal tendency, that induces such a man to strike a blow at organized power. On the contrary, it is mostly because of a strong social instinct, because of an abundance of love and an overflow of sympathy with the pain and sorrow around us, a love which seeks refuge in the embrace of mankind, a love so strong that it shrinks before no consequence, a love so broad that it can never be wrapped up in one object, as long as thousands perish, a love so all-absorbing that it can neither calculate, reason, investigate, but only dare at all costs.

It is generally believed that men prompted to put the dagger or bullet in the cowardly heart of government, were men conceited enough to think that they will thereby liberate the world from the fetters of despotism. As far as I have studied the psychology of an act of violence, I find that nothing could be further away from the thought of such a man than that if the king were dead, the mob will cease to shout "Long live the king!"

The cause for such an act lies deeper, far too deep for the shallow multitude to comprehend. It lies in the fact that the world within the individual, and the world around him, are antagonistic forces, and, therefore, must clash.

Do I say that Czolgosz is made of that material? No. Neither can I say that he was not. Nor am I in a position to say whether or not he is an Anarchist; I did not know the man; no one as far as I am aware seems to have known him, but from attitude and behavior so far (I hope that no reader of "Free Society" has believed the newspaper lies), I feel that he was a soul in pain, a soul that could find no abode in this cruel world of ours; a soul "impractical," inexpedient, lacking in caution (according to the dictum of the wise); but daring just the same, and I cannot help but bow in reverent silence before the power of such a soul, that has broken the narrow walls of its prison, and has taken a daring leap into the unknown.

Having shown that violence is not the result of personal influence, or one particular ideal, I deem is unnecessary to go into a lengthy theoretical discussion as to whether Anarchism contains the element of force or not. The question has been discussed time and again, and it is proven that Anarchism and violence are as far apart from each other as liberty and tyranny. I care not what the rabble says; but to those who are still capable of understanding I would say that Anarchism, being a philosophy of life, aims to establish a state of society in which man's inner make-up and the conditions around him, can blend harmoniously, so that he will be able to utilize all forces to enlarge and beautify the life about him. To those I would also say that I do not advocate violence; government does this, and force begets force. It is a fact which cannot be done away with through the prosecution of a few men and women, or by more stringent laws—this only tends to increase it.

Violence will die a natural death when man will learn to understand that each unit has its place in the universe, and while being closely linked together, it must remain free to grow.

Some people have hastily said that Czolgosz's act was foolish and will check the growth of progress. Those worthy people are wrong in forming hasty conclusions. What results the act of September 6 will have no one can say; one thing, however, is certain: he has wounded government in its most vital spot. As to stopping the wheel of progress, that is absurd. Ideas cannot be retarded by restraint. And as to petty police persecution, what matter?

As I write this, my thoughts wander to the death-cell at Auburn, to the young man with the girlish face, about to be put to death by the coarse, brutal hands of the law, walking up and down the narrow cell, with cold, cruel eyes following him,

Who watch him when he tries to weep
And when he tries to pray;
Who watch him lest himself should rob
The prison of its prey.

And my heart goes out to him in deep sympathy, and to all the victims of a system of inequality, and the many who will die the forerunners of a better, nobler, grander life.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Self-Defense for Labor / Emma Goldman.– pp. 328-331 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 8, no. 11 (Jan. 1914).

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SELF-DEFENSE FOR LABOR

By Emma Goldman

IF the workers of America were sufficiently developed mentally and conscious of the spirit of solidarity, the events of the last few months would compel them to go on a general strike or use more effective means of self-defense against their masters.

From North to South, from East to West the country re-echoes with the numberless brutalities and cold-blooded outrages perpetrated against labor, which must well nigh tax the patience of the most timid, let alone those who still have warm blood in their veins.

Yet, all that is being done in reply to the daily crimes committed by the parasitic class and its State and municipal hirelings, the authorities, is—investigations, everlasting investigations. The latter only tend to distract the attention of the people from the real issue, which is that the workers in this country are absolutely at the mercy of their masters.

We have barely caught our breath after the horrors enacted in West Virginia, when the news comes of the brutalities in the hop fields of Wheatland, Calif., in the mines in Trinidad, Colorado, and Calumet, Michigan. In all these places the police, the militia, and armed gangs of citizen thugs are carrying on a reign of terror that would put to shame the Black Hundreds of Russia. In Wheatland, numbers of hop-pickers have been massacred and many more wounded; in Colorado Moyer is foully attacked, shot in the back and driven out of town, and Mother Jones is forcibly deported from Trinidad; not to mention the other outrages perpetrated against the strikers in Michigan and Colorado.

Yet, not a voice is raised in protest. The law winks its eye, and not a single thug is apprehended or punished. On the contrary, it is the strikers who are dragged before the bar of justice. On the 12th of this month four workers will have to stand trial in Marysville, California, for the riot caused by the police. During the strike at the Durst hop ranch, at Wheatland, 23,000 hop-pickers who came in response to a "want ad," found themselves confronted with conditions suited only for cattle. They were placed in quarters unfit for habitation and compelled by the hired slave-drivers to keep at work without rest and without proper food to sustain their exhausted energies. Not even water was provided, and as the heat was terrific, these peons were forced to buy lemonade (five cents per glass) from a member of the Durst family. Unable to bear things any longer, the men sent to Durst a delegate, who was brutally assaulted and beaten up. Then the men struck. Immediately the local authorities made common cause with the slave-owners. They were also aided by the Burns' detectives and the Citizens' Alliance, and finally by the National Guard, under the command of Adjutant General Forbes. This legal outfit broke into a meeting of strikers and opened fire without the least provocation, killing two workers and wounding a great many others, among them District Attorney Manwell and Deputy Sheriff Beardon, who later died. Since then a number of hop pickers have been kept in jail and subjected to every torture known to the "third degree." One of the men was kept fourteen days without sleep in order to force from him a confession. As the result of this treatment one of the victims attempted suicide, while another, who had lost his arm in the police riot, found the tortures so unbearable that he hanged himself. All this happened, not on the rubber plantations of the far Congo, but in our own free America.

This treatment of labor is no longer an exception. It has become the rule all over the country. Similar horrors have been going on in Michigan and Colorado till they have now reached the climax where brutal assaults and forcible deportation are the order of the day. One of the latest victims is Mother Jones, regarding whose deportation General Chase gave out the following statement:

> Mrs. Jones was met at the train this morning by the military escort acting under instructions not to permit her to remain in this district. The detail took charge of Mrs. Jones and her baggage, and she was accompanied out of the district under guard after she had been given breakfast. The step was taken in accordance with my instructions to preserve peace in the district. The presence of Mother Jones here at this time cannot be tolerated. She had planned to go to the Ludlow tent colony of strikers to stop the desertion of union members. If she returns she will be placed in jail and held incommunicado.

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Self-Defense for Labor / Emma Goldman.– pp. 328-331 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 8, no. 11 (Jan. 1914).

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The presenee of Mother Jones must have indeed been dangerous to the masters of General Chase, since he so obligingly disposed of her. Just as the presence of Moyer seems to have been very unpleasant to the mine-owners of Calumet. Having resorted to the club and all-around terrorism to break the spirit of the Calumet strikers, and having failed of their purpose, the mine barons planned the deportation of Moyer and carried it out with that brutality which only law-abiding citizens are capable of. It is to be hoped that Moyer, who is one of the most peaceful and conservative leaders in the Western Federation of Miners, will now realize that the mailed fist of the law is raised, not only against Anarchists and I. W. W. men, but also against the respectable element in the labor movement if they dare assert their rights.

But whether the criminal assault upon the President of the Western Federation of Miners will prove a lesson to him or not, surely the workers of Calumet and of the rest of the country cannot much longer remain in ignorance as to the real condition of affairs. They can no longer hope for protection from the government—no, not even from the federal authorities since they, too, serve only King Mammon. Neither have they anything to expect from the good will of the public. If nothing else, then reasons of sheer self-defense would justify the workers to arm themselves for their own protection and that of their families against the outrages practiced upon them.

At a negro meeting in Washington, D. C., Rev. I. N. Ross called upon his hearers to fight for their politieal, social and industrial rights. "To prepare for war in times of peace is the policy of this nation," he argued. "It should be your poliey, if you wish to free yourself from the oppression and break the fetters of this era of new slavery."

It is not often that an Anarchist can agree with a Christian gentleman; but I heartily concur in this case, exeept that I feel that it is not only the negro who must learn to fight against the oppression, the fetters of the era of the new slavery, but also the white man, the workers at large. They owe it to themselves, to the cause of

labor, and above all to their own self-respect and dignity that they should no longer submit meekly to the indignity, injustice and crimes heaped upon them.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

GAGGING FREE SPEECH

BY JOHN DAVENPORT

IN a country where the soldier's gun and the policeman's elub reign supreme, it is well nigh childish to talk of free speech. But since the average citizen clings to the belief that he enjoys the right of free speech and assembly, it is necessary to report the recent outrage on free speech in Paterson and Philadelphia.

On December 16 Emma Goldman visited Paterson to deliver a lecture on "The Spirit of Anarchism in the Labor Struggle." At the entrance of the hall she was met by a gang of detectives, who informed her that she would first have to see the Chief before she would be allowed to speak. She did see the Chief, and she was told by him that as an "avowed Anarchist" and an "undesirable," she could not speak in Paterson. When she insisted on speaking, she was dragged out of the hall by force and told by the Captain of Police that he "would take her by the throat and throw her down the steps."

However, the stupidity of the Poliee in stopping Emma Goldman in Paterson was not half as dense as their action in letting Alexander Berkman speak, while the six detectives watched her lest she be spirited back to the platform.

Thus for a whole hour the police and deteetives were forced to listen to a most inspired and revolutionary speech, the guardians of the peace too ignorant to grasp the fact that they were defeating themselves.

A similar occurrence took place in Philadelphia, on Sunday, January 4. After Emma Goldman had been brutally gagged in that city in 1909, and the gagging sustained by the courts, the Radieal Library arranged a leeture by her at the Labor Temple. She was to speak on "The Awakening of Labor," a dangerous subjeet indeed.

At 7:30 p. m., before Emma Goldman reached the hall, the police swooped down upon the audienee, driving everybody out into the street and loeking the doors, al-

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Intellectual Proletarians / Emma Goldman. – pp. 363-370 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 8, no. 12 (Feb. 1914).

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or angry parents for having perchance arranged a *rendezvous* across the State line, or perhaps met in a hotel, may be pounced upon by the Mann Law, charged with white slavery, and the man condemned to a long term in prison. Such cases indeed are now of frequent occurrence.

Meantime the real white slave traffic is being carried on with undiminished activity and at great profit, under the protection of the bribed guardians of law and order. These usually proceed against the business only when they grow dissatisfied with the size of the graft.

During the trial of Jack Johnson, the pugilist charged with traveling from Pittsburgh to Chicago in the company of a woman, the defendant's lawyer argued before the Court of Appeals that white slavery is, from all appearances, legally immune, while the representatives of the government are busy nosing about the bed chambers of decent folk. In support of this contention he said:

> Evidence shows beyond a reasonable doubt there was in existence an organized system, or syndicate, having for its purpose the importation of women from foreign countries to Chicago and other cities of the United States for immoral purposes.
>
> This syndicate had headquarters and distributing centres in New York, Chicago, Omaha, Denver, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle and Nome, Alaska.
>
> It is conservatively estimated from an examination of the data and information on hand that this syndicate has imported annually during the preceding eight or ten years on an average of about 2,000 women.
>
> Hundreds of men in large cities live from the earnings of victims of the white slave trade, and in many instances the more extensive of the international procurers live in affluence. The books kept by a notorious importer of French girls arrested in Chicago disclosed his earnings for the year previous to his arrest to have been $102,000.

To what extent the authorities share in these lucrative profits from white slavery, no investigation will ever bring to light. It is safe to say, however, that they are not content with mere crumbs.

In its early days this country had witnessed the pillory and the stake applied by the Puritans in the name of a benighted God. And now it is on the threshold of a new, no less terrible, tyranny that seeks approval and support in the name of morality, of the race, and of a barren "scientific" rationalism.

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INTELLECTUAL PROLETARIANS

BY EMMA GOLDMAN.

THE proletarization of our time reaches far beyond the field of manual labor; indeed, in the larger sense all those who work for their living, whether with hand or brain, all those who must sell their skill, knowledge, experience and ability, are proletarians. From this point of view, our entire system, excepting a very limited class, has been proletarianized.

Our whole social fabric is maintained by the efforts of mental and physical labor. In return for that, the intellectual proletarians, even as the workers in shop and mine, eke out an insecure and pitiful existence, and are more dependent upon the masters than those who work with their hands.

No doubt there is a difference between the yearly income of a Brisbane and a Pennsylvania mine worker. The former, with his colleagues in the newspaper office, in the theater, college and university, may enjoy material comfort and social position, but with it all they are proletarians, inasmuch as they are slavishly dependent upon the Hearsts, the Pulitzers, the Theater Trusts, the publishers and, above all, upon a stupid and vulgar public opinion. This terrible dependence upon those who can make the price and dictate the terms of intellectual activities, is more degrading than the position of the worker in any trade. The pathos of it is that those who are engaged in intellectual occupations, no matter how sensitive they might have been in the beginning, grow callous, cynical and indifferent to their degradation. That has certainly happened to Brisbane, whose parents were idealists working with Fourier in the early co-operative ventures. Brisbane, who himself began as a man of ideals, but who has become so enmeshed by material success that he has forsworn and betrayed every principle of his youth.

Naturally so. Success achieved by the most contemptible means cannot but destroy the soul. Yet that is the goal of our day. It helps to cover up the inner corruption and gradually dulls one's scruples, so that those who begin with some high ambition cannot, even if they would, create anything out of themselves.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Intellectual Proletarians / Emma Goldman. – pp. 363-370 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 8, no. 12 (Feb. 1914).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

In other words, those who are placed in positions which demand the surrender of personality, which insist on strict conformity to definite political policies and opinions, must deteriorate, must become mechanical, must lose all capacity to give anything really vital. The world is full of such unfortunate cripples. Their dream is to "arrive," no matter at what cost. If only we would stop to consider what it means to "arrive," we would pity the unfortunate victim. Instead of that, we look to the artist, the poet, the writer, the dramatist and thinker who have "arrived," as the final authority on all matters, whereas in reality their "arrival" is synonymous with mediocrity, with the denial and betrayal of what might in the beginning have meant something real and ideal.

The "arrived" artists are dead souls upon the intellectual horizon. The uncompromising and daring spirits never "arrive." Their life represents an endless battle with the stupidity and the dullness of their time. They must remain what Nietzsche calls "untimely," because everything that strives for new form, new expression or new values, is always doomed to be untimely.

The real pioneers in ideas, in art and in literature have remained aliens to their time, misunderstood and repudiated. And if, as in the case of Zola, Ibsen and Tolstoy, they compelled their time to accept them, it was due to their extraordinary genius and even more so to the awakening and seeking of a small minority for new truths, to whom these men were the inspiration and intellectual support. Yet even to this day Ibsen is unpopular, while Poe, Whitman and Strindberg have never "arrived."

The logical conclusion is this: those who will not worship at the shrine of money, need not hope for recognition. On the other hand, they will also not have to think other people's thoughts or wear other people's political clothes. They will not have to proclaim as true that which is false, nor praise that as humanitarian which is brutal. I realize that those who have the courage to defy the economic and social whip are among the few, and we have to deal with the many.

Now, it is a fact that the majority of the intellectual proletarians are in the economic treadmill and have less

freedom than those who work in the shops or mines. Unlike the latter, they cannot put on overalls, and ride the bumpers to the next town in search of a job. In the first place, they have spent a lifetime on a profession, at the expense of all their other faculties. They are therefore unfitted for any other other work except the one thing which, parrot-like, they have learned to repeat. We all know how cruelly difficult it is to find a job in any given trade. But to come to a new town without connections and find a position as teacher, writer, musician, bookkeeper, actress or nurse, is almost impossible.

If, however, the intellectual proletarian has connections, he must come to them in a presentable shape; he must keep up appearances. And that requires means, of which most professional people have as little as the workers, because even in their "good times" they rarely earn enough to make ends meet.

Then there are the traditions, the habits of the intellectual proletarians, the fact that they must live in a certain district, that they must have certain comforts, that they must buy clothes of a certain quality. All that has emasculated them, has made them unfit for the stress and strain of the life of the bohemian. If he or she drink coffee at night, they cannot sleep. If they stay up a little later than usual, they are unfitted for the next day's work. In short, they have no vitality and cannot, like the manual worker, meet the hardships of the road. Therefore they are tied in a thousand ways to the most galling, humiliating conditions. But so blind are they to their own lot that they consider themselves superior, better, and more fortunate than their fellow-comrades in the ranks of labor.

Then, too, there are the women who boast of their wonderful economic achievements, and that they can now be self-supporting. Every year our schools and colleges turn out thousands of competitors in the intellectual market, and everywhere the supply is greater than the demand. In order to exist, they must cringe and crawl and beg for a position. Professional women crowd the offices, sit around for hours, grow weary and faint with the search for employment, and yet deceive themselves with the delusion that they are superior to the working girl, or that they are economically independent.

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The years of their youth are swallowed up in the acquisition of a profession, in the end to be dependent upon the board of education, the city editor, the publisher or the theatrical manager. The emancipated woman runs away from a stifling home atmosphere, only to rush from employment bureau to the literary broker, and back again. She points with moral disgust to the girl of the redlight district, and is not aware that she too must sing, dance, write or play, and otherwise sell herself a thousand times in return for her living. Indeed, the only difference between the working girl and the intellectual female or male proletarian is a matter of four hours. At 5 a. m. the former stands in line waiting to be called to the job and often face to face with a sign, "No hands wanted." At 9 a. m. the professional woman must face the sign, "No brains wanted."

Under such a state of affairs, what becomes of the high mission of the intellectuals, the poets, the writers, the composers and what not? What are they doing to cut loose from their chains, and how dare they boast that they are helping the masses? Yet you know that they are engaged in uplift work. What a farce! They, so pitiful and low in their slavery themselves, so dependent and helpless! The truth is, the people have nothing to learn from this class of intellectuals, while they have everything to give to them. If only the intellectuals would come down from their lofty pedestal and realize how closely related they are to the people! But they will not do that, not even the radical and liberal intellectuals.

Within the last ten years the intellectual proletarians of advanced tendencies have entered every radical movement. They could, if they would, be of tremendous importance to the workers. But so far they have remained without clarity of vision, without depth of conviction, and without real daring to face the world. It is not because they do not feel deeply the mind- and soul-destroying effects of compromise, or that they do not know the corruption, the degradation in our social, political, business, and family life. Talk to them in private gatherings, or when you get them alone, and they will admit that there isn't a single institution worth preserving. But only privately. Publicly they continue in the same rut as their conservative colleagues. They write the stuff that

will sell, and do not go an inch farther than public taste will permit. They speak their thoughts, careful not to offend any one, and live according to the most stupid conventions of the day. Thus we find men in the legal profession, intellectually emancipated from the belief in government, yet looking to the fleshpots of a judgeship; men who know the corruption of politics, yet belonging to political parties and championing Mr. Roosevelt. Men who realize the prostitution of mind in the newspaper profession, yet holding responsible positions therein. Women who deeply feel the fetters of the marital institution and the indignity of our moral precepts, who yet submit to both; who either stifle their nature or have clandestine relations—but God forbid they should face the world and say, "Mind your own damned business!"

Even in their sympathies for labor—and some of them have genuine sympathies—the intellectual proletarians do not cease to be middle-class, respectable and aloof. This may seem sweeping and unfair, but those who know the various groups will understand that I am not exaggerating. Women of every profession have flocked to Lawrence, to Little Falls, ot Paterson, and to the strike districts in this city. Partly out of curiosity, often out of interest. But always they have remained rooted to their middle-class traditions. Always they have deceived themselves and the workers with the notion that they must give the strike respectable prestige, to help the cause.

In the shirtwaistmakers' strike professional women were told to rig themselves out in their best furs and most expensive jewelry, if they wanted to help the girls. Is it necessary to say that while scores of girls were manhandled and brutally hustled into the patrol wagons, the well-dressed pickets were treated with deference and allowed to go home? Thus they had their excitement, and only hurt the cause of labor.

The police are indeed stupid, but not so stupid as not to know the difference in the danger to themselves and their masters from those who are driven to strike by necessity, and those who go into the strike for pastime or "copy." This difference doesn't come from the degree of feeling, nor even the cut of clothes, but from the

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degree of incentive and courage; and those who still compromise with appearances have no courage.

The police, the courts, the prison authorities and the newspaper owners know perfectly well that the liberal intellcetuals, even as thc conservatives, are slaves to appearances. That is why their muckraking, their investigations, their sympathies with the workers are never taken seriously. Indeed, they are welcomed by the press, because the reading public loves sensation, hence the muckraker represents a good investment for the concern and for himself. But as far as danger to the ruling class is concerned, it is like the babbling of an infant.

Mr. Sinclair would have died in obscurity but for "The Jungle," which didn't move a hair upon the heads of the Armours, but netted the author a large sum and a reputation. He may now write the most stupid stuff, sure of finding a market. Yet there is not a workingman anywhere so cringing before respectability as Mr. Sinclair.

Mr. Kibbe Turner would have remained a penny-a-liner but for our political mudslingers, who used him to make capital against Tammany Hall. Yet the poorest-paid laborer is more independent than Mr Turner, and certainly more honest than he.

Mr. Hillquit would have remained the struggling revolutionist I knew him twenty-four years ago, but for the workers who helped him to his legal success. Yet there is not a single Russian worker on the East Side so thoroughly bound to respectability and public opinion as Mr. Hillquit.

I could go on indefinitely proving that, though the intellectuals are really proletarians, they are so steeped in middle-class traditions and conventions, so tied and gagged by them, that they dare not move a step.

The cause of it is, I believe, to be sought in the fact that the intellectuals of America have not yet discovered their relation to the workers, to the revolutionary elements which at all times and in every country have been the inspiration of men and women who worked with their brains. They seem to think that they and not the workers represent the creators of culture. But that is a disastrous mistake, as proved in all countries. Only when the intellectual forces of Europe had made common cause

with the struggling masses, when they came close to the depths of society, did they give to the world a real culture.

With us, this depth in the minds of our intelleetuals is only a place for slumming, for newspaper copy, or on a very rare occasion for a little theoretic sympathy. Never was the latter strong or deep enough to pull them out of themselves, or make them break with their traditions and surroundings. Strikes, conflicts, the use of dynamite, or the efforts of the I. W. W. are exciting to our intellectual proletarians, but after all very foolish when considered in the light of the logical, eool-headed observer. Of course they feel with the I. W. W. when he is beaten and brutally treated, or with the MacNamaras, who cleared the horizon from the foggy belief that in America no one needed use violencc. The intellectuals gall too much under their own dependenee not to sympathize in sueh a ease. But the sympathy is never strong enough to establish a bond, a solidarity between him and the disinherited. It is the sympathy of aloofness, of experiment.

In other words, it is a theoretic sympathy which all those have who still enjoy a certain amount of comfort and therefore do not see why anyone should break into a fashionable restaurant. It is the kind of sympathy Mrs. Belmont has when she goes to night courts. Or the sympathy of the Osbornes, Dottys and Watsons when they had themselves locked up in prison for a few days. The sympathy of the millionaire Socialist who speaks of "economic determinism."

The intellectual proletarians who are radical and liberal are still so much of the bourgeois regime that their sympathy with the workers is dilletante and does not go farther than the parlor, the socalled salon, or Greenwich village. It may in a measure be compared to the early period of the awakening of the Russian intellectuals described by Turgenev in "Fathers and Sons."

The intellectuals of that time, while never so superficial as those I am talking about, indulged in revolutionary ideas, split hairs through the early morning hours, philosophized about all sorts of questions and carried their superior wisdom to the people with their feet deeply rooted in the old. Of course they failed. They were in-

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dignant with Turgenev and considered him a traitor to Russia. But he was right. Only when the Russian intellectuals completely broke with their traditions; only when they fully realized that society rests upon a lie, and that they must give themselves to the new completely and unreservedly, did they become a forceful factor in the life of the people. The Kropotkins, the Perovskayas, the Breshkovskayas, and hosts of others repudiated wealth and station and refused to serve King Mammon. They went among the people, not to lift them up but themselves to be lifted up, to be instructed, and in return to give themselves wholly to the people. That accounts for the heroism, the art, the literature of Russia, the unity between the people, the mujik and the intellectual. That to some extent explains the literature of all European countries, the fact that the Strindbergs, the Hauptmanns, the Wedekinds, the Brieux, the Mirbeaus, the Steinlins and Rodins have never dissociated themselves from the people.

Will that ever come to pass in America? Will the American intellectual proletarians ever love the ideal more than their comforts, ever be willing to give up external success for the sake of the vital issues of life? I think so, and that for two reasons. First, the proletarization of the intellectuals will compel them to come closer to labor. Secondly, because of the rigid regime of puritanism, which is causing a tremendous reaction against conventions and narrow moral ties. Struggling artists. writers and dramatists who strive to create something worth while, aid in breaking down dominant conventions; scores of women who wish to live their lives are helping to undermine our morality of to-day in their proud defiance of the rules of Mrs. Grundy. Alone they cannot accomplish much. They need the bold indifference and courage of the revolutionary workers, who have broken with all the old rubbish. It is therefore through the co-operation of the intellectual proletarians, who try to find expression, and the revolutionary proletarians who seek to remould life, that we in America will establish a real unity and by means of it wage a successful war against present society.

CONSTANTIN MEUNIER

BY MAX BAGINSKI

THE exhibition of the works of Constantin Meunier at Avery Hall, Columbia University, offers a rare combination of great art and deep social significance. I say a rare combination, because there widely obtains the notion—especially in art circles—that a work is only then artistic when it expresses no particular meaning or attitude. Most artists hold to this opinion with touching faith, under the aegis of the phrase art for art's sake, with the result that such art creations lack bone and marrow.

The Meunier exhibition was opened by President Butler of Columbia University. What brilliant irony! Butler is the devout stirrup-holder of the money and industrial lords; and he is proud of it. It is said of him in intimate circles that his highest ambition is to be invited to dinner by men "worth" at least fifty thousand dollars.

The exhibition comprises the statuary, paintings, pastels, and sketches of Constantin Meunier. It is preeminently in his plastic art that we see him as the great Flemish master. A child of the people, of poverty, he derived his lofty inspiration from labor. But Meunier does not give types of labor in the sense of photographic reproduction. His puddlers, foundrymen, dockhands, mine girls and so forth contain the living rhythm, the true spirit of labor. The oneness of the worker with his work, the unity of the producer with his task, finds in Meunier the most striking expression. Meunier is no less great a symbolist than a realist. His "Mower" does not convey the feeling of a man merely wielding his tool; mower and scythe appeal to one's artistic sense as a plastic unity.

Splendid is the "Sower", in whose earnest expression and free mien there is visualized something of the conquest of the future. This figure crowns the powerful Monument to Labor that in 1909—four years after Meunier's death—was erected in Lovain, where the master had lived and worked. Four friezes comprise the four sides of the Monument to Labor—Industry, The

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Love and Marriage / Emma Goldman.– p. 3 ; 36 cm. *In* The Woman Rebel [New York]. –Vol. 1, no. 1 (March 1914).

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FEMINISM

THERESA PILLINGTON CLEVE

DIRECT ACTION

THERESA PILLINGTON CLEVE

Extract from Olive Schreiner's "Women and Labor"

The moral backbone, attired and unintelligent woman produces, to an unbalanced the same intensity of [illegible] founded sex-morals, even among the best of her sex and type, which followed a George Sand who attracted to herself with deathless force some of the most noted men of her period [illegible] ageing middle age, and sat at [illegible] and married, that she was to be found rolling her cigarettes in a lingy office, scorning all the external adornments with which feebler females seek to supply a hidden deficiency.

ON PICKET DUTY

Attention

1,606,388 Domestics

19,941 Cap makers

122,107 Women clothing workers

186,570 Sales women

150,015 Stenographers

419,631 Washwomen

22,735,041 Miscellaneous

want to change places with Rheta Childe Dorr, who wants the "right to work."

* * * * * *

Who was that dainty feminist who informed the public that as soon as women got the vote, they would make the laws for working women and children? How hopeful! Not that children should be taken from the factories and put into schools and playgrounds! That would be getting off their little crooked backs. But ever willing to color it a little and to trim it a bit they will accomplish all that was ever intended to do with their vote.

* * * * *

The Rebel Women claim.

The Right to be lazy.
The Right to be an unmarried mother.
The Right to destroy
The Right to create.
The Right to love.
The Right to live.

Henrietta [illegible], well known in radical circles, came into prominence among them, because of her brave defense of the relations of George Eliot and Henry Lewes.

Henrietta, as one of the speakers at the first meeting held at Cooper Union, N. Y. C., went out of her way to let us know that she did not stand for free love--she left that to the Anarchists.

Now what was the trouble, Henrietta? Surely no one ever doubted your virtue!

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The Emma Goldman Papers

To Our Friends / Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and Ben. L. Reitman.— pp. 1-3 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 9, no. 1 (March 1914).

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MOTHER EARTH

Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature
Published Every 15th of the Month

EMMA GOLDMAN, Proprietor, 74 West 119th Street, New York, N. Y.
ALEXANDER BERKMAN, Editor

Entered as second-class matter April 9, 1906, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Vol. IX MARCH, 1914 No. 1

TO OUR FRIENDS

WHEN, eight years ago, MOTHER EARTH was started on the road of life, equipped with the munificent sum of $250, the originators little dreamed what difficulties the venture would entail. Imbued with the zeal of idealism, but without practical experience, they believed that all a publication of this character needs is revolutionary fire and literary ability, and the rest would follow. So they began their task with joy in their hearts and a song upon their lips.

And now eight years have passed. What these years have meant is more than can be told in our limited space. Some day we may write the history of MOTHER EARTH. It will surely prove interesting reading.

For the present it is sufficient to say that each year meant a grind, an endless grind. On more than one occasion it seemed as if we could not go on, and often our efforts looked like a useless waste of energy.

For one thing, the original purpose of gathering brave spirits who could find no expression in other periodicals, has not materialized. Partly because brave spirits are scarce in this wide land; partly because those who are brave often cannot write, and mainly because those who are brave and can write, are compelled to write for money. MOTHER EARTH is too poor to pay, and because it is bent upon keeping up its standard of revolutionary spirit and quality, the task of filling the magazine has fallen to a few who, though burdened with other labors, have to supply both brains and skill to make the magazine readable.

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To Our Friends

One difficulty carries many in its trail. Because of the determination never to compromise, never to lose sight of the ideal, MOTHER EARTH has made slow headway in regard to increasing the number of its subscribers. Most people merely dabble in radicalism, especially when it costs nothing. But the average American who pays $1.00 subscription, wants to "get his money's worth," which usually means that he wants to own and control the object paid for. And as he rarely knows just what he wants, he expects his magazine to discover his needs for him, and to supply them in a manner not to shock his nerves or disturb his digestive powers. For this he is not to be blamed; the home, the school, the pulpit, the theatre, and the press of this country have been consistently feeding the average American on nothing but the most tasteless and colorless food. It would be expecting almost the superhuman of him to make the leap from the daily papers and trashy magazines to MOTHER EARTH, and survive the feat.

Under the circumstances, MOTHER EARTH has had to sail in heavy seas. No sooner would the magazine pull out from the shallowness of ideas and spirit, when it would strike a gale of condemnation, censorship, and persecution that often menaced its very existence. Added to this has been the drain on MOTHER EARTH by the necessity of establishing an Anarchist library, among the books published being PRISON MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST, by Alexander Berkman, ANARCHISM AND OTHER ESSAYS, by Emma Goldman, numerous pamphlets, also the forthcoming publication of VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE'S SELECTED WORKS, and THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MODERN DRAMA, by Emma Goldman.

Eight years have thus passed. MOTHER EARTH, now older and wiser, has lost nothing of its fighting spirit nor of its determination to forge ahead, to go on in its uncompromising agitational and educative work.

"Break—break it open; let the knocker rust;
Consider no 'shalt not'; nor no man's 'must';
And, being entered, promptly take the lead,
Setting aside tradition, custom, creed;
Nor watch the balance of the huckster's beam;
Declare your hardiest thought, your proudest dream."

EMMA GOLDMAN,
ALEXANDER BERKMAN,
BEN. L. REITMAN.

P. S.—Friends, if MOTHER EARTH has survived it is due to you, the faithful few; to you who have given of your meager means gladly and generously; to you who have helped us gain new friends; to you who have sent us hope and cheer in moments of our despair. It is therefore to you we come on the birth of our new year, feeling confident of your renewed help.

You can aid in many ways: First, if you have not already done so, send in your renewal at once. We offer as a premium, with each yearly renewal, a copy of Tolstoy's THE FRUITS OF CULTURE, or NEWS FROM NOWHERE, by William Morris.

For a renewal for two years, we will give a cloth copy of ANARCHISM AND OTHER ESSAYS, by Emma Goldman, and THE MESSAGE OF ANARCHY, by Jethro Brown; or KING HUNGER, by Andreyev.

A three years' renewal carries with it the premium of PRISON MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST, by Alexander Berkman, or LIBERTY AND THE GREAT LIBERTARIANS, by Chas. T. Sprading, together with the REVOLUTIONARY ALMANAC, edited by Hippolyte Havel, or any $1.50 volume of plays.

With a renewal for five years, we will give ANARCHISM, by Eltzbacher, and THE EGO AND HIS OWN, by Max Stirner.

MOTHER EARTH.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] So-called I.W.W. Raids Really Hatched by Schoolboys / Emma Goldman.— p. 2 ; 42 cm. *In* The New York Times Sunday Magazine. —(March 29, 1914).

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Real History, Told
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Fer

By Charles Willis Thompson.

IT will be very much to the advantage of the conservative people of this town to learn more than they have yet taken the trouble to learn about the continuing and growing demonstrations which have been loosely lumped under the head of "I. W. W. raids." It is always to the advantage of a person who is attacked to know why he is attacked, who is attacking him, and where he may expect the next blow.

And this is an attack—an attack on the social system. Its aim is nothing less than revolution.

It has been taken lightly by this careless town, but it should not be taken lightly. It is the most serious demonstration that the revolutionary element has made in this country since the demonstrations in Chicago in 1886, which ended in the conflict between the police and the revolutionists in Haymarket Square, the throwing of the famous bomb, and the hanging of the Anarchist leaders.

The conflict was brought about when the police attempted to break up one of the revolutionary meetings. The leaders of the present movement openly say that a similar attempt today will bring about the same result. The blame, they say, will be on the shoulders of the police; as long as the police do not interfere with them there will be no bloodshed; if the police do, there will be.

"I don't know whether it was consciously done or not," said Emma Goldman to me the other day, and she smiled significantly as she said it, "but it was a very diplomatic move on the part of the authorities not to interfere last Saturday with the Union Square meeting and the parade on Fifth Avenue. I really congratulate the Mayor on that, congratulate him sincerely—if it was consciously done.

"Because you know that when hungry people are driven to desperation they can't reason. They ought not to be expected to, either."

Detective James J. Gegan is one of the policemen assigned to the following of the so-called raiders. He has been on the "case" ever since Tannenbaum began his movement on the churches, and has watched it day by day. After the Fifth Avenue demonstration of which Miss Goldman thus spoke, he said:

"It is evident that the men downtown (meaning his official superiors) do not recognize the seriousness of this movement. We who follow them from day to day see that they are gaining strength, and unless they are checked [illegible] consequences may re-



Emma Goldman, addressing the recent Meeting at Union Square

them, but from the audacious brains of these boys, and was hatched in the Ferrer School, an institution less than four years old.

The soil, they exultantly say, is better prepared for the revolutionary seed than at any time in all these thirty years. The social discontent has grown and made itself felt to such an extent that now the authorities are more cautious in meeting it. In illustration of this growth they point to these two pictures:

First, of a little, blonde-haired, blue-eyed girl addressing a meeting of the unemployed in Union Square and quoting Cardinal Manning's maxim: "Necessity knows no law, and the starving man has a natural right to a share of his neighbor's bread." She added, "Ask for work. If they do not give you work, ask for bread. If they do not give you work or bread, then take bread." The community was thrown into a panic; the girl was arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced



Alexander Berkman

PHOTO BY VANDER WEYDE

"Ferrer School boys," one of whom was Tannenbaum. All of them attended the evening classes there, and

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Real History of Movement.

The public appearance a week ago of Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and the other anarchist leaders in this movement started by Frank Tannenbaum and heretofore called an I. W. W. movement, startled our careless town. The consternation it excited led to a lot of bewildered attempts to account for it, all of them entirely wrong. The favorite notion appeared to be that Big Bill Haywood and the I. W. W. had started the movement, using Tannenbaum as a tool, and that the anarchists had suddenly stepped in and wrested it away from them.

Believing that this movement is a matter of much importance to everybody, and particularly to the class that is menaced by it, I shall here set down the real history of this movement, which is printed now for the first time, and its aims. It will disturb some preconceptions, but it will be the truth.

This movement was not originated either in the councils of the I. W. W. nor those of the anarchists. It originated in a centre of social disaffection which hitherto has not been mentioned in connection with it—the Ferrer School, at 63 West 107th Street.

Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman did not suddenly swoop upon it after they saw its progress and the opportunities it afforded. They were privy to it from the beginning. The real originators of it told her their intentions before they made a move.

There were no leaders, either of the I. W. W. nor of the anarchists, sitting in darkness in the background and pulling the strings. The conception and the execution were those of

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Second, of a little, blonde-haired, blue-eyed woman addressing a meeting of the unemployed in Union Square and saying, "March down to the Mayor. March down to the police. March down to the other city officials. Make them tell you what they are going to do to give you food and shelter. Go to the churches, go to the hotels and restaurants, go to the bakeshops, and tell them they must give you something to keep you from starving." Her hearers formed in line and marched down Fifth Avenue, jeering the churches and the homes of the rich. No arrests were made. This was in 1914.

The girl at Union Square in 1893 was Emma Goldman. The woman at Union Square in 1914 was Emma Goldman. What has made the difference in 21 years?

"Times have changed," replied Emma Goldman when I asked her this question. "Even the courts would not send a person to jail for a year for such an utterance, if made to-day, as I served a year for making then.

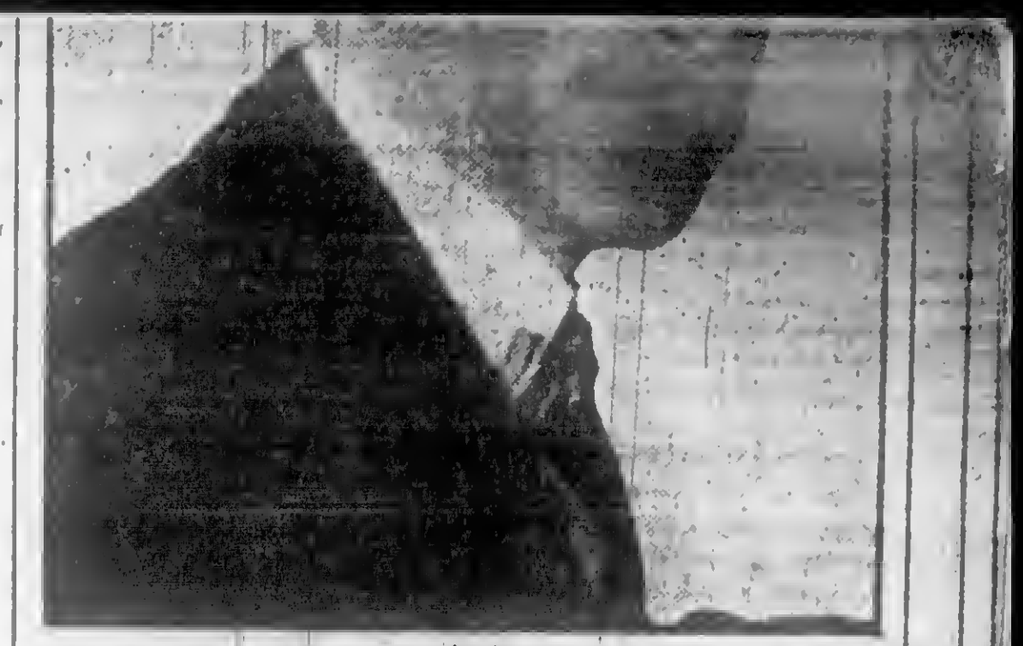
"There is a great difference between the quality of the unemployed themselves then and now. Then it was just simply a blind groping, and now it is a consciousness that they are entitled to a share of the good things of life.

"Intellectual Proletariat."

"Then it is remarkable, the change of the intellectual class toward the condition of labor. That is due to the fact that in the last ten years an intellectual proletariat has been developed in this country. There is a tremendous contingent of professional men and women everywhere who are proletarians."

"In sympathy with the proletariat, you mean?" I inquired.

"No, indeed—proletarians themselves. They have to walk around looking for jobs. The only difference between them and the men who work with their hands is the number of hours. The danger to present-day society is greater from these intellectual



Alexander Berkman

PHOTO BY VANDER WEYDE

"Ferrer School boys," one of whom was Tannenbaum. All of them attended the evening classes there, and the Ferrer School claims them as its product and is proud of them. Tannenbaum was not a representative in any authorized sense of either the I. W. W. or the Anarchists, though he was well known to the leaders of both. The whole idea was his own and that of his chums at the school, whose names are withheld by the school authorities for perfectly understandable reasons.

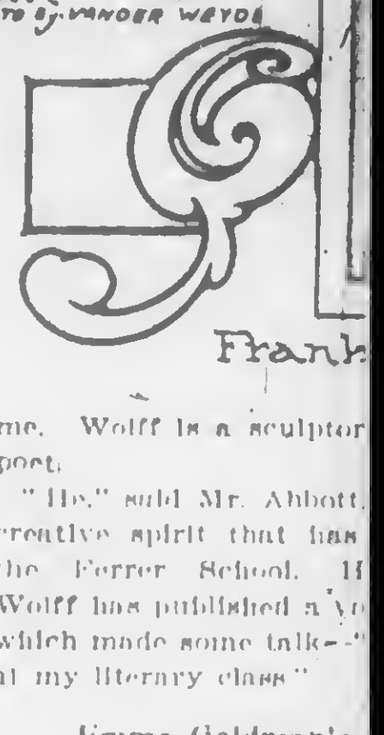
None of them at first contemplated the church-raiding scheme or any of the subsequent developments. Their plan at first was simply to organize a few meetings to agitate the unemployment issue, and the shape the movement afterward took was simply a rather rapid evolution.

They informed Emma Goldman of their plans and asked her to raise money in aid of them. She has been delivering, all Winter, a series of successful lectures at the Berkeley Lyceum on the subject of the modern drama. She made her appeal for funds at one of these lectures and collected about $40.

Tannenbaum and his associates at first undertook to hold their meetings in a hall, but did not have money enough to keep them up. They then resorted to open-air meetings, and the idea of moving on to the churches grew out of that. It was an inspiration of the Ferrer School boys.

The Hebrew Trades and the Socialists called a conference of the unemployed, but when it was held the radical element of the I. W. W. and the Anarchists appeared and took possession of the meeting, and the Socialists and the Hebrew Trades withdrew. This was the night Tannenbaum was arrested, and since then the extremists have been in full control of the movement. When the young leaders were arrested the work was carried on by men like them. The capture of one of these youthful disturbers simply made a breach into which another was ready to step. And the movement

These young men are not of the ignorant type that one would expect. The most prominent of them, with the exception of Tannenbaum, are men of education and culture. Some of them



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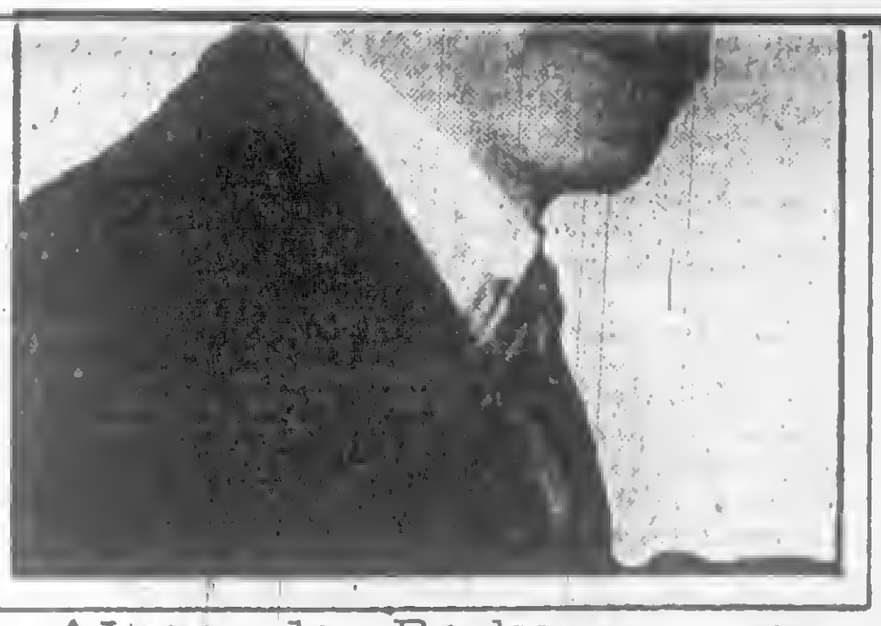
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Alexander Berkman
PHOTO BY UNDERWOOD



Frank Tannenbaum, I.W.W. Leader
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These young men are not of the ignorant type that one would expect. The most prominent of them, with the exception of Tannenbaum, are men of education and culture. Some of them are writers, poets, artists.

Movement Has a Poet.

Aside from Tannenbaum, the most prominent are Joe O'Carroll and Doug-
[illegible] which Wolff is called by

me. Wolff is a sculptor as well as a poet.

"He," said Mr. Abbott, "is the first creative spirit that has come out of the Ferrer School. His poems"—Wolff has published a volume of them which made some talk—"were written at my literary class."

Emma Goldman's Dream.

The leaders of the Anarchists and the I. W. W. kept ostentatiously out of the movement at first, but were delighted with it; not merely because it was in line with their ideas, but because it was a fulfillment of the hope they had always entertained—that by the constant sowing of discontent the younger element would at last rise itself, without waiting for leaders. It had always been their dream to bring about social changes, as one of them expresses it, "through the workingmen themselves, as opposed to the Socialist conception, which does everything through the State."

Through all the twenty-one years since Emma Goldman was sentenced to jail for her vain effort to disturb the apathy of the unemployed, this had been her dream. She was delighted when she saw, as she believed, a beginning of an approximation toward reality, and she, like Haywood of the I. W. W., stayed out and let them have full swing.

But she kept on aiding the movement by raising money, though she confined herself to that. "It has been a great joy to me," she told me, "to see boys, some of them not much more than children, show so much organizing capacity and so much self-control, and I didn't want to step in. I knew that if Mr. Berkman or I did step in, the whole attention of the public would be fixed on us. Besides, I was terribly busy. I had just finished the manuscript of a book on the social significance of the modern drama, which a Boston house is going to bring out, and I had pledged myself to have every line in by March 20. I was busy with

anarchists, and Carlo Tresca of the I. W. W., came to the front and the Union Square meeting, which so excited the crowd that it marched down Fifth Avenue, Berkman says 500 were in line. Of those who were at the Union Square meeting Miss Goldman estimates that fully half were "rebels," as she calls them, the others being the unidentified unemployed.

This parade may have been made up in the same proportions of rebels and unemployed, but it was the rebels who led, inspired and guided it. Fifty of them were women, Anarchist women—"our girls," as Miss Goldman always calls them.

"I was not in the Fifth Avenue demonstration," she said. "I left two hours before it began, and I didn't know it was to take place. When they got to the Ferrer Association headquarters they called me up and told me how they had marched and how spirited the boys were, and they were taken over to the Ferrer Association and given food and money and tobacco—I had collected money for them at Union Square.

"Mr. Berkman told me that all this talk of our girls spitting in the faces of women was nonsense. Our girls wouldn't do such a thing. The demonstration was inspired, but orderly. They did make demonstrations before the churches and the synagogues, but the quality of these boys is demonstrated in this wonderful fact: when they reached Mount Sinai Hospital they marched in absolute silence for two blocks so as not to disturb the sick people. Not a single paper mentioned that, because it would give these boys a little semblance of being human."

Constructive Anarchism

The Ferrer School, which thus produced this "dramatic gesture of the unemployed," was described to me by its President, Mr. Abbott, as "a laboratory in which new social theories are tested." It is the first institution, he says, "devoted to the constructive side of anarchism." It is less than four

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UNDAY, MARCH 29, 1914.

LY HATCHED BY SCHOOLBOYS

r First Time, of the Latest Movement Against Society—A t of the I. W. W. Nor of the Anarchists, but of the r School Where Three Pupils Originated It.



Photo by Underwood & Underwood

Berkman speaking at the Union Square Meeting



unemployed. Something must be done for men like that one. If I owned a restaurant, or even a platform, and the unemployed came there, I would let them make use of it as much as possible—because," she added significantly, "the other way is a stupid way. It doesn't pay.

"Will this lead to disorder? That will depend on the police. I don't believe the unemployed will submit silently to being clubbed.

"They do not want to cause a row. But if the police beat them up I think the time is past when people will submit to it. I think the editorial in THE TIMES last Monday was more of an incitement to riot than anything I have said. It told the police to use violence. The editor must know that the police need no such incitement.

"There are enough people of kindly instincts, of all classes, to assist the unemployed, if they can be made to see what unemployment means. Then the people would not be driven to desperation. But if there are to be arrests by the police on the one side, and resistance by the people on the other, who can foresee the result?"

So little has been heard of the anarchists of late years that it struck the town with astonishment to see their sudden reappearance in menacing numbers. It has been so often said that they are dying out that their strength was amazing.

But if they are dying out, it does not manifest itself in their outward appearance. Five years ago Berkman and Emma Goldman got out their little magazine, Mother Earth, in a poor little tenement on East Twelfth Street. Later they were able to take an office on West Twenty-eighth Street and present a much smarter appearance. Now they have a whole house, a brownstone one, at 74 West 110th Street, where they have several assistants.

Yearly Miss Goldman tours the country, delivering her lectures in the principal cities. When she began them she was frequently arrested; now she meets with no interference, and her audiences grow. There are forty or fifty publishing houses in the country which get out revolutionary literature exclusively. A new one was recently started in this city, the Rabelais Press, run by a man named Rampapas. Anarchism may be dying out, but if one searches for signs of its moribund condition he is likely to find things that will dis-

ple older than those in the day classes, lectures are given, of which an idea may be gained from a list of some of those given in the last five weeks.

Among them, then, were lectures by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the I. W. W. leader, on the Paterson strike, in which she was arrested; by Louis Lovine and Andre Tridon on syndicalism; by Edwin Markham on poetry, by Gutierrez, the Mexican revolutionist, on Mexico; by Clarence S. Darrow, the McNamaras' lawyer, on Voltaire; by Emma Goldman, Berkman, and others. Robert Henri and George Bellows conduct the art class. Among those back of the enterprise are Lincoln Steffens,

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These were the classes which Tannenbaum and his colleagues attended [illegible] where they got their ideas, and it was in this building and after one of the lectures that they conceived [illegible] their plans. From there they went to Emma Goldman's, twelve blocks away, and asked her [illegible]

As the [illegible] gathered strength the I. W. W. [illegible] Anarchists joyously fell in [illegible] not they alone, but all the apostles of discontent of whatever creed. Miss Goldman told me a surprising thing, which was that among those who rallied in the rabble on the churches were many who were neither Anarchists nor I. W. W. men, but simply Freethinkers in religion.

"That," she said, "was the particular phase that appealed to them, not the industrial feature of the subject. They certainly succeeded in doing rather better anti-religious work than some of the Secularists; they placed the church where Ingersoll couldn't have placed it."

The flames were assiduously fanned from two headquarters, those of the I. W. W. on West Street and those of the Anarchists at 313 Grand Street. They work independently and are not [illegible]

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She Never Runs Away.

She is going on her usual tour on March 30. And Dr. Ben Reitman, her manager, is in Chicago now arranging it. This accounts for the otherwise inexplicable fact that this picturesque and fiery rebel's name has not appeared in the reports of the Tannenbaum movement. "If he had been here you would have heard of him," said Miss Goldman, with a flash in her eyes unusual with her. In conversation, whatever she may be on the platform, she is the quietest and most impressive of talkers.

In newspaper discussions of these things there are often references to the "Goldman-Berkman group of Anarchists." The term is a misnomer; there is no such group, or rather the term implies divisions that do not exist. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman are the leaders of all the Anarchists, not only in this city but in the whole country.

Another favorite delusion is that these rebels, in times of stress, are in hiding somewhere, from which they emerge to create trouble and then disappear again. After the Union Square meeting and the Fifth Avenue march it was reported that Emma Goldman had "fled from the city for the week-end." She was, in fact, deliver-

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In the day classes there are between thirty and forty children, under the tutelage of Mrs. Cora Bennett Stephenson. Back of it are men and women of that class of "intellectuals" to which Miss Goldman looks so hopefully. At the evening classes, which are of course designed for young people, it was where they got their ideas, and it was in this building and after one of the lectures that they conceived and laid out their plans. From there they went to Emma Goldman's, twelve blocks away, and asked her aid in getting money.

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The flames were assiduously fanned from two headquarters, those of the I. W. W. on West Street and those of the Anarchists at 313 Grand Street. They work independently and are not in all respects harmonious.

Food, Not Politics, Wanted.

"The break that is coming between the two elements," said one of them, "is largely over the question of organization. The conference of the unemployed on Grand Street realizes the impossibility of organizing the unemployed, and simply stands for demonstrations that will picture the issue vividly. The I. W. W. are trying to organize the movement. On that point clashes have come.

"It has had the effect, too, of making sharper the division between the Socialists and the I. W. W., for the I. W. W. very sensibly used the argument, 'What are your political methods going to do for the unemployed who are actually suffering? They want food, not politics.'"

On this matter of "dramatizing the issue" the leaders of the revolt believe that wherever they show their ragged regiments the picture is painted on the mind of every one who sees them. They are, these leaders say, a forlorn and miserable looking crowd, who will touch quickly the understanding of any spectator to whom unemployment has been merely a name.

"If you had seen the way they ate the sandwiches at the Ferrer School you would have no doubt about their being hungry," said Leonard Abbott.

"That crowd at Union Square," said Emma Goldman, "was the most forlorn gathering of human beings I ever laid my eyes on. They were cold and hungry; they shivered incessantly. One of these men is in the last stages of tuberculosis; he has six children; the other day he was thrown out of his miserable garret, where rags and junk were his furniture.

"We aim to call attention to the manager, is in Chicago now arranging it. This accounts for the otherwise inexplicable fact that this picturesque and fiery rebel's name has not appeared in the reports of the Tannenbaum movement. "If he had been here you would have heard of him," said Miss Goldman, with a flash in her eyes unusual with her. In conversation, whatever she may be on the platform, she is the quietest and most impassive of talkers.

In newspaper discussions of these things there are often references to the "Goldman-Berkman group of Anarchists." The term is a misnomer; there is no such group, or rather the term implies divisions that do not exist. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman are the leaders of all the Anarchists, not only in this city but in the whole country.

Another favorite delusion is that these rebels, in times of stress, are in hiding somewhere, from which they emerge to create trouble and then disappear again. After the Union Square meeting and the Fifth Avenue march it was reported that Emma Goldman had "fled from the city for the week-end." She was, in fact, delivering a lecture in Newark.

"As if any one ever heard of Emma Goldman running away!" she said disdainfully. "Every one knows where I live, and any one who doesn't can ask the police—they know."

Emma Goldman, like many of her followers, was converted to Anarchism by the hanging of the four Chicago Anarchists after the Haymarket outbreak. That outbreak was the culmination of just such demonstrations as are being carried on now. These demonstrations continued until the Chicago police undertook to break up a meeting held in Haymarket Square to discuss the unemployed situation of that day; one of the crowd threw a bomb, and seven policemen were killed. Seven of the Anarchist leaders were convicted of incendiary utterances and four were hanged; one blew his brains out on the day appointed for his execution, and two were sentenced to life imprisonment, but were pardoned after the excitement of the time had died down.

That execution is always in the minds of the revolutionary leaders, but it does not daunt them. It made an Anarchist of Emma Goldman; after it Berkman assaulted Henry C. Frick and served sixteen years in prison for it. Haywood has since been on trial for his life. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn has served a prison term. Whatever is before them, it cannot frighten them or turn them aside. They are unafraid and indomitable. As Emma Goldman says, the police know where she lives, and no one ever heard of her running away.

This is the situation. This is the history and the meaning of what we are now seeing. This is what confronts the social order. Is it, or is it not, worth serious thought?

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The Emma Goldman Papers

A Review of Our New York Activities / Emma Goldman.— pp. 53-56 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 9, no. 2 (April 1914).

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this has been the manner in which labor trials have so far been conducted. To defend a prisoner of the master class by the rules of the game laid down by the masters themselves is the height of stupidity. Nor can anything be accomplished by such methods, except to disgrace labor itself, minimize the significance of the conflict, confuse the issues, and tacitly acquiesce in the authority and justice of the dominant class.

Thus the ignoring of the fundamental antagonisms between labor and capital, and the attempt to justify the masters by denying the inevitable lawlessness of labor paralyzes the initiative and energy of the toilers, and tends to strengthen and perpetuate the very conditions against which workers are forced to wage war.

To name but one example, a most flagrant one. The labor men tried recently in Indianapolis, one and all denied their belief in violence. The whole defense was based on the open declaration that under no circumstances is there any justification for the use of violent tactics by labor. To be sure, the defendants were convicted, for it was patent that labor had used violence and that dynamite for the purpose had been transported from State to State. Could the men have fared worse if they had manfully and boldly defied the jurisdiction and authority of the master class, had frankly avowed their inmost conviction that the courts and the law are the enemies of labor, and that plutocratic methods force the workers to use violent tactics to preserve a small modicum of security for themselves and their organizations?

Such a manful and defiant stand would have sounded labor's challenge to capital, solidified the ranks of the workers, inspired them with courage and self-respect, and helped a long way toward making them conscious of their tremendous power as the economic arbiters of life.

Furthermore, it would have proved the first decisive step toward the ultimate emancipation from wage slavery, and would have given an effective warning to the powers that be against railroading the labor men to prison.

A warning of similar nature voiced by the more class-conscious labor element has been the means on

two previous occasions of saving members of the working-class from the vengeance of the masters—William Haywood and co-workers, and Ettor and Giovannitti.

The time is approaching in this country when the radical workingmen, and especially their spokesmen, will have to quit seeking protection under the wings of the very Law that stamps the struggle of labor itself as criminal and destructive of existing order.

Let us be honest and frank. Let us proclaim once for all that the emancipation of labor from the yoke of capitalism means the destruction of capitalism, the destruction of capitalist order and law. Let us declare that we do not want to justify the process of this destruction by appeals to the institutions we seek to destroy. Let us boldly proclaim that we do not recognize the slave morality imposed on us by the master class; that we hold in utter contempt their laws and regulations whose sole aim is to keep labor in subjection. Let us openly deny the jurisdiction of courts where the masters' Pilates ever stand ready to doom us to perdition. Let us spurn the justice of class verdicts, defy their execution, and by *every* means at our command, however illegal or violent—as long as effective for our purpose—resist the continuation of the system of misery and slavery that parades under the name of Law and Order.

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A REVIEW OF OUR NEW YORK ACTIVITIES

BY EMMA GOLDMAN.

I BEGAN my lecture work in New York in the year 1890, and with but few exceptions have spoken in that city every winter since that time. I have often wondered how it is that my audiences do not tire, because even the greatest orator becomes tedious if listened to during five months, year after year.

The only explanation I have been able to find is, first, the growing interest in Anarchism, and, secondly, the wide range of themes embraced in my lecture course, themes which must appeal to people in every walk of life. But, whatever the reason, the New York audiences, instead of diminishing, increase both in quantity and quality, and what is more, it is almost entirely an Amer-

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ican element which has been attending the many meetings held during the last few winters.

In the past the Yiddish audiences outnumbered by hundreds those of the English language; but perhaps because Jews easily acquire the language of the country, and grow indifferent to their own language, they have not attended my lectures as they have in the past.

We began our work rather late last year, having returned from the coast in September and also having spent a month in the change of Mother Earth quarters. However, from the latter part of October, beginning with two meetings in Trenton, N. J., until the 27th of March, closing with a debate in New York, I lectured on an average four times every week; added to this were meetings and debates in Brooklyn, Brownsville, Newark, Paterson, Hartford, and Philadelphia. In the latter city the Free Speech fight of five years was brought to a victorious end.

The lecture arranged by the Free Speech League of Philadelphia for March 9 was a tremendous success, not only because of its size, but because of the complete backdown of the authorities, which is only another proof that perseverance in behalf of an ideal inevitably leads to recognition. Five years ago Anarchism was silenced in Philadelphia. On March 9, 1914, it rang out its clarion voice more powerful than ever.

Altogether we have had about 150 meetings, between October and March; half of them devoted to economic and sex questions, the balance to the Modern Drama. For the first time in New York City, Anarchists held forth in a theater; nor did they have to deny their colors, in order to gain the attention of their audiences. Quite the contrary: the most revolutionary lectures met with the heartiest approval: as, for instance, on the Russian drama, which stirred the Berkeley Theater audience profoundly. It was on that occasion also that $65.00 was contributed for the agitation to further the movement of the unemployed.

The last meeting of the series, March 15, was no less inspiring. Leonard D. Abbott presided. Fola La Follette and George Middleton were among the speakers who told of "What the Drama Means to Me." The address of Miss La Follette was especially splendid, because it demonstrated the awakening in the ranks of the intellectual proletarians, among whom Miss La Follette is one of the most earnest and thoughtful.

But if the New York activities consisted only in my lectures, I should care little about them. It is the spirit and interest which grow out of them; the contributions for strikes, for the Rangel-Clinc defense, for the unemployed movement, the latter started on the amounts collected from our meetings and still maintained chiefly through the same source. In fact every conflict of the workers found a willing response from the men and women who attended our meetings.

Last, but not least, is the intense interest in Anarchistic literature. At no other gatherings is there such an amount of reading matter circulated; not merely pamphlets and papers, but also books. The works of Kropotkin, Eltzbacher, Stirner, Nietzsche, Berkman—indeed of all the leading writers on social questions and the revolutionary modern dramas were in much demand by our audiences, thus proving that the people come not merely to listen, but to take away with them food for further thought.

No wonder the press and the authorities see scarlet when the word Anarchy is mentioned. It is not the destructive phase they dread so much, but its constructive effects upon the minds and hearts of those who understand its meaning. The fact that not only the unemployed and those who still have a job are beginning to see in Anarchism the fulfilment of their highest aspiration and innermost longing, but that the intellectual class, aye, even the people of the upper class, turn to Anarchism because of its breath of life, its freedom, its humanity, its form and uncompromising attitude against all sham and hypocrisy.

Thus New York has seen the growth of Anarchist thought from an obscure, misrepresented, ridiculed and hounded beginning to a great intellectual force. Thus, too, New York has proven faithful from the time I walked her streets, worked in her factories, nursed in her slums, slept in her jails—she has ever been faithful, and always ready to receive me with open arms when I returned to her folds. Thus she will always lure me back as the place of stress and sorrow, struggle and pain, work and hope.

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Just now I must turn my back on the dear old fascinating city. We are off on our annual lecture tour. At Chicago for two weeks; Madison, Wis., and Minneapolis for a week; Denver for ten days. Then to the coast. But MOTHER EARTH remains at 74 West 119th Street, and with it my faithful friends and co-workers Alexander Berkman and M. Eleanor Fitzgerald. They will be pleased to receive you all, Comrades, and my spirit shall hover over our place to give you hospitality and cheer until we meet again next winter.

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INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CONGRESS

Comrades—At the Amsterdam Congress in 1907, a decision was arrived at for a second Anarchist Congress to be held in 1909. But the state of mind of our comrades, at that time, was opposed to it, and the question of a future congress was left for a more propitious period.

Since then, fresh life seems to have entered the Anarchist movement in all countries: an activity, becoming daily more marked, is being felt, and everywhere an earnest attempt is being made to put into practice our federalist principles of Anarchist organization, through the creation of living organs of propaganda and agitation.

The formation at Amsterdam of an international organ of intercommunication may have been, perhaps, premature. For such an organ to have its *raison d'être* and to have the success that it could have had, it was necessary to lay the main stress on local and national organizations. Only the existence of these could be the guarantee and the chief condition for the existence and the activity of an international organism. The existence of the International Bureau has, nevertheless, indicated to a certain degree the dangers to be guarded against, as well as the qualities to be kept, when one intends to undertake the organization of an international link among the Anarchists.

The year that has just closed has been, from many points of view, a remarkable and historical year for the labor movement in general and for the Anarchist move-

ment in particular. Everywhere a spirit of revolt, increasing in consciousness, breaks through the fog by which the exploited were always surrounded by politicians of all shades, and, coinciding with these revolutionary signs within the masses themselves, the Anarchists feel, everywhere, an increasing necessity, more urgent, as each day raises new problems, new tactics, to constantly be in touch with each other with reference to future activities. It is, therefore, of great importance, at the present hour, for the Anarchists of all countries to meet again, to discuss anew problems already before us, but not yet solved, on the basis of the experience of the last few years; to raise the fresh problems that life has placed before us and, if possible, to concert ourselves on common action, shoulder to shoulder, strong in our ideal and decided to continue, relentlessly, but with greater energy and more unity, the work of emancipation of the exploited from every yoke.

It is with this idea in view that the Anarchist Federation of Germany issued, a few months ago, a first appeal with the purpose of sounding the Comrades on the question of an International Congress. The answers received —either directly by the German comrades, or through articles in the Anarchist press—give us reason to believe that the desire for such a congress is almost unanimous.

The three federations undersigned have therefore decided, after due consideration, to convene the next International Anarchist Congress for the autumn of the current year. The Congress will be held in London, from August 29 to September 6.

We invite the Anarchists the world over to come to the London Congress—and formulate their ideas, their plans of action, their experiences of the past, their hopes for the future.

A new era seems to open itself before the oppressed; we must see each other, we must agree on our future activities; this is why we firmly hope that our invitation will everywhere be received with enthusiasm.

It is chiefly in your hands—Anarchist organizations the world over—that the success of the congress lies. You, who have already begun the work of organization, don't leave it unfinished. We await your adhesion. Set immediately to work; every country should be well represented; prepare your reports on the state of the move-

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In Japanase] Fujin Kaihó no Higeki / Emma Goldman.— 22 cm. *In* Kindai Shisó[Tokyo]. —(May 1914, advertisement).
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現代文明の進歩と趨勢の說明

近來叢書の出版は、一の流行となつた。けれども、皆な文學書の梗概古典の抄譯であつて、現代文明の進歩と其の趨勢を說明するものは一つもない。日本人には、此の種の智識が乏しいから、是れを供給する事が、大急務の一つである。本社は此の缺陷を補はんが爲には、最新智識叢書刊行を計畫し、博學にして眞摯なる學術研究者青柳有美先生を聘して、編輯の主任を託した。九月中旬以降續々出版する豫定である。敢て精神物質兩文明の研究者にすゝむ。

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婦人よ解放せよ、這人よ呼びかへせよ、といふ叫びは、漸く高くなつた。けれども、眞實なる解放とはいかなるものなるか、解放せられたる婦人はいかなる運命に逢着するかを見るべき文獻に乏しい。この書、エンマ・ゴルドマン女史の婦人問題論四篇を譯出し、併せてエレン・ケイ二女史の婦人問題論を紹介し、混沌たる日本婦人の前途に一道の光明を與へんとするものである。

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Woman Suffrage / Emma Goldman.– p. 27 ; 38 cm. *In* The Woman Rebel [New York]. –Vol. 1, no. 4 (June 1914).

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SACRED MOTHERHOOD

[illegible] notion of her prophetic self. Now [illegible] was only a woman. But had been [illegible] touched by the suffering of her [illegible] sister.

[illegible] little [illegible] to stone [illegible] Catholic and Protestant [illegible] church [illegible] have [illegible]

[illegible] this [illegible] enter the church before the [illegible] purified by the priest or [illegible] feel to kneel until [illegible] wait for her to say a prayer [illegible] that petitioned Almighty God [illegible] grace for her sin of becoming [illegible] mother, before she was worthy of [illegible] enter the house of God.

[illegible] churches this [illegible] [illegible] with. But Ellen Key [illegible] that [illegible] custom is still [illegible] [illegible] parts of Sweden. In [illegible] [illegible] was not regarded [illegible] [illegible] the time of the [illegible]

The sacredness of motherhood [illegible] [illegible] the women of the upper class [illegible] consciously to regulate the number of children that they would have, and with education in that class [illegible] rapidly becoming scarce. And as the upper class [illegible] to create public opinion [illegible] should really be the sacred [illegible]

[illegible] to lay the blame of [illegible] our modern folly and [illegible] [illegible] living on [illegible] society [illegible] [illegible] society [illegible] child of [illegible] society [illegible] for of motherhood was still worse. In India from time immemorial the woman is nobody, except as the mother of a son. The Hindoo mother that becomes mother only of girls is looked upon as a being cursed by the gods.

The woman in India matures early, and sometimes she is married when she is only a baby. If she becomes a widow while she is a baby she is cursed and doomed to widowhood for life. She often becomes a mother while still a child of ten or twelve years of age. The little child mother suffers greatly in giving birth to the child. But she is not allowed competent medical aid. No doctor is allowed to see her. She must come in contact with no human male except her husband and father. Bungling, untrained midwives and old, superstitious women are her only assistance.

Western people are not as a rule entertained in the homes of the Hindoos. Mrs. Annie Besant has lived for many years in India, but Annie is mighty careful not to say anything in public of the terror of motherhood in India, as she does not want to offend the Hin[illegible]

[illegible] ever, a friend of Mrs. Besant in California went to India. She believed that she was an incarnation of some great Hindoo prophet and by that theory she wormed herself into quite a few homes. When she returned I saw her. She had quite forgotten her ab[illegible]

[illegible] sent to [illegible] [illegible] that shall prevent [illegible] bringing a living soul [illegible] [illegible]

Do you call [illegible] [illegible] need? This [illegible] childhood. [illegible] that a child [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Heaven [illegible] [illegible] for [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] there is no sacredness of motherhood here and there will be only degraded motherhood here until the information [illegible] to the poor to [illegible]

Gertrude Nelson

MARRIAGE AND MISERY

The conventional marriage arises out of [illegible] and is carried [illegible] [illegible] deified portion of humanity is a deeply immoral relation, coupled with the most fatal results for the future of society. It compels those who enter into it, to find themselves involved sooner or later in a conflict between forsworn vows and indestructible love; it gives them only two alternatives – vulgar intrigue or ruin. Instead of its being a source for humanity, to renew its youth, it is the means of its slow suicide.—Max Nordau

REBEL THOUGHTS

MASKS

There are women as there are men whose political, social, intellectual or philanthropic labors are put on, as the harlot puts on paint and for the same purpose; but they can no more retard the progress of the great bulk of vital and sincere womanhood, than the driftwood on the surface of a mighty river can ultimately prevent its waters from reaching the sea.

OLIVE SCHREINER

BLINDNESS

In our mills, factories and mines, human hands are herded together to dig, to spin and to feed the machines that they have made, and the product of the machine is not theirs. Day after day naked hands without safeguard, without respite must guide the machines under dangerous and unclean conditions. Day after day they must keep firm hold of the little that they grasp of life until they are hardened, brutalized. Still the portent of idle hands grows apace and the hand-to-hand grapple waxes more fierce. O pitiful blindness!

HELEN KELLER

THE UNMARRIED MOTHER

The ideal of a free union belongs to the attainment of the new erotic ethics which will uplift man and woman in that sphere where now the spirit of slavery and of obtuseness under a holy name degrade them; where social convention sanctions prostitution alongside monogamy and vouchsafes to the seducer but not to the seduced, social esteem, calling the unmarried woman ruined who in love has become a mother, but the married woman respectable who without love gives children to the man who has bought her.

ELLEN KEY

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Woman can give suffrage or the ballot no new quality, nor can she receive anything from it that will enhance her own quality. Her development, her freedom, her independence, must come from and through herself. First, by asserting herself as a personality and not as a sex commodity. Second, by refusing the right to anyone over her body; by refusing to bear children, unless she wants them; by refusing to be a servant to God, the State, society, the husband, the family, etc., by making her life simpler, but deeper and richer. That is, by trying to learn the meaning and substance of life in all its complexities, by freeing herself from the fear of social opinion and public condemnation. Only that and not the ballot, will set woman free, will make her a force hitherto unknown in the world, a force for real love, for peace, for harmony; a force of divine fire, of life giving; a creator of free men and women.

EMMA GOLDMAN

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Statement of Receipts and Expenses in Emma Goldman Social Pro Rangel-Cline / Emma Goldman. – 29 cm. *In* Regeneracion [Los Angeles]. –(June 13, 1914).

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committee, will be printed weekly in "Regeneracion," the organ of the Mexican Liberal Party, which will be mailed to all contributors.

Believing that you will lend us your earnest co-operation and that, as the result of such support, we shall be able to strike an effective blow for justice and human liberty.

We remain most fraternally,

Rangel-Cline Defense Committee.

Per K. Wirth, Victor Cravello, Jesse Murray, Stanley M. Gue, P. Kahn, M. Lerner, Frank Roney, Jaime Vidal, Wm. C. Owen, M. Lissner, H. Stanley Calvert, M. Eastvee, G. W. Stanton, Harry E. Alexander, E. Leon, F. Bana, W. H. Cook.

Address all communications

VICTOR CRAVELLO,

Room 108, Labor Temple,

Los Angeles, Cal.

GRAND DANCE

arranged by the

MAY DAY FEDERATION

for the benefit of the defense of our brothers

Rangel, Cline, Cisneros, Alzalde and the other ten comrades now laying in the Texas Bastilles

Dancing will start at 8 p. m.

Saturday, June 13, 1914

In BURBANK HALL,

342 South Main St.

Come, everybody! Help to save fourteen gallant fighters of Labor's Battles while enjoying yourselves!

ADMISSION 25c

Pro Rangel, Cline Et Al

The Mexican mass meeting held Sunday May 31st, under the auspices of the Rangel-Cline Defense Committee in the V. P. S. L. Hall in this city, was a success.

A big crowd of earnest men, women and children, some one thousand souls, were present. Fraternity and good will to help were the main characteristics of the gathering, composed largely of members of the Mexican Liberal Party residing in this city and nearby towns. Many American comrades and fellow workers showed their solidarity by attending the meeting.

Comrade Victor Cravello, Financial Secretary of the "Rangel-Cline Defense Committee," acting as chairman, opened the meeting to explain

DO YOU BELIEVE IN LEARNING THINGS FOR YOURSELF?

Are you aware of the fact that today earnest people are trying to establish the Millennium on earth without the aid of the preacher, the lawyer or the politician.

EMMA GOLDMAN

will [illegible] lectures in SAN DIEGO June 11th to 15th, inc.

Mission Turn Hall, 18th St. near Valencia

Sunday, June 14th, 8 P. M.

Subject: Reformatory Work

Monday, June 15th, 8 P. M.

Subject: Is Religion a Necessity?

Tuesday, June 16th, 8 P. M.

Subject: Anarchism

Wednesday, June 17th, 8 P. M.

Subject: The Intellectual Proletariat

Thursday, June 18th, 8 P. M.

Subject: The Social Significance of the Modern Drama

Friday, June 19th, 8 P. M.

Subject: Anarchism and Socialism

Saturday, June 20th, 8 P. M.

Subject: Modern Methods of Struggle

Admission 15c

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES IN EMMA GOLDMAN SOCIAL PRO RANGEL-CLINE.

Receipts.

Tickets sold at the door	$ 25.00
Our own collection at the [illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
At the [illegible]	24.00
Collection	12.50
Sale of [illegible]	5.00
Rent	10.00
Total	$131.00

Expenses.

[illegible]	15.00
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
Mexican [illegible]	2.00
[illegible]	[illegible]
Self Help Printing Supplies	5.75
Total	$ 65.75
[illegible]	$ 65.25
[illegible]	1.75
Balance turned over to Victor Cravello	$ 67.00

EMMA GOLDMAN

Los Angeles, June 9th, 1914.

RANGEL CLINE DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

RECEIPTS BY THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY

[illegible] received on May 28th, 1914 [illegible] ONTARIO, CAL. [illegible] by A. M. Dixon, SAN PEDRO, CAL. [illegible] by Mrs. W. H. [illegible]

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The Emma Goldman Papers

To Our Friends / Emma Goldman. – p. 176 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 9, no. 5 (July 1914).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Authority and ordinary selfishness are far too powerful and common enemies to all of us that we can afford to waste energy on internal struggles which, by establishing dogmatism, would sap the very roots of Anarchism.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

TO OUR FRIENDS

San Francisco, California, July 2, 1914.

MUCH to my regret, I have to disappoint our readers this month, as it is quite impossible for me to write about our lectures, and the activities of our many friends in Los Angeles and San Francisco. I hope to be able to have a long article in the August number.

We close in San Francisco in a few days. Will be in Portland from July 19th to 26th. All information about my lectures there can be obtained from Pauline Cantor, No. 205 Grant Street. The week, or possibly longer, from July 26th to August 3d, we expect to have meetings in Seattle, Washington; and about August 10th we will visit Butte, Montana, and all of our friends there.

Letters in the various above-mentioned cities will reach me General Delivery.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

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(Signed) ALEXANDER BERKMAN, Editor.

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BY

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Emma Goldman's Telegram / Emma Goldman and Ben [L.] Reitman.– p. 154 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 9, no. 5 (July, 1914).

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speech is suppressed, when the efforts of workers to organize are met with force, when hungry men are denied food, and clubbed and shot and jailed for seeking it, when the workers are denied by government—which is a synonym of violence—every possibility of agitation, of organization, of education to overthrow a government and a society based on violence, then there is but one logical recourse. As one of the great revolutionists of this country, one of our comrades martyred 27 years ago, Louis Lingg, defiantly said when sentenced to death: "If you attack us with cannon, we will attack you with dynamite."

They have guns, they have cannon, they have soldiers, they have discipline, they have armies—and we have dynamite. To oppression, to exploitation, to tyranny, to jails, clubs, guns, armies and navies, there is but one reply: dynamite!

Emma Goldman's Telegram.

During the course of the afternoon a telegram was received from San Francisco from Emma Goldman and Ben Reitman. It read as follows:

> "Our deepest sympathy with all oppressed of the world, of whom our dead comrades were the conscious and brave spokesmen. We honor the memory of our dead comrades, the victims of the capitalist system and the martyrs of labor."
>
> EMMA GOLDMAN,
> DR. BEN REITMAN.

The meeting was adjourned about five o'clock with cheers for Caron, Berg and Hanson, for Anarchism and for the Social Revolution.

The Viewing of the Urn.

On July 12th, the Sunday following the demonstration, a crude urn of stern design, containing the ashes of Caron, Berg and Hanson, was shown to sympathizers and to the public in the garden back of the offices of the Mother Earth Publishing Association. The urn was made by Adolf Wolff, and carries the simple inscription:

KILLED
July 4, 1914
CARON
HANSON
BERG

Several thousand persons visited the Anarchist headquarters, and after being admitted through the basement entrance under the stoop, filed through the editorial offices and a narrow hall-way, which opened into the garden, where a small red and black draped stand had been erected, upon which the urn reposed. The fence surrounding the garden was draped with the banners and hung with the inscriptions that had been used at the demonstration in Union Square. Crimson blossoms and wreaths filled out the picture.

The urn is in the shape of a pyramid, with a clenched fist rising over the apex. Its creator was present in person on July 12th to explain to visitors the symbolism of the design. "It conveys," he said, "three meanings. By the pyramid is indicated the present unjust gradation of society into classes, with the masses on the bottom and the privileged classes towering above them to the apex, where the clenched fist, symbolical of the social revolution, indicates the impending vengeance of those free spirits who refuse to be bound by the present social system and rise above it, threatening its destruction. The urn further symbolizes the strength and endurance of the revolution, having its foundation in so solid a base. A third suggestion is that of a mountain in course of eruption, the crude, misshapen, stern fist indicating the lava of human indignation which is about to belch forth and carry destruction to the volcano which has given it birth."

So much enthusiasm was aroused among those who viewed the urn that plans were discussed for reproducing the design on a gigantic scale. Wolff propounded the idea of a mausoleum in which should repose the ashes of those who die in the war for liberty. While this immense idea is being thought out, the actual urn containing the ashes of Caron, Berg and Hanson is be-

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our holes blinking at the reappearance of Emma Goldman the next year. We hope now to be the nucleus of a definite group, so that "our pastor" will have some tangible evidence of her activities here and will know where her friends are.

Personally speaking, this series of lectures has convinced me of the imminence of the Social Revolution. Hitherto I had believed its coming to be far away in the future. But the feeling has come upon me that the upheaval which has seemed so far away will be upon us ere long.

Out of the dust into which Man has been so repeatedly kicked, he is now arising with clenched fists to retaliate. Throwing aside the sop of respectability, breaking the chains of Christianity and of capitalist morality, he stands sullen and smarting as he takes his first deep breaths of the ozone of revolt. As he now starts to move toward the goal, who can say him nay and what power of heaven or earth can stand before him?

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

ON THE TRAIL

BY EMMA GOLDMAN.

Exultant unto the heights,
Saddened unto the depths.

SUCH must ever be the fate of the true propagandist. That it should be thus even after twenty-four years of struggle, is only proof that he who grows with his aim, he who can rise to the summit of his ideal, must go the gamut between exaltation and despair of the eternal struggle.

We left Denver for California with the same expectancy that one has who goes to meet his Beloved. Has she not been staunch and generous always? Has she not rejuvenated our energies and instilled new hope in the past? Surely she would do no less on this trip. But even the most passionate lovers have been known to undergo a change. Why not California?

The shock was hard to bear, but for the consciousness that it was not fickleness that induced her to play us false; it was her exhausted vitality which had been sapped by the same insatiable monster that has swept across the length and breadth of this land,—King Hunger.

Under the circumstances, our meetings in Los Angeles proved brighter than the dark horizon which greeted us on our arrival. The most impressive among them was the one on "The Birth Strike," attended by a large and enthusiastic audience, and the Rangel-Cline Social which gathered about fourteen nationalities into one great purpose, to save our brave comrades who are now fighting for their lives.

The same spirit of solidarity sustained us during our entire stay in LOS ANGELES.

Billy, Bret and Perry McCullough, Margaret Mato and Elmer Ellsworth, E. F. VanCleave and Molly Price, Billy Bell and Mattie Divers, Bertha Fiske, Dr. and Mrs. Gerson, the Irish rebel Pat Ryan, and the Australian Carl Ravenswood were the most active, but there were many others, too numerous to mention. Among them, Enrique Flores Magon, Rudie Wirth, Anna and Sam Robinson and their gifted son Louis, Anton Johannson, Victor Cravello, Arthuro Giovannitti, who was there on a visit, and Mr. and Mrs. Townsend, added no little to the bright and joyous hours of our lives. Thus with the grey bard Walt we sing:

"As long as the sun shall not exclude you,
We shall not exclude you,"

Los Angeles,—as long as our dear friends are there to lure us on.

After the warm companionship of Los Angeles, SAN FRANCISCO chilled us to our very marrow. To begin with, the weather was dismal, the cold penetrating. Then there was the eternal trouble of halls. Worst of all, the comrades, of whom a majority are wasting their energies with petty jealousies and personal quibbles. Indeed, the month in that city seemed a year whose days grow long. But as the sun must break through the blackest clouds, so the faithful few left nothing undone to make the ordeal bearable.

Dear old "Dynamite for Sale" Bilinski* worked like a beaver for the meetings and literature. With him Carl Newlander, who had followed us on the bumpers from Chicago; Comrades Lisner, Sam, Suhr; our very promising young comrade Pearl Vogle, now at the enviable

* Bilinski's trade name for our literature.

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devil-may-care age of sixteen; our beautiful comrades Manya and Vassily Semenoff; and last but not least, staunch old John Kassel, all did their utmost for the meetings, but hard as they tried they could not rekindle the fires of San Francisco which a bitter siege of unemployment and the unscrupulous boosting of the Exposition have well nigh extinguished.

I'm not a novice in the hardships of propaganda work, but I found this year's activities in San Francisco among the most trying of my public career. Even the most zealous idealist cannot go on forever drawing from within himself without reaching the bottom of his resources, for as Strindberg justly said, "It is that which each one brings to us that enriches our souls."

The audiences in San Francisco, but for a very few, were too listless, too inert, to bring anything; nor were they particularly eager to receive. Hence the task of lecturing night after night was almost beyond endurance; indeed would have been, but for the love and devotion of my friends Rebecca Raney, Gladys Richardson and Paul Berger, with their inexhaustible tender touch of true comradeship. I cannot attempt to estimate their value to me, save to say that they were my main sustenance during the dreadful month in San Francisco.

Eureka, California, thanks to the efforts of Comrade Alexander Mackay, was splendid. We had four large and enthusiastic meetings in that city and one in Arcate, California, this marking the first attempt of Anarchists to break the ice in that part of the country, a part which holds a considerable future for our ideas. The visit was made doubly interesting because for the first time we came in personal contact with the sturdy sons of the woods,—lumberjacks, who brought with them the largeness of soul which only the beauty and massiveness of the forest can create. "For to admire and for to see this world, it never done no good to us, yet we could not stop it if we tried." Thus, whether "exultant unto the heights, or saddened unto the depths," we shall go on and on.

In the next issue I shall bring the account of our unusual experiences in Portland, Oregon, our meetings in Seattle and Tacoma, and the visit to Home Colony. Also, the story of our return to Portland, and finally our forthcoming visit to Butte, Montana, where we shall be between the 16th and 19th of this month. After that we shall go to Denver for a reunion with our friends; a few days later to Chicago, and then back to New York.

IN MEMORY OF CLAUDE RIDDLE

THE Anarchist cause has lost a faithful and efficient comrade in the death of Dr. Claude Riddle, who died in Los Angeles, June 12th. Men of his type are rare enough in this world to merit recognition, and a brief outline of his life should be recorded for the satisfaction of his many friends.

Dr. Riddle was for some years active in the Socialist party. About five years ago he represented that party in a debate with Emma Goldman in Los Angeles. He publicly acknowledged his defeat. His manly and courageous conduct in this respect is worthy of special commendation. Shortly after this time he arranged several meetings in Southern California for Miss Goldman, having become a great admirer of her and her work. His activity in the Anarchist cause brought upon him the condemnation of the Socialist party. He was officially reprimanded and suspended from membership. Soon afterward he resigned from the party and publicly announced his acceptance of Anarchism.

Dr. Riddle was president for one term, of the Los Angeles Liberal Club, giving several lectures upon Rationalism and Anarchism. He was a clear thinker and capable speaker.

As a physician Dr. Riddle held two degrees, M.D. and D.O. His patients held his advice in high esteem, and loved him, as well, for his cheerful disposition.

He was one of my closest personal friends, and his loss touches me keenly. For the years that I knew him, I can say that his conduct always squared with my ideal of manhood. He was in practice as well as theory a faithful exponent of equal liberty, an example of universal charity and impartial justice, and his qualities of head and heart endeared him to a large circle of friends. He leaves a rich heritage in the memory of all who knew him.

CHARLES T. SPRADING.

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On the Trail / Emma Goldman.– pp. 226-231 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 9, no. 7 (Sept. 1914).
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With one blow, she struck the chord of explanation which, though denied forever and a day, will still be true.

As a last word, let me say: that although the newspapers pursued a policy of conspirative silence during Miss Goldman's visit to San Francisco; although even the *Bulletin* denied her so much as a word of announcement or review, on the ground that friendly notice of her, last year, had cost the paper $15,000 in advertising; even with these drawbacks, Emma Goldman's pilgrimage to these parts has been worth while, vastly so. She has come, like the rain in a season of drought, and helped to gladden the parched roots of many a valiant soul.

Long life, and good luck to you, little fighter for a Better Day! When you come again next year, there will be some warm hearts waiting to receive you.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

ON THE TRAIL

Exultant unto the heights,
Saddened unto the depths.

CITIES, like human beings, have their peculiar psychology, which is extremely difficult to account for. Thus it often happens that the most wide-awake and energetic place will prove dull, inert and unresponsive, while a city usually placid and cold may suddenly blaze forth into a perfect glow of receptivity.

PORTLAND, dear old contentedly lazy Portland, never had anything in its favor except natural beauty and a few of our staunch friends. Imagine then our surprise when on this visit we met with a response and eagerness which was not unlike the condition of a soul awakened to life by the magic touch of love. It was a revelation. Eight hundred men and women crowded into a hall on a stifling July afternoon to register their interest in Revolution as against Reform. And from that moment till the very end of our visit the enthusiasm of our audiences remained unabated. Indeed, so great was the interest aroused that a guarantee fund was suggested to bring us back from Seattle for a second week of free lectures.

As I have said before, cities—like human beings—

have their moods, if one can only get at the source of them. I shall therefore attempt to ascertain the cause or rather causes which were instrumental in changing the attitude toward our work in the city of Portland.

Primarily, I believe, it is the quiet but persistent efforts of one man, Charles Erskine Scott Wood. For years past this remarkable man has exerted an influence in the community which is as unique as it is telling. I say remarkable, because his social position is that of the ultra respectable and conservative, while his intellectual standing is that of the most outspoken and unflinching opponent of our social fabric with all its injustice and sham.

Nearly every one in Portland knows C. E. S. Wood, and though in his social set he is looked upon as a sort of American Don Quixote, those who have any ideal at all know that he can be depended upon to oppose vigorously every wrong and to support every cause in behalf of human liberty. In fact, the brilliancy of his mind and the deep humanity of his being exert an influence even on the most conservative.

It would be an exaggeration to say that C. E. S. Wood has been instrumental in changing the mode of life of those who grow fat on the sweat of labor; but he has succeeded in weakening the spirit of bigotry toward an unpopular cause. It is due to this, for instances, that a liberal atmosphere prevails in the Public Library; in fact, so liberal that every shade of opinion is welcomed in its halls; aye, even the views of E. G.,—a circumstance unheard of in any other similar institution in the country.

The meeting at the Library was the largest we had in Portland, a tremendous audience jamming the place, with as many more turned away for lack of room; and what is even more remarkable, it was the most enthusiastic gathering that attended that series. I chose as the topic of the evening a subject which seemed to me most appropriate for the occasion, "Intellectual Proletarians." I must have succeeded in bringing home to my listeners their economic dependence and utter insecurity as well as their relation to their brother wage slaves; at any rate, the lecture struck fire and created enough stir to insure all our other meetings.

Mr. Wood presided. How I wish I could repro-

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duce his speech! If only that our readers might learn to appreciate the spirit of the man, which neither class, caste nor station has obscured, so powerful and universal it is in its passionate yearning for a new and free arrangement of life.

The second factor, in a measure more immediate, which has awakened Portland, is undoubtedly the strike and the siege of unemployment that visited the city, and the splendid agitation in connection with it carried on by the Justice group. Added to this are the activities of the I. W. W. through the entire State of Oregon. There is also the attempt of the Prohibition party and kindred reactionary forces to turn Oregon into a desert of Sahara, which has fertilized the soil for our ideas. In fact the most bitterly opposed and at the same time wildly applauded lecture was the one on "The Immorality of Prohibition and Continence." Even some I. W. W. members were good enough to suggest that by opposing the invasiveness of the Prohibition on the ground of liberty, I am merely dragging the latter through the mire.

Who knows, the I. W. W. may yet become a peace-loving, law-abiding and ultra-respectable institution. Everything is possible between heaven and hell, which seems to be the present state of that organization. Fortunately, however, the individual is always superior to the institution. That accounts for the splendid types of I. W. W. one meets throughout the country.

Covington Hall, of *The Voice of the People,* whom it was my pleasure to meet, is such a type. His knowledge of the labor movement and his wide outlook upon the economic struggle, places him far beyond the narrow confines of the "One Big Union." Both at our social for Rangel-Cline, Suhr & Ford and at the Anti-War meeting in Portland, Covington Hall pleaded for a deeper solidarity as against all petty quibbles so much in vogue among the radicals everywhere.

Needless to say, the Prohibitionists are frothing with pious rage. They swear that I am in the pay of the liquor interests and their papers insist that I plead for "liquor and lust."

I confess that if I had to choose between the morality of the Y. M. C. A., the sober dullness of the Prohibition

party and lust, I would have to plead guilty to the charge, because I know that nothing worth while has ever come from the sterile mind of puritanism nor from the dry, hard soil of prohibition.

A city may have a change of heart, and yet not crystallize its interest. In the case of Portland we were fortunate in having a few splendid workers who utilized the new-born interest, among them the Justice Group, John Spicer, who is an I. W. W., Helen and Walter Wilson, Ruth Chapin and her lovely daughter, Elizabeth, Nunya Halperin, Miss Wittenberg, and our old friend Rosie, the author of "Thoughts of a Fool."

But the one ahead of all, the very spirit of them, was dear little Pauline Cantor. She it was who arranged the first series of lectures, secured the Public Library, and made the canvass of those who pledged the guarantee fund. She it was who acted as "chief cook and bottle washer," distributing cards, sitting at the cash box, selling books. Above all, it is Pauline who has the wonderful capacity to harmonize conflicting elements and to induce them to work, and that by the example of devotion which her very being exhales.

Then there were the few who gave out of their store of personal affection, Kittie Beck, Nelda Rosenthal and several others. But who can do justice to their contribution? Like all else that emanates from the depth of the human breast, their love and devotion are measureless.

Portland was indeed the banner experience of our tour, an inspiration never to be forgotten.

SEATTLE proved flat and uninteresting; not for want of friends, but because of our old handicap, the lack of halls. Our Comrade Ed Mattson tried hard enough, but all he could secure was an out-of-the way and inaccessible place. The result was poor attendance in point of numbers and quality.

The only event in Seattle was my debate with a Socialist light, Mr. Joseph Gilbert, who, like his colleague, Mr. Watson, of Brooklyn fame, saved me much energy with his argument that under Socialism unruly characters will be forced to hunger strike or be placed in a strait-jacket. When I suggested that we have already reached that dream, as demonstrated by the treatment

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accorded Becky Edelsohn, Mr. Gilbert seemed to think that I knew nothing of the superiority of the Socialist hunger strike and strait-jacket to that of the capitalist régime.

Our Comrades Mattson, Lilienblatt, Orcelia and Morell, Mr. and Mrs. Parker, Soubel, and several others helped to bring some color into the otherwise grey setting of Seattle.

The meeting in TACOMA was not better, but then it was arranged in great haste and by a single Comrade, our friend Sam Hammersmark. But it was counterbalanced by our visit to Home Colony. We met many old and new friends. Dear Gertie Vose has aged since 1898, but her spirit is ever young. Frankie Moore is as motherly and sweet as when first she played hostess to us in her respectable home many years ago. The Erkelines, as true and staunch as ever; Jenny Lavroff, generous and splendid; Billie Ball, strange and interesting; Charlie Greenbaugh, keenly alert to our needs of quiet privacy. And then the children, how wonderful they are in the freedom fo their surroundings! All in all, our visit was a treat indeed.

BUTTE may be built on a bluff, but the recent events in that city prove that the awakened workers of that town are in dead earnest. They have demonstrated the power of direct action as no other group of men in recent times.

The dynamite which demolished the old Miners Hall is as nothing compared with the splendid spirit which demolished the corruption-eaten régime of the old organization. With such a stormy background, it may not have been so difficult as in the past to arrange our meetings. We had five in all, of which the Anti-War and Birth Strike meetings were the largest.

However, the credit for our success is again due to our beautiful Comrades Annie and Abe Edelstadt, and their children, Albert and Sadie; especially to Albert, who now goes about with head high, because it was his first independent venture to organize my meetings.

If Butte had never given us anything in the way of propaganda results, it would still be a bright spot of joy because of the Edelstadts. For over a quarter of a century now they have been in the Anarchist movement.

They have experienced every phase of human sorrow, every shade of disappointment, yet their spirit is as undaunted, young and unswerving as if they had but recently allied themselves with our work. Indeed, I know of no other home which expresses to the fullest the beauty of Communism and the freedom of our ideal as that of the Edelstadts. No wonder every wanderer in the revolutionary movement finds a haven of rest with them. When we arrived we found Caroline Nelson who, though not an Anarchist, was received with the same love.

Poor Caroline is now learning that intolerance and bigotry is as prevalent among I. W. W. as it is among all institutionalists. Because she dared criticise centralization, the bundle orders of *The Voice of the People* were discontinued. Because she was with the Anarchists, spoke with me at the Anti-War meeting and presided at the Birth Strike lecture, she was sweated and denounced by members of the I. W. W. in the most outrageous manner. But Caroline, like all of us, will have to learn that there is no room for the individual under a centralized régime.

Butte closed our tour as the golden rays of the setting sun illumine an imperfect day, spreading glowing hope for those who have the capacity to be "saddened unto the depths and exultant unto the heights."

EMMA GOLDMAN.

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TO OUR CHICAGO FRIENDS

THANKS to the interest of several people, I am to deliver a series of lectures in the Fine Arts Building, beginning about October 25th. I shall also speak on the North side. Particulars will appear in our next issue. Those who would rather not wait so long, can get information from Ben Reitman, 3547 Ellis Ave., Chicago. Phone, Douglas 7317.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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They have experienced every phase of human sorrow, every shade of disappointment, yet their spirit is as undaunted, young and unswerving as if they had but recently allied themselves with our work. Indeed, I know of no other home which expresses to the fullest the beauty of Communism and the freedom of our ideal as that of the Edelstadts. No wonder every wanderer in the revolutionary movement finds a haven of rest with them. When we arrived we found Caroline Nelson who, though not an Anarchist, was received with the same love.

Poor Caroline is now learning that intolerance and bigotry is as prevalent among I. W. W. as it is among all institutionalists. Because she dared criticise centralization, the bundle orders of *The Voice of the People* were discontinued. Because she was with the Anarchists, spoke with me at the Anti-War meeting and presided at the Birth Strike lecture, she was sweated and denounced by members of the I. W. W. in the most outrageous manner. But Caroline, like all of us, will have to learn that there is no room for the individual under a centralized régime.

Butte closed our tour as the golden rays of the setting sun illumine an imperfect day, spreading glowing hope for those who have the capacity to be "saddened unto the depths and exultant unto the heights."

EMMA GOLDMAN.

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TO OUR CHICAGO FRIENDS

THANKS to the interest of several people, I am to deliver a series of lectures in the Fine Arts Building, beginning about October 25th. I shall also speak on the North side. Particulars will appear in our next issue. Those who would rather not wait so long, can get information from Ben Reitman, 3547 Ellis Ave., Chicago. Phone, Douglas 7317.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

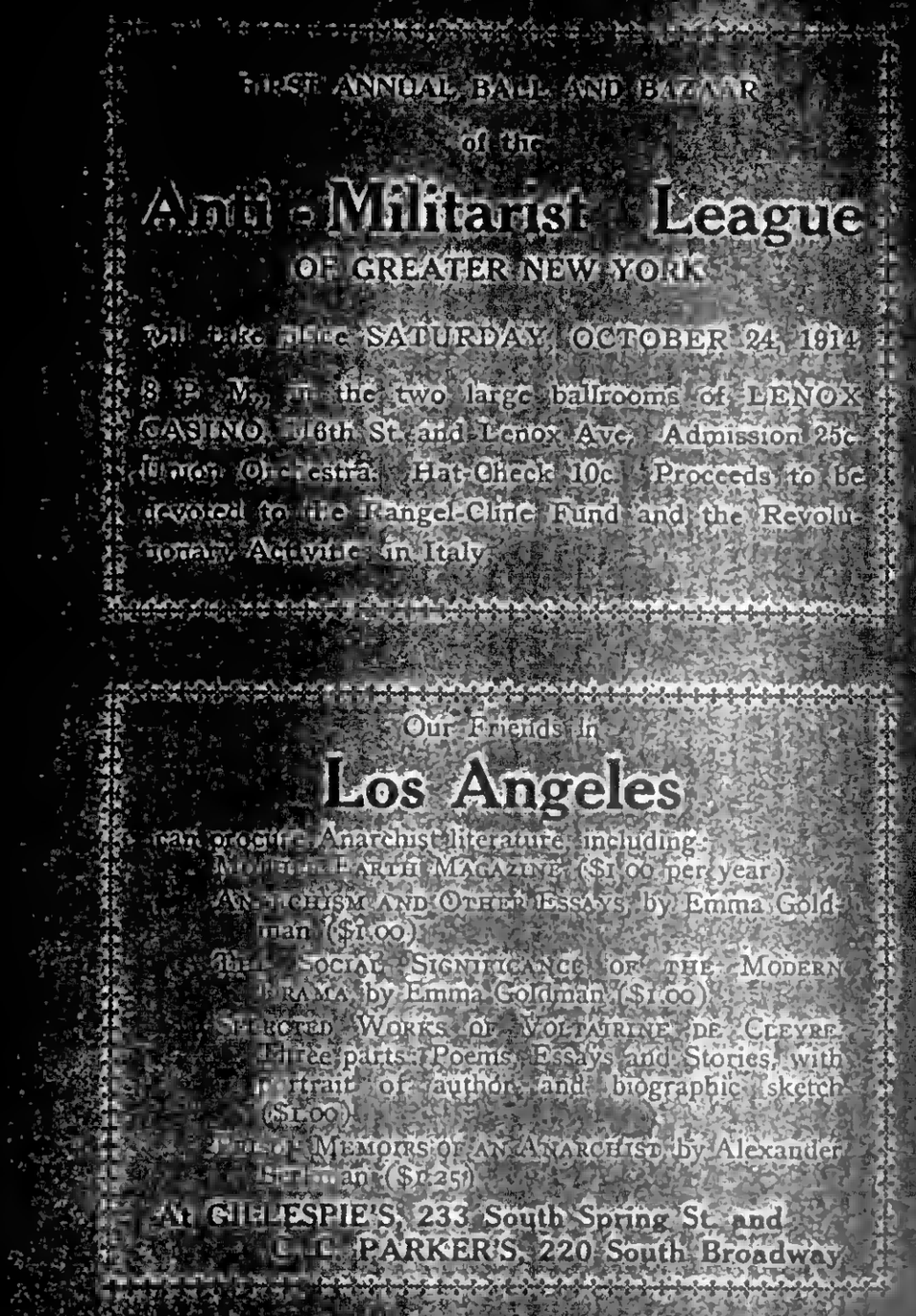
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The Emma Goldman Papers

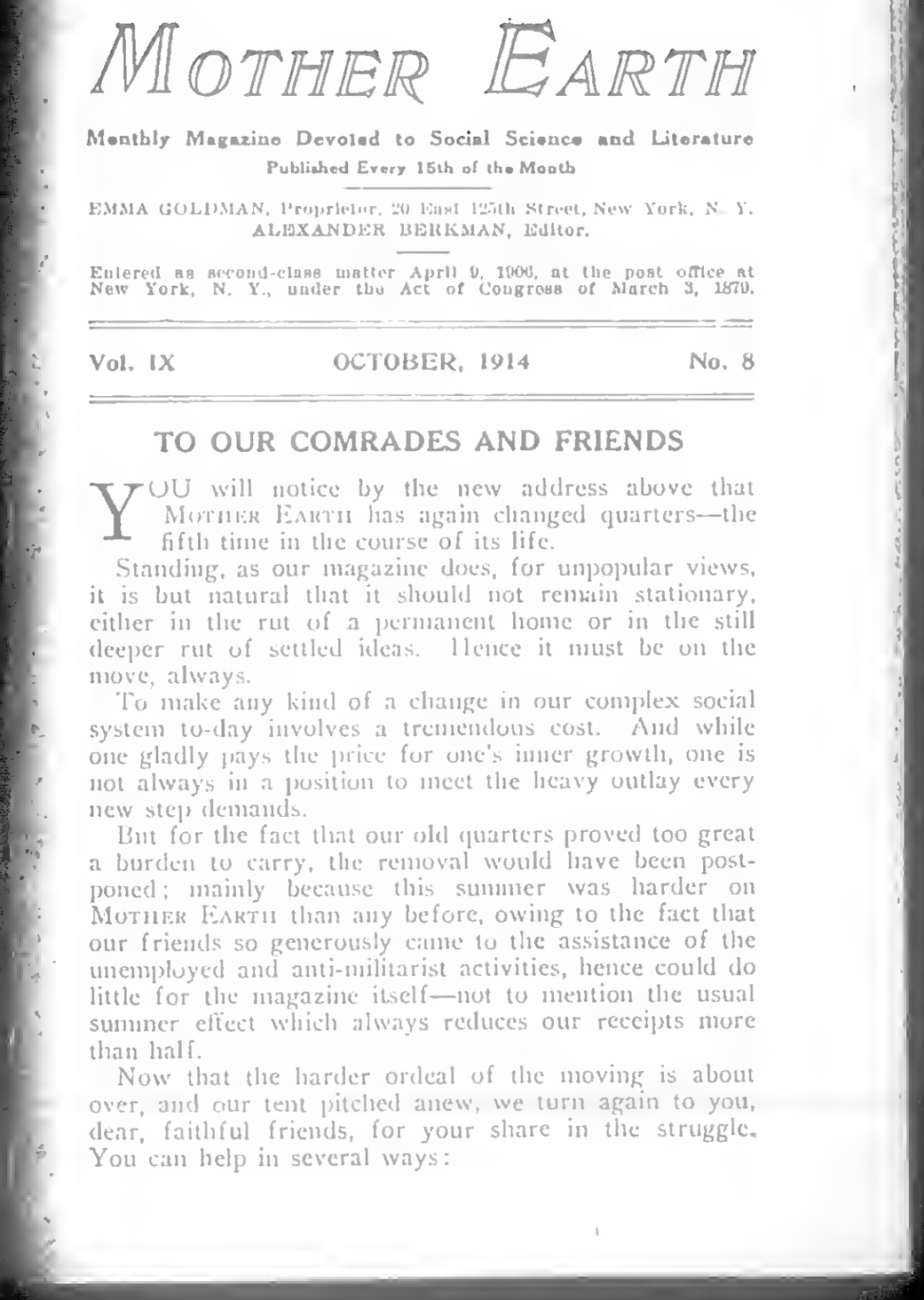
To Our Comrades and Friends / Emma Goldman.— pp. 241-242 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 9, no. 8 (Oct. 1914).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.



FIRST ANNUAL BALL AND BAZAAR
of the
Anti-Militarist League
OF GREATER NEW YORK
will take place SATURDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1914
8 P. M., in the two large ballrooms of LENOX CASINO, 116th St. and Lenox Ave. Admission 25c. Union Orchestra. Hat-Check 10c. Proceeds to be devoted to the Rangel-Cline Fund and the Revolutionary Activities in Italy.

Our Friends in
Los Angeles
can procure Anarchist literature, including:
MOTHER EARTH MAGAZINE ($1.00 per year).
ANARCHISM AND OTHER ESSAYS, by Emma Goldman ($1.00).
THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MODERN DRAMA, by Emma Goldman ($1.00).
SELECTED WORKS OF VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE. Three parts: Poems, Essays and Stories, with portrait of author and biographic sketch ($1.00).
THE MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST, by Alexander Berkman ($0.25).
At GILLESPIE'S, 233 South Spring St. and
C. C. PARKER'S, 220 South Broadway



MOTHER EARTH

Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature
Published Every 15th of the Month

EMMA GOLDMAN, Proprietor, 20 East 125th Street, New York, N. Y.
ALEXANDER BERKMAN, Editor.

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Vol. IX — OCTOBER, 1914 — No. 8

TO OUR COMRADES AND FRIENDS

YOU will notice by the new address above that MOTHER EARTH has again changed quarters—the fifth time in the course of its life.

Standing, as our magazine does, for unpopular views, it is but natural that it should not remain stationary, either in the rut of a permanent home or in the still deeper rut of settled ideas. Hence it must be on the move, always.

To make any kind of a change in our complex social system to-day involves a tremendous cost. And while one gladly pays the price for one's inner growth, one is not always in a position to meet the heavy outlay every new step demands.

But for the fact that our old quarters proved too great a burden to carry, the removal would have been postponed; mainly because this summer was harder on MOTHER EARTH than any before, owing to the fact that our friends so generously came to the assistance of the unemployed and anti-militarist activities, hence could do little for the magazine itself—not to mention the usual summer effect which always reduces our receipts more than half.

Now that the harder ordeal of the moving is about over, and our tent pitched anew, we turn again to you, dear, faithful friends, for your share in the struggle. You can help in several ways:

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1. By renewing your own subscription or sending in new members of the MOTHER EARTH family.

2. By availing yourself of our special $3.00 and $5.00 book offers.

3. By sending in orders for Voltairine de Cleyre's "Selected Works," which we have recently published, and a brilliant review of which, by Leonard D. Abbott, appears in this issue.

4. By ordering my new work, "The Social Significance of the Drama," which should prove a good medium of interesting your circle of acquaintances in our ideas.

Last, but not least, you could send us names for sample copies of our magazine.

In the hope that you will respond readily to our appeal and that you will, when in the city, call at our new home to browse among our literature,

Faithfully,

EMMA GOLDMAN.

SPECIAL OFFERS.

Renewal of MOTHER EARTH and a copy of Strindberg's Plays as premium, $1.00.

MOTHER EARTH renewal	$1.00
Andreyev's "King Hunger"	1.50
Andreyev's "Anathema"	1.25
Postage	.25
	$4.00
While copies of these books last	$3.00

MOTHER EARTH renewal	$1.00
One volume of Maeterlinck's Plays	1.25
Sudermann's "Fires of St. John"	1.25
"Liberty & the Great Libertarians"	1.50
Louis Levine's "Syndicalism"	1.50
Postage	.50
	$7.00
While copies of these books last	$5.00

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DIRECT ACTION—Conscious individual or collective effort to protest against, or remedy, social conditions through the systematic assertion of the economic power of the workers.

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

AMID all this raving about the "higher civilization" and "greater culture" of one's "own" country, it is well to pause an instant and inquire what does culture, civilization really consist in.

It is supposed to be represented by the thinkers, scientists, writers and artists of a nation. And if these suddenly turn traitors to the very spirit and purpose of their whole life work, and rush out to murder their fellowmen, how deep-seated is their civilization, their culture?

If the primitive lust for murder and carnage can be so easily roused in the highest products of culture, their vaunted civilization is the merest pretence and fraud.

* * *

THERE is no essential difference between the civilizations of the warring European nations. They all boast the identical "culture"—capitalism: the master on the back of the slave. And the weight of the master is always the same, be he called noble aristocrat, lord of the manor, or vulgar shopkeeper. And the burden of the slave is no less, be he called serf, peasant, or free wage worker.

There is little to distinguish these various brands of civilization. What real culture they possess, is common to all of them, in spite of civilization. If England produced a Shakespeare, Germany had a Goethe. But neither Kant nor Spencer; Huxley or Haeckel; Byron, Heine, or Pushkin; Voltaire, Spinoza, Marx or Bakunin are the children of this or that country. They are the products of world experience and culture, of the spirit of universal humanity.

There is nothing for any sane man to defend in the culture of his particular country. Philosophy, science, art do not depend on geographic or national boundary lines; nor is any culture "protected" by the slaughter of human beings.

The more terribly heart-rending, therefore, it is to see men like Hauptmann, Galsworthy, Maeterlinck *et al* fall in with the herd of bloodthirsty maniacs, in the insane delusion that they are "defending" a beloved cul-

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Chicago, Attention! / Emma Goldman.— pp. 270-271 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 9, no. 8 (Oct. 1914).

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CHICAGO, ATTENTION!

AS I have announced in last issue of MOTHER EARTH, I am returning to your city for three week's earnest and, I hope, interesting work.

I will open the English course of propaganda lectures at the East End Hall, Erie and Clark Streets, with "War, and the Sacred Right of Property," to be followed Monday, October 26, with "The Immorality of Prohibition and Continence." Wednesday, October 28, "The Betrayal of the International."

Monday, November 2—"The Sham of Culture."
Wednesday, November 4—"The Czar and 'My Jews.'"
Monday, November 9—"The Misconceptions of Free Love."
Wednesday, November 11—The Twenty-seventh Anniversary of the death of the Chicago Anarchists. (Other speakers will also address the meeting.)
Admission to these lectures, ten cents.

In the Assembly Hall of The Fine Arts Building:

Sunday, November 1—"The Psychology of War."
Sunday, November 8—"War and 'Our Lord.'"
Sunday, November 15—"Woman and War."
Reserved seats 50 cents. General admission, 25 cents.

My drama talks will take place in the Assembly Hall, Fine Arts Building, as follows:

Tuesday, October 27, 8 P. M.:
INTRODUCTION.

Thursday, October 29:
THE SCANDINAVIAN DRAMA—
Henrik Ibsen: The Comedy of Love.
August Strindberg: Lucky Pehr.
Hjalmar Bergstrom: Karen Borneman and Lyndgard & Co.

Saturday, October 31:
THE GERMAN DRAMA—
Gerhardt Hauptmann: Hannele.
Herman Sudermann: The End of Sodom.
Max Halbe: Youth.

Tuesday, November 3:
THE FRENCH DRAMA—
Eugene Brieux: The Red Robe.
Paul Hervieu: In Chains.
Henry Beque: The Vultures.
Henry Bataille: Plays to be announced later.

Thursday, November 5:
THE ITALIAN AND SPANISH DRAMA—
Gabrielle D'Annunzio: The Daughter of Jorio.
Guiseppe Giacosa: Sacred Ground.
Jose Echegaray: The Great Galetto.

Saturday, November 7:
THE ENGLISH DRAMA—
George Bernard Shaw: Mesalleance and Fanny's First Play.
Charles Rann Kennedy: The Idol Breaker.
John Galsworthy: The Mob.

Tuesday, November 10:
THE AMERICAN DRAMA—
Plays of Butler Davenport, George Middleton and others to be announced later.

Thursday, November 12:
THE JEWISH DRAMA—
Jacob Gordin: The Slaughter.
Sholem Ash: The God of Vengeance.
David Pinsky: The Zwee Family.
Max Nordau: A Question of Honor.

Saturday, November 14:
THE RUSSIAN DRAMA—
Maxim Gorki: Summer Folk.
Anton Tchekhov: The Three Sisters.
Leonid Andreyev: The Life of Man and Savva.

Course tickets, reserved seats, including a year's subscription to MOTHER EARTH, $3.00; single ticket, 50 cents.

I will also have four propaganda and four drama lectures in Yiddish. Propaganda meetings: Friday, October 23, October 30, November 6, November 13, at 8 P. M., at Hod Carrier's Hall, Harrison and Green Streets. Drama lectures in Workman's Hall, West 12th Street: Sunday, October 25, November 1, November 8, November 15, at 3 P. M.

I will discuss the Scandinavian, German, Yiddish and Russian Drama.

Admission to each of these, 15 cents.

Friends, it is the first time in twenty-four years that I am coming to Chicago for a number of weeks under favorable conditions. My work can be made a great and lasting success if you will lend your assistance. You can help with the sale of tickets and the distribution of cards, both of which, I feel confident, you will not refuse to do.

Tickets on sale for all the meetings, at *The Little Review*, 917 Fine Arts Building; at The Radical Book Shop, 817½ North Clark Street, or at Dr. Ben L. Reitman's, 3547 Ellis Avenue. By mail, checks payable to Margaret Anderson, 917 Fine Arts Building.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Notes of propaganda. In Italian] Note di Propaganda / Emma Goldman. – p. 3 ; 29 cm. *In* Cronaca Sovversiva [Barre, Vt.]. – Vol. 12, no. 44 (Oct. 31, 1914).

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Sebastiano Faure Appendice N. 7

Dodici prove

— DELLA —

INESISTENZA DI DIO

Voi mi date, signori, dei consigli di lealtà ai quali sono dispostissimo a conformarmi. Mi richiamate alla modestia legittima alla quale deve uniformarsi l'umile mortale cui sono. Mi piace di non allontanarmi nè da questa nè da quella.

Voi dite che **dio** mi oltrepassa, che mi sfugge? Sia. Acconsento a riconoscerlo ; ed affermare che il finito non può concepire nè spiegare l'Infinito, è una verità tanto certa, evidente, che non ho proprio voglia di farvi opposizione. Eccoci, fino a questo punto, di pieno accordo e spero ne siate contenti.

Soltanto, signori, permettete che, a mia volta, vi dia i medesimi consigli di lealtà ; sopportate che, anch'io, vi richiami alla stessa modestia. Non siete voi degli uomini come ne sono uno? Forse che **dio** non non vi oltrepassa, come mi oltrepassa? Non vi sfugge egli così come mi sfugge? Avreste voi la pretesa di muovervi sullo stesso piano che la Divinità? Avreste la tracotanza di pensare e la sciocchezza di dichiarare che, con un colpo d'ala, avete raggiunto la sommità occupata da dio? Sareste voi presuntuosi al punto di affermare che il vostro cervello finito ha abbracciato l'Infinito?

Non vi faccio l'ingiuria, signori di credervi attinti da una simile stravagante vanità.

Abbiate dunque, come l'ho io, la lealtà e la modestia di confessare che, se mi è impossibile di comprendere e di spiegare **dio**, voi vi urtate alla stessa impossibilità. Abbiate infine la probità di riconoscere che se, pel fatto che non posso concepire nè spiegare **dio**, non mi è permesso di negarlo, voi non potendolo del pari nè comprendere nè spiegare, non vi è permesso d'affermarlo.

E guardatevi bene dal credere, signori, che siamo ormai ad eguale condizione. Siete voi che, per i primi, avete affermata l'esistenza di **dio** ; siete dunque voi che, per primi, dovete por fine alle vostre affermazioni. Avrei, io, mai pensato di negare **dio** se, allorchè ero ancora fanciullo, non mi si fosse imposto di credere in lui? Se, adulto, non avessi inteso affermarlo intorno a me? Se, diventato uomo, i miei sguardi non avessero costantemente osservato delle Chiese e dei Templi innalzati a **dio**?

Sono le vostre affermazioni che provocano e giustificano le mie negazioni.

Cessate di affermare ed io cesserò di negare.

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SECONDA OBBIEZIONE : "NON C'È EFFETTO SENZA CAUSA".

La seconda obbiezione appare altrimenti temibile. Molti la considerano ancora indiscutibile. Ci viene dai filosofi spiritualisti.

Codesti signori dicono sentenziosamente : "Non c'è effetto senza causa ; ora, l'Universo è un effetto: dunque questo effetto ha una causa che noi chiamiamo **dio**".

L'argomento è presentato bene ; sembra ben costruito, solidamente piantato.

Tutto sta nel sapere se davvero sia così.

Questo ragionamento è quello che, in logica, si chiama un sillogismo. Un sillogismo è un argomento composto di tre proposizioni ; la maggiore, la minore e la conseguenza ; e comprendente due parti : le premesse, costituite con le due prime proposizioni e la conclusione rappresentata dalla terza.

Perchè un sillogismo sia inattaccabile, bisogna :

1) che la maggiore e la minore siano esatte ;

2) che la terza proposizione derivi logicamente dalle due prime.

Se il sillogismo dei filosofi spiritualisti, riunisce queste due condizioni, è inconfutabile e non mi resta che da inchinarmi ; ma se gli manca una sola di queste due condizioni, è nullo, senza valore e l'argomento tutto intero si sfascia.

Per conoscere il valore, esaminiamo le tre proposizioni che lo compongono.

Prima proposizione, maggiore :

— Non c'è effetto senza causa.

Filosofi, avete ragione. Non vi ha effetto senza causa : nulla di più esatto. Non vi ha, non vi può esservi **effetto** senza causa. L'effetto non è che il seguito, il prolungamento, il fine della causa. Chi dice effetto dice causa ; l'idea d'effetto chiama **necessariamente** e **immediatamente** l'idea di causa. Se fosse altrimenti, l'effetto senza causa sarebbe un effetto **da nulla** ; ciò che sarebbe assurdo.

Dunque, su questa prima proposizione, siamo d'accordo.

Seconda proposizione, minore :

— Ora, l'Universo è un effetto.

Ah! qui, chiedo di riflettere e domando degli schiarimenti. Su che cosa si appoggia un'affermazione così netta, così decisiva? Qual'è il fenomeno o l'insieme di fenomeni, qual'è la constatazione o l'insieme di constatazioni che permettono di pronunciarsi in forma così categorica?

E prima di tutto, l'Universo lo conosciamo noi abbastanza? l'abbiamo noi studiato, scrutato, esaminato, compreso perchè ci sia permesso d'essere tanto affermativi? Ne abbiamo noi penetrato gli abbissi? Abbiamo noi esplorato gli spazii infiniti? Siamo noi discesi nelle profondità degli oceani? Abbiamo noi scalate tutte le altezze? Conosciamo noi tutte le cose appartenenti al dominio dell'Universo? Ci ha egli aperti tutti i suoi segreti? Abbiamo noi strappato tutti i veli, penetrato tutti i misteri, scoperti tutti gli enigmi? Abbiamo noi tutto visto, udito, tastato, sentito, osservato, notato? Non abbiamo noi più nulla da imparare? più nulla da scoprire? Breve, siamo noi in istato di dare sull'Universo un apprezzamento formale, un giudizio definitivo, una decisione certa?

(*Continua*).

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dato per voi la somma di cinquanta franchi, la quale sarà usata al pagamento dell'ammenda alla quale siete stato condannato.

— Allora, quando mi darete i cinquanta franchi?

— Saranno consegnati al cancelliere. Non inquietatevi.

Fa lo stesso. Ringrazio egualmente la persona.

E Crainquebille, meditabondo, mormorò:

— Non è ordinario quello che mi succede.

A. France

---

1) Traduzione letterale: Morte alle vacche! — che però devesi intendere: Morte ai poltroni, alle spie! — È un grido comune, in Francia, che spesso vien lanciato sul grugno dei gendarmi e degli sbirri.

Non pane, non diritto

Madri, leggete !

. . . . . .

Un morto..... un fantaccino tedesco. È là disteso nel fossato, contorto, le mani aggrappate al suolo. I piedi, nudi, sono di una magrezza straordinaria. Ha la testa nascosta in groviglio di rami. Una mosca esce da quel groviglio, poi due, poi tre. Girano un momento, l'una dietro l'altra, di un volo lento e pesante, come ciclisti che prendano lo slancio nella pista. Poi bruscamente, una ad una, si gettano sui rami e spariscono fra le foglie. A quale spaventoso festino accorrono?

Scaliamo il fossato. (È Almereyda, del *Bonnet Rouge*, che racconta una sua visita sul campo di battaglia). Davanti a noi si stende una vasta pianura. Un puzzo abbominevole ci serra la gola. Questa volta siamo nel mezzo del carnaio. Ci copriamo la bocca ed il naso col fazzoletto e procediamo. Passato un gruppo d'alberi, l'orribile quadro si scopre davanti ai nostri occhi. Dei morti, ancora dei morti, ad ogni passo un cadavere. Sono tutti dritto disteso davanti a lui.

Ancora un tedesco, che ha dovuto agonizzare prima di render l'anima. Come il granatiere, è seduto, le reni appoggiate ad un mucchio di terra. Attorno a lui sono delle carte sparpagliate. Ne prendo una: una lettera scritta a lapis, che l'infelice aveva diretto al padre ed alla sorella.

Non ne posso più. L'abbominevole puzzo è penetrato in me, ha impregnato tutta la mia persona. Non oso sputare: la mia saliva deve avere l'odore della putrefazione.....

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Ci allontaniamo in fretta da quel carnaio. Ma quell'atroce odore è dappertutto; si trascina in fondo ai fossati, spazia sui rami degli alberi, si distende sulle acque, vola nella polvere. È in ogni molecola dell'etere.

Ci si muove in un'atmosfera di fetore. Si finisce col farvi l'abitudine, ma ogni tanto un soffio più violento v'investe come per affermare la forza di quell'odore. Si direbbe che un vento iadico lo raccoglie per gettarvelo sul viso. Quale igno-

Note di propaganda

Un'escursione di propaganda di Alessandro Berkman. — Una buona novella! Alessandro Berkman si propone un vasto giro di propaganda negli Stati centrali. Parlerà il 12 e 13 Novembre a Pittsburg; ad Allegheny e nei dintorni; dal 14 al 21 a Cleveland, Ohio; il 22 ad Akron, O.; il 25 ad Ann Harbor, Mich. il 28 a Detroit domenica 29 Nov.: nel pomeriggio ed alla sera a Chicago e nelle vicinanze dal 6 al 18 Dicembre, a Madison Wife, 19 Dic. a Milwaukee, il 20 dic. a Saint Louis, Mo., dal 25 al 31 dicembre ; coll'intendimento precipuo di organizzare leghe antimilitariste e federare i gruppi anarchici esistenti. Un proposito pel quale, a dire franca la verità, non coltiviamo entusiasmi soverchi. Ma dove passerà Alessandro Berkman riaccenderà entusiasmi e fervori, raccoglierà messe vasta di consensi generosi, coscriverà alla grande guerra sociale reclute gagliarde senza numero, squarcierà nell'indifferenza sospettosa o neghittosa ampia breccia all'idea libertaria misconosciuta e di-



Roslyn, Wash. — Sabato 17 corr., il compagno Umberto Postiglione che è rimasto con noi qualche giorno, ha tenuto alla Druids Hall una riuscitissima conferenza su la **Guerra dei governi e la guerra di classe.** Malgrado il breve numero degli ascoltatori, chè qui non è centro molto popolare di italirni ed il sabato non è forse la giornata più propizia alle riunioni di propaganda.

Postiglione incominciò con vibrata parola la sua analisi sulle cause della guerra e più profondamente del capitalismo che le sferra avido con supremo dispregio della vita umana e delle centinaia di migliai di vite proletarie che gli debbono lastricare su la distruzione, su l'orrore, su la rovina di tutti l'agognata fortuna. Del capitalista denunziò il complice scelerato e necessario del prete. Quello ag-

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Non pane, non diritto

ma galera a ufo nella grande repubblica

L'epilogo del grande sciopero di Lancaster e di Depew, N. Y. l'abbiamo avuto sabbato scorso 17 ottobre corrente alla Corte superiore dello Stato quando il giudice Barcus ha,sopra semplici indizii, coudannato Mallozzi a vent'anni e Romani a dieci anni quali autori dell'uccisione di Giuseppe Petrilli il 24 maggio scorso in Sawyer ave. a Lancaster.

Sta in realtà che tanto Mallozi quanto Romani si sono buttati sull'armento degli scabs venuti sotto l'egida della sbirraglia a toglierci il pane dei figli a tradire la causa di tutti.

Li volevano sloggiare e si deve alla loro rivolta audace se molti, visto che la vigliaccheria qui costava cara, hanno fatto rotta per la tana.

Pel nostro diritto vilipeso, pel nostro pane quotidiano non ha avuto nè un fremito nè una preoccupazione la pinzocchera giustizia puritana, per mandare in galera coloro che sono sorti a rivendicarli ed a difenderli, ha scavalcato riti, forme, fatti e testimonianze, ed ha largheggiato come sempre la galera.

Impareranno i castroni che aspettano sempre la giustizia dai cieli deserti o dall'olimpo borgheše, che la giustizia bisogna farcela da noi, e che non può trionfare il diritto comune se non sulle braccia concordemente levate degli schiavi su tutte le venerate ipocrisie di questo mondo iniquo di banditi?

E lascieremo ora nelle panie dei manutengoli dell'ordine Mallozi e Romano che si sono battuti per tutti, che sono stati per tutti noi,perseguitati torturati reclusi?

Tanto varrebbe seppellirci nella vergogna.

Casciani

La Salute e' in Voi!

Opuscolo indispensabile a tutti quei compagni che amano istruirsi - -

Prezzo **25c** la copia

Rivolgersi per le richieste (accompagnate sempre dal relativo importo) al *Gruppo Autonomo*, Box 53

East Boston, Mass.

ri, l'orribile quadro si scoprì davanti ai nostri occhi. Dei morti, ancora dei morti: ad ogni passo un cadavere. Sono tutti neri, di un nero turchiniccio, e gonfi come annegati. Ve ne sono in pose grottesche, altri hanno assunto un atteggiamento di straordinaria nobiltà. Certi hanno la faccia confitta nel suolo, le braccia ripiegate sotto il corpo e le gambe mischiate come quelle di fantocci disarticolati. Altri, con la faccia rivolta al cielo, una mano sul petto, l'altra distesa al suolo, conservano nella morte una elegauza di linee che sembra studiata, tanto è pura ed armoniosa.

Ed eccone che non han dovuto morire d'un tratto. Hanno il sacco sotto la testa. La ferita è a nudo. Si sente che hanno tentato di contendere la loro vita al destino e che accortisi della loro impoteuza hanno atteso la morte.

Mi avvicino ad uno di essi: un granatiere. Ha dovuto soffrire una lunga agonia; è seduto, col dorso appena curvo, la testa appoggiata sul sacco, le reni sostenute da un fagotto di vesti insanguinate, le gambe distese in una piccola fossa che egli ha forse scavato con le sue mani. Vicino a lui un piccolo sacco aperto, delle carte sparse d'intorno. Mi avanzo. Mai dimenticherò quello spettacolo. Giovane, poco più di vent'anni; i baffi biondi, fini, mettouo una riga chiara sul nero violaceo del viso, ch'è calmo e dolce come quello di un fanciullo. Nella mano dritta l'infelice tiene una fotografia, nella sinistra una lettera: fotografia e lettera di una giovane donna. Ho preso quelle due reliquie; dopo la guerra le spedirò in Germania. Per la bionda fanciulla che piange il suo fidanzato sarà forse un conforto il sapere che egli diè a lei il suo ultimo pensiero, e che prima di essere divorato dai vermi gli occhi del suo bel granatiere hanno pianto davanti al suo ritratto.

..... Sotto un albero, tre corpi sono allacciati, in uno sforzo supremo. Più lontano un giovanetto giace sotto un cavallo; la bava della bestia si mischia con il cervello dell'nomo.

Un Turcos! Il primo cadavere di francese, che incontro. Accanto a lui è disteso il fucile, con la sua baionetta innestata nella canna. La morte lo ha sorpreso in piena corsa. Si vede che fu abbattuto di un colpo. La faccia a terra, la fronte appoggiata sul braccio, l'altro braccio

Si direbbe che un vento sadico lo raccoglie per gettarvelo sul viso. Quale ignobile cosa!

Ci avanziamo verso la collina. Non vi sono più cadaveri. Qui i tedeschi hanno bruciato i loro morti. Se ne ha la prova nei mucchi di ceneri nere che ricoprono il suolo. Si è bruciato insieme cavalli ed uomini. Qua e là esce dalle cenori la scarpa di un soldato e lo zoccolo di un cavallo. V'è un puzzo acre e penetrante di grassi e di carni calcinati.

Tra i solchi del grano urto in un cadavere. Un giovaue soldato; dal cranio aperto le cervella han colato fin sulle spalle. Di tutti quelli che ho veduto fin qui è il primo che non sia nero. Ha il colore del vecchio avorio.

Arriviamo al villaggio di Varreddes. V'è un centinaio di fariti tedeschi, disseminati nelle botteghe vuote e uelle case. Hanno l'aria di bestie prese al laccio.

Ne avvicino qualcuno. Un sottufficiale dei granatieri, dal viso dolce, ingentilito, dalla barba bionda, parla francese.

— Abbiamo fame, da cinque giorni non mangiamo!

Gli rispondo che nel villaggio non è rimasto niente, gli stessi abitanti sono affamati.

Non insiste. Gli dico: — Non è dunque triste la guerra?

— Ah! sì, tanto triste..... Ero un negoziante..... Ho dei figli.....

M'accorgo che è per piangere: me ne vado.

⚜

Che i tedeschi abbianb abbruciato i loro morti è confermato da altre parti. Scrive un ufficiale:

"Ammucchiano i loro morti, gli uni sopra gli altri, come un rogo. Mano mano che la base si eleva, dondolano il cadavere e lo gettano sopra. Terminata la piramide, vi versano il petrolio a secchi e danno fuoco. Le vesti s'infiammano, le carni si gonfiano, la montagna umana si raggrinza e si contorce...."

Dall'*Avanti!* del 24 settembre 1914.

Il Grande Sciopero

Magnifico romanzo sociale di Carlo Malato. In vendita per **65c**. Dirigere le ordinazioni, accompagnate dal relativo importo, al **Gruppo Autonomo, Box 53- East Boston, Mass.**

renza sospettosa o neghittosa ampia breccia all'idea libertaria misconosciuta e disprezzata, e sarà raccolto ben più prezioso che non delle leghe tisiche o delle federazioni decorative che non lascian solco d'azione efficace e duratura.

L'accompagnano augurii e voti di tutti i buoni, correranno ad ascoltarlo, fremeranno accanto a lui degli stessi sdegni e degli stessi impeti,vecchi compagni e nuovi, attratti oltrechè dal suo nome e dal suo eroico passato anche dall'importanza e dall'attualità dei temi che si propone di svolgere, e tra cui notiamo: **La guerra in casa e fuori; La disoccupazione e la guerra; La guerra e la coltura; La guerra delle classi; Ha il lavoro diritto d'usare la violenza? Il delitto. Nelle prigioni e fuori; La psicologia del delitto e le prigioni.**

Buona messe, compagno Berkman, e avanti!

⚜

Chicago, Ill. — Come è stato annunziato nell'ultimo numero di "Mother Earth", io tornerò in Chicago per un buono e, spero, interessante lavoro che durerà tre settimane.

Lunedì, 2 nov.: "La frode della cultura.

Mercoledì, 4,: "Lo czar e 'I miei ebrei' ".

Lunedì, 9,: "Le false concezioni del libero amore".

Mercoledì, 11, — Ventisettesimo anniversario della morte degli anarchici di Chicago (parleranno nel comizio anche altri oratori).

L'ammissione a queste letture costa dieci soldi.

Nell'Assembly Hall del Fine Arts Building:

Domenica, 1 nov.: "La psicologia della guerra".

Domenica, 8.: "La guerra e 'nostro signore' ".

Domenica, 15,: "La donna e la guerra".

Sedie riservate 50. Ammissione 25.

I miei discorsi sui drammi avranno luogo nell'Assembly Hall del Fine Arts Building, dal 27 ottobre al 15 novembre.

Emma Goldman

Diffondete la "Cronaca"

erato e necessario del prete. Quello aggioga i ventri e le braccia, questi, il prete, asservisce intelligenze e cuori, ribadendoci senza speranza al giogo millenario se i lavoratori non sanno ritrovare contro le angherie del capitalista, le frodi tenebrosi del prete, i sofismi dei politicanti mercenarii la concordia delle volontà a delle energie a subissare il vecchio mondo e schiudere traverso le procelle della grande rivoluzione sociale le procelle della grande rivoluzione sociale le vie dell'avvenire, l'aurora luminosa delia comune, integrale emancipazione.

La parola semplice del Postiglione attinge tutti i cuori; noi che dell'aspirazione anarchica cominciamo a sorprendere le grandi linee siamo usciti dalla conferenza riconfortati, gli altri cominciano a riflettere, e se egli tornerà troverà animi sempre meglio disposti a comprendere il grande sogno di giustizia che egli agita e noi gli auguriamo di suscitare dinnanzi alla mente ed ai cuori dei vinti col più largo successo.

Uno.

⚜

Arma, Ks. — Abbiamo riveduto dopo due anni il compagno Galleani che mercoledì 8 ottobre parlò a Frontenac, domenica nel pomeriggio a Franklin, dinnanzi ad un pubblico enorme, e la sera ad Homble, brevemente ma con impeto suggestivo entusiasmando i lavoratori accorsi dai campi limitrofi, e lasciando in tutti il desiderio di riaverlo presto fra noi nel Dicembre, come egli che sa tenere la parola ci ha formalmente promesso.

Perchè questa volta non gli perdoniamo d'aver fatto in mezzo a noi apparizione e permanenza troppo fugace, anche se dopo quattro mesi d'escursione un'attennante glie la vogliamo concedere.

Siamo in credito verso di lui e lo vogliamo nei campi del Kansas, almeno per un mese, e la prossima volta ci deve accontentare.

Intanto speriamo nella venuta del compagno Postiglione. C'è bisogno d'agitazione nel Kansas e vi è un elemento il quale non chiede che di comprendere per venire alle nostre idee.

Non lo dimentichino gli agitatori.

Lo scamiciato.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Our War Letter Box / Emma Goldman. — p. 48 ; 36 cm. *In* The Spur [London]. — (Nov. 1914).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

bodies, on the streets of the towns and cities, that they may have bread. Gone for naught and forgotten all these things, and at the first sound of the bugle, these "Leaders?" fall in on the side of the Government.

And their excuse? That this war is not as other wars. That this is a war on war.

Yet no difference will it make in the relations of the proletariat of any country. At the close of the war they will continue to be slaves; continue to dwell in their germ-infested hovels; their pestilential slums; continue to eke out their miserable existence in office, workshop and factory; denied the delights of nature; denied the pleasure of the open country, the green field, the pure air, the blue sky; denied the joy of Freedom. They will continue to give up their lives on the industrial field; continue to sacrifice the lives of their little ones by the thousand in the slums of their cities, or to stunt them in body, dwarf them in mind, till they know nothing of the joy of living, and end their days in a pauper's grave; continue to see every day, of every week, of every year, that most horrible of all atrocities, their sisters, their daughters, having to sell their bodies for bread.

This war will not alter these circumstances; will not sweep away these conditions; will not destroy these sights. This war will not do any of these things.

At the close of the war and when peace has at length been established, the nations of the world will *not* cease to build dreadnoughts; will *not* cease to keep an army and a navy; will *not* cease increasing armaments.

The military in the countries that are victorious will then be in the ascendency. They will shout from the housetops "I told you so"; they will emphasise that preparedness in war means victory; that it were criminal folly to think of reducing armaments; that it was by having a better army and more efficient navy that enemies were conquered in the past; and that it is only by continuing to maintain such an army and such a navy, that we can ever hope to have "peace on earth."

And in the countries that are vanquished the military party will also be very busy. There they will point out the advisibility of having an army and navy equal to that of their neighbouring countries. By this means only, they will argue, can they be insured against invasion. They will draw lessons from the past, point out just where they failed, and where improvements are required, which improvements will place them in such a position that they "need fear no foreign foe."

Thus this sophistry will he again propagated, and the world continue to he overshadowed hy the menace of war.

This war will not alter the conditions under which the workers exist; will not change the system of society; will not stop war.

One war, and one war only can do these things; the war in which the workers of one country will *not* slay and maim their fellow workers of any other country; the war in which the workers of all countries will unite in one vast army, fight for their common cause, and vanquish their common enemy. That is the War of the Revolution.

Mr. G. W. Foote, editor of *The Freethinker*, is to be congratulated on the tone of his war articles in his journal, as is Mr. Cohen for his. They are both preserving the dignity of the Press at the present moment of crisis and clamour.

We are quoting special terms for big bundle orders—next month. Let every reader order 100 copies and distribute them free [illegible] while distribute copies of Nos. 4—5—6. Let [illegible] th about the war be known if you want pea [illegible] wn.

Deficit Fund

If our journal is to continue, every reader must rally to its support this month. We have a big debt to meet *immediately*. Each and every reader is asked to *help now*, so as to ensure our work continuing.

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SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 22nd, 6.30 p.m.

Glasgow Communist Group.

UNION HALLS, 102 WEST NILE STREET.

GUY A. ALDRED

"NIETZSCHE, LABOUR, AND THE WAR."

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Our War Letter Box

Dear Comrade,—I am glad to see that you and your publication are among the few who haven't been striken by the patriotic Cholera. It seems as if every one else has. Certainly a most disheartening thing after the years of agitation for the spirit of internationalism. Have you any wny of direct communication with the comrades in France? And could you let us know if they too have been swept completely off their feet? We are cut off from every one, and are really in despair as to the revolutionary situation abroad. Do write soon.

Fraternally,
EMMA GOLDMAN.

New York, Sept. 25th, 1914.

My Dear Aldred,—I am with you in your campaign against Kropotkin's war utterances. As an Individualist Anarchist I never was a Kropotkinian. Of course, for us here in France, the question is not so easy to solve. Never have militarism and clericalism been so conspicuously at work as to-day. Militarism must be crushed and I fear that a victory of Kaiserism should but enforce it. If not, I foresee an iron yoke for everyone of us here on the continent. The longer the war lasts and the more difficult it will be for us to resume our propaganda. Nothing is to be done just now. All newspapers appear on two pages, and "Censure" is raging. Hervé himself finds no grace in her eyes. Whole articles written by him are suppressed. And he has no means of altering it. Anyone venturing to say patriotism is a mere superstition risks shooting. Dreadful times are we passing through.

Sincerely yours,
E. ARMAND.

Orleans, Oct. 13th, 1914.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, and also of the packet of papers which arrived yesterday. I am sorry to hear of the prosecution you refer to. Even this freedom-loving Geneva is subjected to the martial law in consequence of the war now raging in Europe, and no one is allowed to criticise adversely the oppressive nature of British rule in India or elsewhere. Two newspapers have been suppressed here already.

With kind regards,
Yours sincerely,
SHYAMAJI KRISHNAVARMA, M.A.

Free Speech

Address all money for Hannington, 32 Stronsa Bush, London, W., wh treasurer to the West Lon Committee. Acknowledge in these columns, as als expenditure when the ap

West London Comm. Gro
Battersea and Clapham thought Society ...
Fulham Group of Indivi
Anon. (per G. A. A.) ...
Hornybrook ... ...
Jack Smith ... ...
Collections:—
Grove (Oct. 4, 7 & 11)
" (Oct. 21) ...
Raper Hall (Oct. 2) ...
Putney Bridge (Oct. 1
Wandsworth I.L.P. ...

Glasgow S.S.S. Addres November 8th, College, New C partick (2.30 p.m.): "Chicago 22nd, Bridgeton, I.L.P. 11.30 a.m.: "Children and t

Fife Lectures: Editor spe November 9th, to Sunday, No as follows: Monday, Glencai and Prophets." Chairman, J. denheath Co-operative Hall: with Messrs. Nelson and Neal. Opera House: "The Economi R. Selkirk. Thursday, Bowl "War's Aftermath." Chairm Crossgates: "God and the "Labour and the War." Sund Taylor's Hall: *Ibid.* 6.30 "Chicago Martyrs." Chairm *local announcements.*

Cowdenbeath Group: Me Buildings, High Street. C games to spare should send Room and Library.

West London Com

This Group has con work during the month Aldred being the speak Sunday in November, i evening meetings in Ra the Friday ones. Duri Mr. Hope has lectured o of the War," H. Sa Unionism," Aldred on Barr on "The Evils o friends (and opponents following public meetin

RAPER H
Cambridge Road, HA
Friday Evenin

Nov. 6.—P. S. Wilde:
" 13.—Mr. Hope: "
" 20.—Business Disc
Dec. 4.—E. E. Steele Individualis
" 11.—E. E. Steel: the World
" 18.—R. Barr: "S
" 25.—God's Birthda

Sunday Evenin

Nov. 1.—COUNCILLOR
" 8.—H. Sara: " Magic."
" 15.—R. Barr: "M
" 22.—R. Gough (Pr
" 29.—F. Hannington Catholicism
Dec. 6.—Mr. Cochran Industrialis

THE HERALD 1913

A volume of striking articl stirring poems, and interesting li phase of revolutionary propagan [illegible] something out of the c [illegible] printed, [illegible] lettered, 208 pp Only a few lef

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman Dates / Emma Goldman.— pp. 302-304 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 9, no. 9 (Nov. 1914).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

cally protests against the story of his bomb-throwing.

At the end of the chapter on the Haymarket bomb, Russell has the following to say on Anarchism: "It remains now as it was on May 4, 1886, the delusion of a few diseased or unbalanced minds, which, if they had not this, would be obsessed of some other form of dangerous dementia."

It is clear that Charles Edward Russell, the Socialist candidate for United States Senator, will not be too good, in case of emergency, again to write for some capitalist magazines or newspapers. He still knows the password to take him back inside the walls of Law, Order and undisturbed sterility of mind.

Our Dead of Waldheim, we greet you as the torch-bearers of indomitable revolutionary life force.

✟ ✟ ✟

MY LECTURE TOUR

AS announced in the last issue, I am about to start on a lecture tour. So far the following schedule has been arranged:

Pittsburgh, Nov. 12th and 13th.
Allegheny and other towns in the vicinity, Nov. 14th up to 21st.
Cleveland, Sunday, Nov. 22nd, afternoon and evening.
Akron, Nov. 25th.
Toledo, Nov. 26th.
Ann Arbor, Mich., Nov. 28th.
Detroit, Sunday, Nov. 29th, afternoon and evening.
Chicago and vicinity, Dec. 6th-18th.
Madison, Wis., Dec. 19th.
Milwaukee, Dec. 20th.
St. Louis, Dec. 23rd to end of the year.

I will speak on Anti-Militarism, Anarchism, the Labor Struggle, etc. Among my talks will be: 1. War—At Home and Abroad. 2. Unemployment and War. 3. War and Culture. 4. The War of the Classes. 5. Is Labor Justified in Using Violence? 6. Crime—In and Out of Prison. 7. The Psychology of Crime and Prisons.

One of the objects of my tour is to aid the comrades,

in the cities I visit, to organize anti-militarist leagues and to help strengthen and federate existing Anarchist groups.

I hope to hear at once from those interested, and it would please me very much also to meet our comrades and sympathizers in the places I visit in an informal, fraternal way.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

✟ ✟ ✟

EMMA GOLDMAN DATES

CHICAGO.
East End Hall, Erie and Clark Streets.

November 1, 8:30 P. M.:
THE PSYCHOLOGY OF WAR.

November 8, 8:30 P. M.:
RELIGION AND THE WAR.

November 15, 8:30 P. M.:
THE CZAR AND "MY JEWS."

CHICAGO DRAMA DATES.
Assembly Hall of the Fine Arts Bldg.

Tuesday, November 3:
THE FRENCH DRAMA—
Eugene Brieux: The Red Robe.
Paul Hervieu: In Chains.
Henry Beque: The Vultures.
Henry Bataille: Plays.

Thursday, November 5:
THE ITALIAN AND SPANISH DRAMA—
Gabrielle D'Annunzio: The Daughter of Jorio.
Guiseppe Giacosa: Sacred Ground.
Jose Echegaray: The Great Galetto.

Saturday, November 7:
THE ENGLISH DRAMA—
George Bernard Shaw: Mesalleance and Fanny's First Play.
Charles Rann Kennedy: The Idol Breaker.
John Galsworthy: The Mob.

Tuesday, November 10:
THE AMERICAN DRAMA—
Plays of Butler Davenport, George Middleton and others.

Thursday, November 12:
THE JEWISH DRAMA—
Jacob Gordin: The Slaughter.
Sholem Ash: The God of Vengeance.

135

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Saturday, November 14:

THE RUSSIAN DRAMA—

Maxim Gorki: Summer Folk.
Anton Tchekhov: The Three Sisters.
Leonid Andreyev: The Life of Man and Savva.

Course tickets, reserved seats, including a year's subscription to MOTHER EARTH, $3.00; single ticket, 50 cents.

After that, I shall lecture in

Grand Rapids, Mich., Nov. 18th and 19th.
Detroit, Nov. 20th, 22nd, 23rd and 24th.
Ann Arbor, Nov. 21st, afternoon and evening.
Peoria, Ill., Nov. 26th (Thanksgiving Day), afternoon and evening.
St. Louis, Nov. 29th—December 6th, inclusive.

Communications will reach me: In Chicago, Van Cluse Apts., 2446 Michigan Ave. In Grand Rapids, c/o Wm. Buwalda, R. R. 3., Hudsonville, Mich. In Detroit, c/o Yetta Bienenfeld, Shore Line Station 52, Roseville, Mich.

About dates for other cities, communicate with me at once.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Van Cluse Apts., 2446 Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

SPECIAL NOTE FOR ST. LOUIS.

Friends—I shall be in your city from Nov. 28th to Dec. 6th. I will hold propaganda meetings Sunday, Nov. 29th, and Sunday, Dec. 6th, afternoon and evening. For the week of Nov. 30th to Dec. 5th, a drama course has been suggested, which is to consist of 6 lectures on The Social Significance of the Modern Drama. The price of the course, including one year's subscription to MOTHER EARTH, will be $2.00. Single admission 35 cents.

It will be the first time that a drama course is to be tried in St. Louis, and with your help,, comrades, it ought to be as good a success as in other cities. Tickets and all information to be had from Mrs. Cecilia Lasersohn, 4045A Cleveland Ave.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

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ALEXANDER BERKMAN, Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of October, 1914.

C. L. McCOREL,
(Seal) Notary Public, Westchester County.
Certificate filed in New York County.
(My commission expires March 30, 1916.)

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Anent My Tour and Lectures in New York / Emma Goldman.— p. 319 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 9, no. 10 (Dec. 1914).

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and raised them to a provileged position which soon became a colossal monopoly. Whereupon the other States—the borrowing States—strengthened this monopoly. Thus, the Crédit Lyonnais, that monopolises the Russian loans, owes its privileged position to the financial agents of the Russian Government, and to the Tsar's Ministers of Finance.

The amount of business transacted every year by these four or five financial societies represents hundreds of millions of pounds. Thus, in two years, 1906 and 1907, they distributed loans £300,000,000, of which £220,000,000 were in foreign loans ("Lysis," page 101). And when we learn that the "commission" of these companies for organizing a foreign loan is usually 5 per cent. for "the syndicate of intermediaries" (*apporteurs*, through whose instrumentality the new loan is brought about), 5 per cent. for the "guarantee syndicate," and from 7 to 10 per cent. for the syndicate or trust of the four or five banks we have just named, we see what immense sums go to these monopolists.

Thus, one single "intermediary" who "brought out" the loan of £50,000,000 contracted by the Russian Government in 1906 to crush the Revolution, actually received—so "Lysis" tells us in his just-mentioned book—a commission of 12,000,000 francs (£480,000).

We can, therefore, understand the occult influence on international politics exercise by the powerful directors of these financial societies, with their mysterious bookkeeping and with the plenary powers that certain directors exact and obtain from their shareholders—because they must be discreet when nearly half a million pounds have to be paid to Monsieur So-and-so, £10,000 to a certain Minister, and so many millions, besides the orders of the *Légion d'Honneur*, to the Press! There is not, says "Lysis," one single large newspaper in France that is not paid by the banks. This is clear. One can easily guess how much money was distributed in this way among the Press during the years 1906 and 1907, when a series of Russian State loans, railway loans, and loans for real estate banks were being prepared. How many "quill-drivers" waxed fat on the loans—we see it in "Lysis's" book. What a windfall, in fact! The Govern-

ment of a great State at bay! A revolution to be crushed! Such luck is not to be met with every day!

No doubt everybody is more or less aware of that, and there is not a single politician, in Paris or elsewhere, who does not know the workings of all this jobbery, and who does not hear mentioned the names of the women and men who have received large sums after each loan, great or small, Russian or Brazilian. And each one, if he has the slightest knowledge of business, knows to what degree this organization of great financial houses is a product of the State, *an essential attribute of the State.*

And it would be such a State—the powers and prerogatives of which our politicians are so careful not to lessen—that most of the social reformers expect to be the instrument for the emancipation of the masses! What nonsense!

Be it stupidity, ignorance, or imposture—it is equally unpardonable in people who believe themselves called to direct the fate of nations.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

ANENT MY TOUR AND LECTURES IN NEW YORK

ON another page my friends will find a review of my Chicago exploits by Margaret C. Anderson, editor of *The Little Review*. I am now in Detroit having big meetings. From here I go to Grand Rapids, then to St. Louis for a week until December 6. While there, I lecture at Trade Union Central Federation Hall. I expect to be in Indianapolis, Ind., December 7 and 8; Cincinnati, December 9 and 10; Cleveland at Royal Hall, two lectures in Yiddish, Friday, December 11 and Monday, December 14. At Pythian Temple I give two lectures in English, Sunday, December 13, afternoon and evening. From there I go to Pittsburgh, Pa., for December 15, 16, 17 and 18; Rochester, N. Y., December 20, 21 and 22. Then back to dear old New York. I can be reached until then c/o *The Little Review*, 917 Fine Arts Building, Chicago, or our New York office.

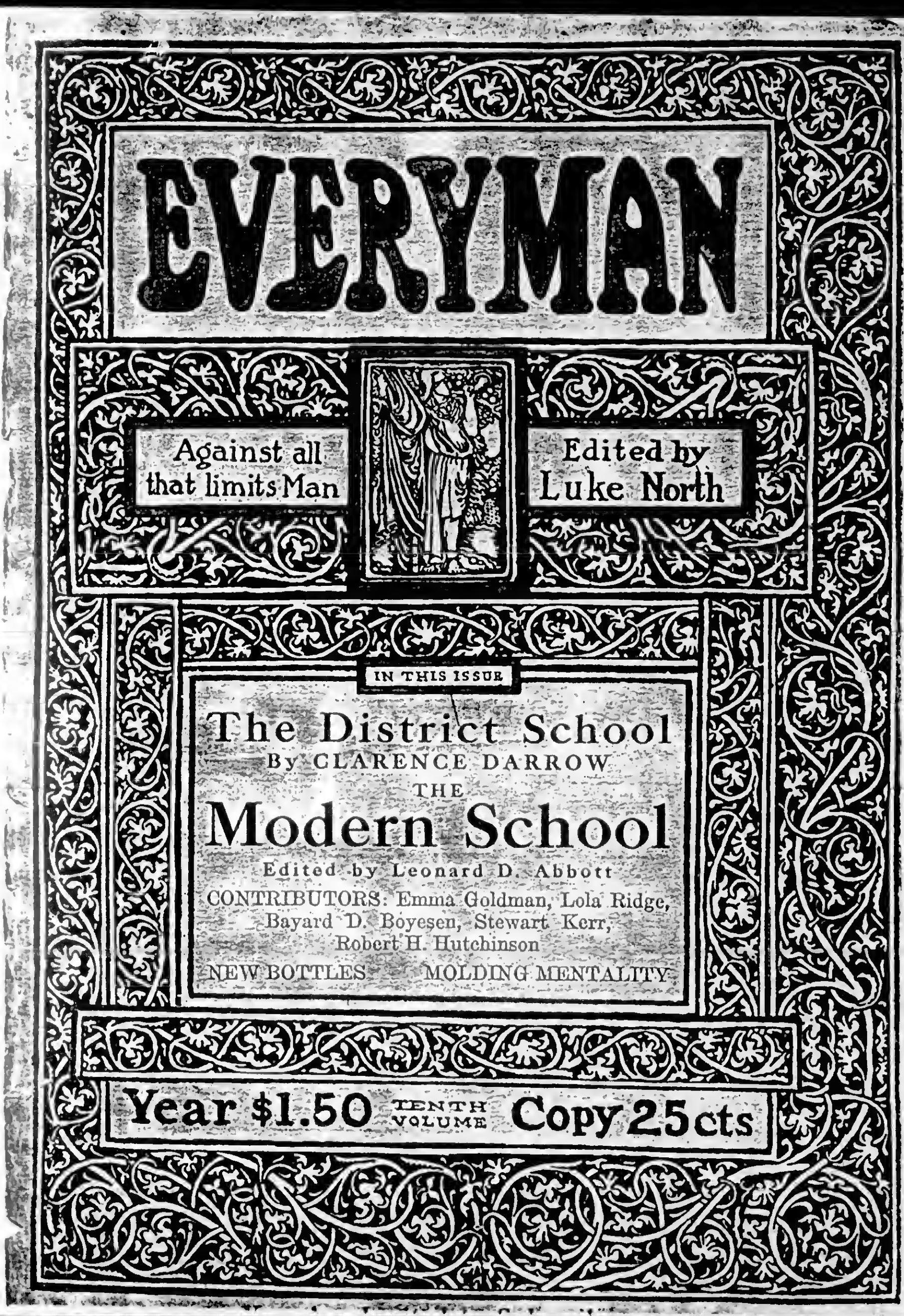
Fraternally,
EMMA GOLDMAN.

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THE CHILD AND ITS ENEMIES

By Emma Goldman

IS THE CHILD to be considered as an individuality, or as an object to be moulded according to the whims and fancies of those about it? This seems to me to be the most important question: Whether the child is to grow from within, and all that craves expression permitted to come forth toward the light, or whether it is to be kneaded like dough thru external forces?

The longing of the best and noblest of our times makes for the strongest individualities. Every sensitive being abhors the idea of being treated as a mere machine or as a mere parrot of conventionality and respectability, the human being craves recognition of his kind.

It must be borne in mind that it is thru the channel of the child that the development of the mature man must go, and that the present ideas of the educating or training of the latter in the school and the family—even the family of the liberal or radical—are such as to stifle the natural growth of the child.

Every institution of our day, the family, the state, our moral codes, sees in every strong, beautiful, uncompromising personality a deadly enemy; therefore every effort is being made to cramp human emotion and originality of thought in the individual into a straight-jacket from its earliest infancy; or to shape every human being according to one pattern; not into a well-rounded individuality, but into a patient work slave, professional automaton, tax-paying citizen, or righteous moralist. If one, nevertheless, meets with real spontaneity (which, by the way, is a rare treat), it is not due to our method of rearing or educating the child: the personality often asserts itself, regardless of official and family barriers. Such a discovery should be celebrated as an unusual event, since the obstacles placed in the way of growth and development of character are so numerous that it must be considered a miracle if it retains its strength and beauty and survives the various attempts at crippling that which is most essential to it.

Indeed, he who has freed himself from the fetters of the thoughtlessness and stupidity of the commonplace; he who can stand without moral crutches, without the approval of public opinion—private laziness, Friedrich Nietzsche called it—may well intone a high and voluminous song of independence and freedom; he has gained the right to it thru fierce and fiery battles. These battles already begin at the most delicate age of the child.

The child shows its individual tendencies in its plays, in its questions, in its association with people and things. But it has to struggle with everlasting external interference in its world of thought and emotion. It must not express itself in harmony with its nature, with its growing personality. It must become a thing, an object. Its questions are met with narrow, conventional, ridiculous replies, mostly based on falsehoods; and, when, with large, wondering, innocent eyes, it wishes to behold the wonders of the world, those about it quickly lock the windows and doors, and keep the delicate human plant in a hothouse atmosphere, where it can neither breathe nor grow freely.

Zola, in his novel Fecundity, maintains that large sections of people have declared death to the child, have conspired against the birth of the child—a very horrible picture indeed, yet the conspiracy entered into by civilization against the growth and making of character seems to me far more terrible and disastrous, because of the slow and gradual destruction of its latent qualities and traits and the stupefying effect thereof upon its social well-being.

Since every effort in our educational life seems to be directed toward making of the child a being foreign to itself, it must of necessity produce individuals foreign to one another, and in everlasting antagonism with each other.

The ideal of the average pedagogist is not a complete, well-rounded, original being; rather does he seek that the result of his art of pedagogy shall be automatons of flesh and blood, to best fit into the treadmill of society and the emptiness and dullness of our lives. Every home, school, college and university stands for dry, cold utilitarianism, overflooding the brain of the pupil with a tremendous amount of ideas, handed down from generations past. "Facts and data," as they are called, constitute a lot of information, well enough perhaps to maintain every form of authority and to create much awe for the importance of possession, but only a great handicap to a true understanding of the human soul and its place in the world.

Truths dead and forgotten long ago, conceptions of the world and its people, covered with mould, even during the times of our grandmothers, are being hammered into the heads of our young generation. Eternal change, thousandfold variations, continual innovation are the essence of life. Professional pedagogy knows nothing of it, the systems of education are being arranged into files, classi-

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fied and numbered. They lack the strong fertile seed which, falling on rich soil, enables them to grow to great heights, they are worn and incapable of awakening spontaneity of character. Instructors and teachers, with dead souls, operate with dead values. Quantity is forced to take the place of quality. The consequences thereof are inevitable.

In whatever direction one turns, eagerly searching for human beings who do not measure ideas and emotions with the yardstick of expediency, one is confronted with the products, the herdlike drilling instead of the result of spontaneous and innate characteristics working themselves out in freedom.

> No traces now I see
> Whatever of a spirit's agency.
> 'Tis drilling, nothing more.

These words of Faust fit our methods of pedagogy perfectly. Take, for instance, the way history is being taught in our schools. See how the events of the world become like a cheap puppet show, where a few wire-pullers are supposed to have directed the course of development of the entire human race.

And the history of our own nation! Was it not chosen by Proivdence to become the leading nation on earth? And does it not tower mountain high over other nations? Is it not the gem of the ocean? Is it not incomparably virtuous, ideal and brave? The result of such ridiculous teaching is a dull, shallow patriotism, blind to its own limitations, with bull-like stubborness, utterly incapable of judging of the capacities of other nations. This is the way the spirit of youth is emasculated, deadened thru an over-estimation of one's own value. No wonder public opinion can be so easily manufactured.

"Predigested food" should be inscribed over every hall of learning as a warning to all who do not wish to lose their own personalities and their original sense of judgment, who, instead, would be content with a large amount of empty and shallow shells. This may suffice as a recognition of the manifold hindrances placed in the way of an independent mental development of the child.

Equally numerous, and not less important, are the difficulties that confront the emotional life of the young. Must not one suppose that parents should be united to children by the most tender and delicate chords? One should suppose it; yet, sad as it may be, it is, nevertheless, true, that parents are the first to destroy the inner riches of their children.

The scriptures tell us that God created man in his own true image, which has by no means proven a success. Parents follow the bad example of their heavenly master; they use every effort to shape and mould the child according to their image. They tenaciously cling to the idea that the child is merely part of themselves—an idea as false as it is injurious, and which only increases the misunderstanding of the soul of the child, of the necessary consequences of enslavement and subordination thereof.

As soon as the first rays of consciousness illuminate the mind and heart of the child, it instinctively begins to compare its own personality with the personality of those about it. How many hard and cold stone cliffs meet its large wondering gaze? Soon enough it is confronted with the painful reality that it is here only to serve as inanimate matter for parents and guardians, whose authority alone gives it shape and form.

The terrible struggle of the thinking man and woman against political, social and moral conventions owes its origin to the family, where the child is ever compelled to battle against the internal and external use of force. The categorical imperatives: You shall! you must! this is right; that is wrong! this is true! that is false! shower like a violent rain upon the unsophisticated head of the young being and impress upon its sensibilities that it has to bow before the long established and hard notions of thoughts and emotions. Yet the latent qualities and instincts seek to assert their own peculiar methods of seeking the foundation of things, of distinguishing between what is commonly called wrong, true or false. It is bent upon going its own way, since it is composed of the same nerves, muscles and blood, even as those who assume to direct its destiny. I fail to understand how parents hope that their children will ever grow up into independent, self-reliant spirits, when they strain every effort to abridge and curtail the various activities of their children, the plus in quality and character, which differentiates their offspring from themselves, and by the virtue of which they are eminently equipped carriers of new, invigorating ideas. A young delicate tree, that is being clipped and cut by the gardener in order to give it an artificial form, will never reach majestic height and beauty as when allowed to grow in freedom.

When the child reaches adolescence, it meets, added to the home and school restrictions, with a vast amount of hard traditions of social morality. The cravings of love and sex are met with absolute ignorance by the majority of parents, who consider it as something indecent and improper, something disgraceful, almost

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criminal, to be suppressed and fought like some terrible disease. The love and tender feelings in the young plant are turned into vulgarity and coarseness thru the stupidity of those surrounding it, so that everything fine and beautiful is either crushed altogether or hidden in the innermost depths, as a great sin, that dares not face the light.

What is more astonishing is the fact that parents will strip themselves of everything, will sacrifice everything for the physical well-being of their child, will wake nights and stand in fear and agony before some physical ailment of their beloved one, but will remain cold and indifferent, without the slightest understanding before the soul cravings and the yearnings of their child, neither hearing nor wishing to hear the loud knocking of the young spirit that demands recognition. On the contrary, they will stifle the beautiful voice of spring, of a new life of beauty and splendor of love; they will put the long lean finger of authority upon the tender throat and not allow vent to the silvery song of the individual growth, of the beauty of character, of the strength of love and human relation, which alone make life worth living.

And yet these parents imagine that they mean best for the child, and for aught I know some really do; but their best means absolute death and decay to the bud in the making. After all, they are but imitating their own masters in state, commercial, social and moral affairs, by forcibly suppressing every independent attempt to analyze the ills of society and every sincere effort toward the abolition of these ills; never able to grasp the eternal truth that every method they employ serves as the greatest impetus to bring forth a greater longing for freedom and a deeper zeal to fight for it.

That compulsion is bound to awaken resistance, every parent and teacher ought to know. Great surprise is being expressed over the fact that the majority of children of radical parents are either altogether opposed to the ideas of the latter, many of them moving along the old antiquated paths, or that they are indifferent to the new thoughts and teachings of social regeneration. And yet there is nothing unusual in that. Radical parents, tho emancipated from the belief of ownership in the human soul, still cling tenaciously to the notion that they own the child, and that they have the right to exercise their authority over it. So they set out to mould and form the child according to their own conception of what is right and wrong, forcing their ideas upon it with the same vehemence that the average catholic parent uses. And, with the latter, they hold out the necessity before the young "to do as I tell you and not as I do." But the impressionable mind of the child realizes early enough that the lives of their parents are in contradiction to the ideas they represent: that, like the good christian who fervently prays on Sunday, yet continues to break the Lord's commands the rest of the week, the radical parent arraigns God, priesthood, church, government, domestic authority, yet continues to adjust himself to the condition he abhors. Just so, the freethought parent can proudly boast that his son of four will recognize the picture of Thomas Paine or Ingersoll, or that he knows that the idea of God is stupid. Or that the social democratic father can point to his little girl of six and say, "Who wrote Das Kapital, dearie?" "Karl Marx, pa!" Or that the anarchistic mother can make it known that her daughter's name is Louise Michel, Sophia Perovskaya, or that she can recite the revolutionary poems of Herwegh, Freiligrath, or Shelley, and that she will point out the faces of Spencer, Bakunin or Moses Harman almost anywhere.

These are by no means exaggerations; they are sad facts that I have met with in my experience with radical parents. What are the results of such methods of biasing the mind? The following is the consequence, and not very infrequent, either. The child, being fed on one-sided, set and fixed ideas, soon grows weary of rehashing the beliefs of its parents, and it sets out in quests of new sensations, no matter how inferior and shallow the new experience may be, the human mind cannot endure sameness and monotony. So it happens that that boy or girl, over-fed on Thomas Paine, will land in the arms of the church, or they will vote for imperialism only to escape the drag of economic determinism and scientific socialism, or that they open a shirt-waist factory and cling to their right of accumulating property, only to find relief from the old-fashioned communism of their father. Or that the girl will marry the next best man, provided he can make a living, only to run away from the everlasting talk on variety.

Such a condition of affairs may be very painful to the parents who wish their children to follow in their path, yet I look upon them as very refreshing and encouraging psychological forces. They are the greatest guarantee that the independent mind, at least, will always resist every external and foreign force exercised over the human heart and head.

Some will ask, what about weak natures, must they not be protected? Yes, but to be

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able to do that it will be necessary to realize that education of children is not synonymous with herdlike drilling and training. If education should really mean anything at all, it must insist upon the free growth and development of the innate forces and tendencies of the child. In this way alone can we hope for the free individual and eventually also for a free community, which shall make interference and coercion of human growth impossible.

IDEALS IN EDUCATION

By Robert H. Hutchinson

Present Teacher of the Modern School in New York.

EDUCATION has long meant to people simply the drilling of elementary facts into children's heads thru the medium of books and blackboards seasoned here and there with the rod. The present curriculum takes its roots in the dark ages, has become commercialized and is thoroly vitiated by prejudice and class rule. Educators whose eyes see into the future hold larger views.

Whatever the intutionists may hold, it seems apparent that knowledge of our environment and of ourselves proceeds thru the senses. In as great a proportion as the senses are developed and are free to act will we be prepared to acquire facts and experience of the world about us. On the accuracy of our vision hearing, touch, etc., depends our judgment of that with which we have experience. The development of these primary functions of knowledge acquirement, then, should be one of the aims of education.

We might imagine that were the world perfect our only requirement would be a set of highly trained and efficient sensory organs so that we might enjoy to the utmost the beauty and pleasure about us. As long, however, as things remain hideously imperfect, as they now are, certainly an important element of the curriculum should be to point out the imperfections in life and aim at exciting a desire to cause change. In little things children have always been encouraged, when one method is unsatisfactory, to seek another rather than remain satisfied. It should be the same with regard to life.

Neither should education limit itself to the training of the mind only, but, like the ideal of the Greeks, it should include the development of the body as well; not stop short in fact of the whole individual. The school should aim, however, not at the equal development of all the faculties of the child, but at giving opportunity to it to exercise to its full desire any or all of these faculties. There should be harmonious development; but each individual must be free to determine what is or is not "harmonious" in his own particular case.

Too long the belief has held sway that education means knowledge of facts. But what the child knows at the end of its course in education matters little compared to the attitude which it takes toward what is known and practiced. Let the teacher not push facts into its head, but rather try to create a keen desire for acquiring facts by showing the value of their possession. Let him not stifle that precious quality of the child—the questioning and critical frame of mind—by imposing our knowledge on it as an authoritative finality. Let him preserve and cultivate that quality, and incidentally benefit by close observation of it himself.

These qualities are more priceless than all the information in the Encyclopedia. Why worry if such things as spelling and arithmetic seem to slip by? It is impossible to get very far along in the world without some knowledge of these, and the child will soon find it out.

What method shall we employ in developing the individual? The individual expresses himself thru desires, and these desires lead to actions or an attempt at action. The educator, then, should observe carefully what the child likes best to do. Whatever form that may take, every opportunity should be given the child to practice it. I do not mean that we need be so shortsighted as to conclude that if a child likes building with blocks we cannot gratify its desire if we have no blocks. It is building, not the blocks that counts; any material would do. Furthermore, it is the doing rather than what is done that is important. I would rather see a boy make an impossible kite and learn, in the process, what are his abilities and limitations, than see a well constructed one where the maker has learned nothing. It is not the kite, it is the little changes in the fibres of the brain that count. We must never detach our interest from the human. We ought never to lament that a child is stupid or impossible to interest in learning. We should rather regret that what does interest the child is unhappily not easy to find; and watch out lest the cause of its stupidity may

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PEACE ON EARTH AND GOOD WILL TOWARDS MEN

BY EMMA GOLDMAN.

IN response to the request of the Newspaper Enterprise Association for an article on how the American people can best help to restore "peace on earth and good will toward men," I sent the following:

To ask how we Americans can best help to restore "Peace on earth and good will towards men," is to assume that such a thing ever existed save in the ideal of Jesus and of those who were his immediate followers.

As a matter of fact it never has existed in any other way, nor was there an attempt even on the part of Christianity to make the ideal of its teacher a living force.

Truth is, the teacher himself was not quite clear as to the meaning of "Peace on earth and good will toward men," if we are to believe the data contained in the biblical records.

Jesus said, "Give unto the Lord what is the Lord's and to Caesar what is Caesar's." We are also informed that he said "The poor shall never cease out of the land," which is but a logical sequence of man's duty to the Lord and to Caesar.

Few sincere Christians, and they are very few, indeed, realize that if man must forever render unto the Lord and unto Caesar out of the products of his labor, "peace on earth and good will towards men" can never exist.

It does not matter whether the Lord be the relentless Jewish God or his more kindly son who came to redeem mankind: so long as the Lord may exact a toll from man, the two will be at war with each other. Hence neither peace nor good will can prevail.

Equally so it matters not whether Caesar be the ruler of Rome, the Czar upon the bloody throne of Russia, the German Kaiser obsessed by militarism, or the money interests of America—so long as they exact taxes from the sweat and blood of the people, neither peace nor good will is possible.

What then must we Americans do to be saved and help save others? We must transvalue our values; we must be brave enough to throw overboard the ballast of false

gods; we must realize that neither the Lord nor Caesar have any claim on what they have not themselves produced. We must get off our complacent, self-satisfied position of the "better than thou," and fact the truth that but for circumstances the best placed man and the most secured woman might be in the criminal dock or red light district.

Yes, circumstances represent the most cruel chariot wheel which gives special privileges to those who never work and yet monopolize the earth, while they deny common humanity to those who always work and are excluded from the table of life. Circumstances which decree that the masses shall live in squalor and drabness, while the few gorge themselves upon the blood of children, the youth of women, the integrity of men.

With such a Moloch ever present, insatiable in its voracity, there can be neither peace nor good will. We Americans who more than any other nation are in the thralls of that monster, are perhaps among the least of them who can bring about peace on earth and good will toward men.

And yet—and yet we of all nations ought to be in the lead. We who with Jefferson proclaimed that the best government is the one which governs least; who emphasized with Thoreau that the best government is the one which does not govern at all. We who pointed out with Emerson that character, as represented through men and women, and not through a listless, immobile majority driven hither and thither by unscrupulous politicians, is the basis of democracy. We, in short, who are not handicapped by the decadent, crumbling military dynastics, we ought to be in the lead.

The first step, then, to bring about peace on earth and good will toward men is to concede the superiority of the individual, as the unit of social life, to the organized force known as the State. Secondly, to emancipate the masses from economic and social slavery. In other words to teach man the value of himself and his right to take the things which he has produced. That alone will establish peace on earth and good will toward men.

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TWO MONTHS AND AFTER

WHEN I returned to New York City, early in September, after five months continuous touring and talking, it was in the hope that I would be able to snatch a few weeks' respite. But the gods themselves have long ere this decreed that there must be no rest for the wicked.

So many problems were grinning at me on my arrival, not the least of them the urgent necessity of reorganizing the office of MOTHER EARTH and the disposal of a white elephant in the form of a large house, all of which consumed five weeks, leaving me a ridiculously short time to prepare eight propaganda and nine drama lectures for a month's work in Chicago.

Nothing but recklessness sprinkled not with holy incense, but with a large portion of brazenness, could have done the trick. But it was a hard grind just the same. Lecturing every evening, reading plays until four in the morning, compiling dramatic material during the afternoon, dictating letters and seeing people in between. How does that strike our readers for speed?

As to the results? They were discussed by Margaret C. Anderson in her report of my Chicago visit. Being a brilliant writer and a sincere critic, the editor of the *Little Review* has pointed out the defects in my drama lectures. But what she omitted is the fact that no one can work under high speed and give the best of himself. And the deeper reasons which perhaps she did not and could not know were these: In the face of the World Drama played in the trenches of Europe one could not speak "inspiredly" of the social dramas I had chosen for the Fine Arts meetings. It is precisely for this reason that the War lectures, the *Press Club* meeting and the 11th of November anniversary appealed to my friend so much more.

But which ever the impression my work in Chicago may have left behind, it was the most significant event to me. It enabled me to return to the memory of my Comrades Parsons, Spies, Lingg, Fischer and Engel, what their heroic death has done for me. It gave me the glorious opportunity to vindicate their ideal before people, who partly out of ignorance and mainly out of

complacency had never before heard of our Chicago Martyrs except through the mouth of the press that had been a party to the black deed of the 11th of November, 1887. To be able to throw the guilt of the crime into the very throat of some of the members of the same press was worth all that the struggle of 24 years had entailed.

There was yet another gratifying feature. Though I owed the Fine Arts meetings to backing, I was in no way curtailed. Nor was I deceived as to the tendencies of those who did the backing. No secret was made of the fact that E. G. and not Anarchism was being offered the chance to be heard. Perhaps the good people did not know that E. G. and Anarchism can no more be separated than her heart from her lungs. In any event they know it now and while they may never again be as generous, at least they will not be able to say that E. G. modifies her ideas to suit a particular occasion.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize that the mere security of Halls would not have brought the Chicago results. It was hard incessant devotion and labor. The credit for both is due primarily to Ben Reitman. Without him the attendance and interest would not have been so large. But there were others, faithful ones. Bert Susanga, the *Little Review*, friends and many comrades whose names I do not now recall but whose help I appreciate more than words can express. I cannot close the Chicago account without mention of the Yiddish lectures. We had eight in all. With the exception of one, they were splendidly attended and the spirit was great It is such joy to speak before people who come to learn and not to be entertained. If ever I should make a long stay in Chicago, the West Side audiences shall be my life giving force.

After Chicago, Detroit looked a bit small. Still the meetings were fine, especially the first in the Social Turner Hall on the War. Perhaps it was due to it being free, the audience was large and very enthusiastic. Above all did it manifest great interest in our literature. I believe that one meeting brought the biggest returns for our books on this trip. Two other English meetings and two Jewish lectures together with two meetings in Ann Arbor, comprised our visit to Detroit.

Most of the work was done by Yetta Bienenfeld, much

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Two Months and After / Emma Goldman.– pp. 362-368 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 9, no. 11 (Jan. 1915).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

more could have been accomplished but for the fact that some of our comrades out of personal foolishness would not help. I am glad to say that they have realized their mistake and co-operated in their efforts for Comrade Berkman. We have splendid boys in Detroit, Ben Gordon and several others who have always been helpful. The idea was to have free meetings but it had to be abandoned, since not enough could be raised to cover the Hall and printing, although one friend alone gave $20. The Comrades everywhere are learning that without an organization or large individual backing, free meetings are impossible.

Grand Rapids, Mich., marks the most exciting and interesting experience of our trip. Two meetings on Thanksgiving Day were arranged by the *Analyser Club*, financially looked after by one man. The work was done by our faithful ex-soldier man Wm. Bulwaldo and Bergman. The afternoon lecture was on "The War and Our Lord." A body of Catholic students who evidently had come to cause disturbance nearly broke up our meeting because I offended their Lord. One chap was very much incensed because E. G. sold such "Vile" literature as Ibsen, Strindberg and Sudermann's works. However, all went off quietly at the end. The evening meeting lacked the presence of the Catholic rowdies, perhaps because they had failed in their aim in the afternoon.

St. Louis gave us much joy because of the group of splendid Comrades, Minnie and Jack Fishman, Celia Loersohn and her sweetheart "Blue," Ada Capes and several of her sisters, Kabcinell and others. Nowheres is there such harmony, such splendid co-operation, such comradeship. Minnie Fishman who is among the most efficient women workers in the Anarchist movement acted as a chief cook and bottle washer, but the others were no less active. We had large attendance. As in Detroit, the free meeting idea had to be abandoned, although much more had been collected in St. Louis. It is simply out of the question to meet rent, printing, traveling, the high cost of living and still hope for a margin for MOTHER EARTH which is after all the *raison de etre* of our work. I am glad though the comrades have had their experience and will be able to judge in the future.

Altogether we had eight English and two Yiddish

meetings. The latter for some reason are never worth while in St. Louis. But the English were gratifying, especially the one on War and The Sacred Right of Property. The Sham of Culture, The Misconceptions of Free Love and The Psychology of Anarchism. But mainly did we enjoy the companionship and solidarity of our comrades including the Kiddies whom it was my joy to entertain at a children's party.

Indianapolis, one of the most benighted towns in America was both interesting and funny. The comic part was contributed by the ultra respectable section of the City, because one of their set, Harriet Dean, had arranged the meeting.

Harriet Dean is of the *Little Review* group, the most refreshing type of young intellectual Americans I have met. Energetic, breezy and unconventional, she gave her family the first shock when she refused to return to Vassar and instead affiliated herself with Margaret Anderson and the *Little Review*. The family was just about getting over their daughter's insubordination when along came the second blow. Harriet sponsoring E, G., arranging her meetings and racing around town inducing the respectables to attend. Even that might have been passed over. But the dynamite explosion capped the climax. But E. G. will speak on Free Love. The family was in an uproar. Mother, brother, aunts and what not stormed, threatened, begged. But Harriet would not be daunted. In the end the offer was made to pay for the printing if only the terrible subject would be changed. We said "no compromise." The evening finally arrived. Everybody was there thinking he or she would find no one else. But as one of the papers said, "Everybody met everybody," it was a regular social reunion. Persistentcy won the fight and respectability looked foolish.

The interesting part however and the most significant to the earnest rebel is the awakening of young intellectual Americans, among whom are Harriet Dean and Margaret C. Anderson. Russia and America are far removed in racial, national and political environment, and yet we already see history repeating itself. Just as in Russia the "Intelligence" foreswore station, position and respectability to plead the cause of rebellion, so in America there is a growing young Intelligence. It has

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not yet found itself, but it is groping, it is breaking through the limited confines of home, college, social functions. It is reaching out towards a new goal, a new ideal, and new values, by no means confined merely to the esthetic strivings. That to me is the most hopeful sign in America and the most worth while about my visit to Indianapolis, aside, of course, of the pleasure of meeting old friends Estelle King, Belle Jacobs, Mr. and Mrs. William Hapgood, our Comrades Tom Snyder and Lovder who have all helped to make the meetings possible.

Cincinnati, now has a few active young Comrades who are eager to do good work but as my time was taken up elsewhere only a Yiddish meeting well attended was arranged. I came and slipped out without the knowledge of the police and the reporters. I hope they have not been too disgusted.

Cleveland is our old standby. This time it was made doubly so by the splendid efforts of comrade Fred Schaefer and Jack Meyer, our devoted friends, Nettie and Horace Carr did the preliminaries in getting the Hall and printing. We had two well attended English and two Jewish meetings. Besides the address before *The Council of Economics* I am indebted for that opportunity to my friend Horace Carr. I am not optimistic enough to believe I have revolutionized the organization, but I know the ice is broken which seems to be the task ordained for me by "Providence."

Pittsburgh was worth while primarily because of a few new comrades, Jacob Margolis and the Loan Brothers. The three together with Ben Reitman worked like beavers and though the meetings were not really bad, the returns were not quite commensurate with the love and labor spent. Jacob Margolis is a most convincing proof against the superstition, that, man, try as he may, can never overcome conditions. He is a lawyer and has his office in the Frick Building. He has everything to lose by his open, frank and courageous stand for his ideas. On the other hand, he has a successful carecr to gain, were he to keep quiet. Jacob Margolis is a brilliant speaker, well informed and of a tremendously striking appearance. His future in the conventional World would be assured. But Jacob Margolis has ideas. He wants

the World to know them, and he defies conditions as all must do whose ideal is stronger than all else. What is more, he is liked and respected just because he is brave and determined. Altogether it was a great treat to meet him and the Loan Comrades an inspiration and a new hope for the future.

Rochester, N. Y., is my "home town" by choice. It is the first American City I came to when I landed thirty years ago. It was the first place where I tasted the sweating shops at the lucrative wage of $2.50 per week. It was the first town where I received my baptism of Anarchism through the death of the Chicago Anarchists. Owing to the old truism that the prophet never counts for anything at home, I never succeeded in Rochester, either in securing a decent Hall or in attracting an audience. But the miracle has happened at last, thanks to the efforts of two people, although several comrades helped faithfully in the end.

Miss Miriam Cominsky, my niece, secured the Victoria Theatre and Comrade Dashuta, though earning but $15.00 per week paid the rent of $40.00, so eager was he to have a real meeting for once in Rochester, and we did. Eighteen hundred people crowded into the Victoria on a Sunday afternoon. The meeting was free, of course. I spoke on the war and the enthusiasm was great. The collection of $44 paid for the rent.

The Tuesday following, I spoke on the Birth Strike at the Rochester Labor Lyceum, before a deeply interested and tensely appreciative crowd. A phenomenal amount of literature was sold and a large number of people subscribed to MOTHER EARTH. The Rochester visit was indeed a great event, made possible by less than a half a dozen people, which again proves what really can be done everywhere with earnest eager workers to undertake the task.

My great joy aside of our wonderful success was the concert of David Hochstein, a young Rochester violinist who has just returned from Europe. Equipped neither with funds nor an American reputation, David Hochstein will have to be judged on his own merits which may not mean easy sailing but is bound to make of him the coming great native artist. Our N. Y. readers will be glad to know that the young virtuoso is giving a joint

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recital at Aeolian Hall, Friday, Jan. 15th, 8 P. M. I urge you all to hear him if you long for an artistic treat.

The last two months have passed with tremendous rapidity and yet they have left so many vivid impressions. So many new friends and comrades to cherish, so many possibilities to realize. But above all this tour has again proven only with greater force how invaluable is the organizing and managing force behind my co-worker Ben Reitman.

Now as to the after. I am back to my old sweetheart New York City for hard work. With Comrade Berkman on tour, I have taken charge of MOTHER EARTH, the magazine as well as the office. I will open a series of Sunday afternoon lectures in Yiddish at 206 East Broadway. Sunday evening at Harlem Masonic Temple, 310 Lenox Avenue.

I am also open for dates within reasonable distance from New York City. Some have already been taken, I would therefore like to hear from our friends at once. I am preparing a Red Revel for the MOTHER EARTH BALL for the 20th of February. Am contemplating a big celebration for our special 10th Birthday edition.

With the War of Europe having swept most of revolutionary thought into the sea of confusion, we of MOTHER EARTH have much to do Therefore to work! To work!

EMMA GOLDMAN.

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TO THE READERS

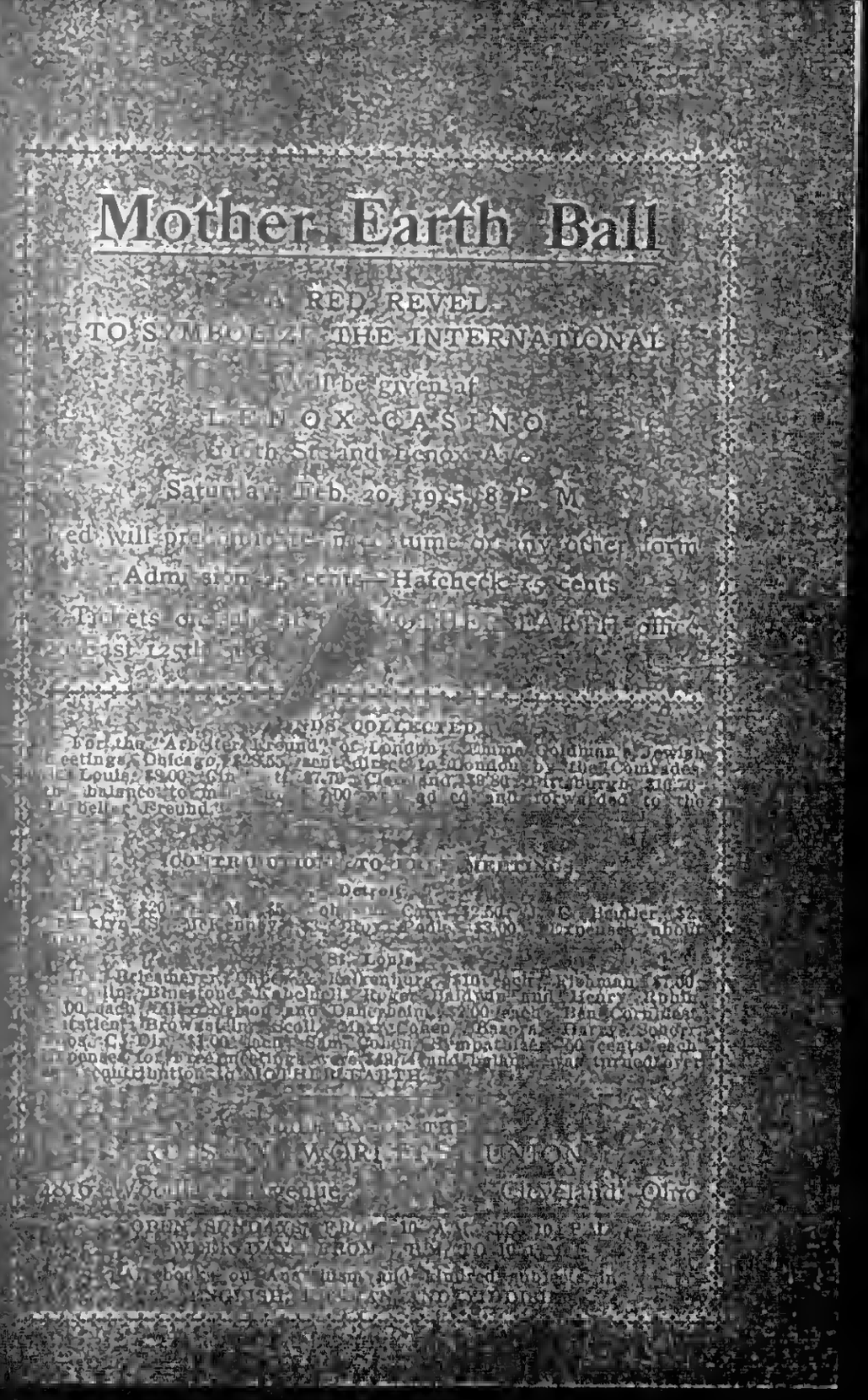
The third installment of Kropotkin's pamphlet on "War and Capitalism" will appear in next issue.

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ANARCHY—Absence of government; disbelief in, and disregard of, invasion and authority based on coercion and force; a condition of society regulated by voluntary agreement instead of government.

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DIRECT ACTION—Conscious individual or collective effort to protest against, or remedy, social conditions through the systematic assertion of the economic power of the workers.



Mother Earth Ball

A RED REVEL

TO SYMBOLIZE THE INTERNATIONAL

Will be given at

LENOX CASINO

Fifth St. and Lenox Ave.

Saturday, Feb. 20, 1915, 8 P. M.

Admission 25 cents—Hatchecks 25 cents

Tickets on sale at the MOTHER EARTH office

210 East 125th St.

FUNDS COLLECTED

For the "Arbeter Freund" of London: Emma Goldman, Jewish Meetings, Chicago, $28.55, sent direct to London by the Comrades; St. Louis, $9.00; Cincinnati, $7.70; Cleveland, $8.30; Pittsburgh, $10.70; balance to me, $2.00. Added $4 and forwarded to the "Arbeter Freund."

CONTRIBUTIONS TO MOTHER EARTH

Detroit

St. Louis

Cleveland, Ohio

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The Emma Goldman Papers

To Our Friends / Emma Goldman.– pp. 370-371 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 9, no. 12 (Feb. 1915).

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God of starvation, rapine, lust,
Grim-visaged Lord of all things dire,
With victory our arms intrust,
And we will kindle Thee a fire!
The smoke of it shall sullen rise,
Its incense shall be sweet to Thee,
Its flame shall lick Thy greasy skies—
Yea, ruined earth is fair to see!

—GERALD B. BREITIGAM.

TO OUR FRIENDS

WITH this issue, MOTHER EARTH closes an eventful and interesting career of nine years. How difficult her struggle and painful her climb, only those closely connected with the magazine can possibly realize. MOTHER EARTH has survived. She has asserted herself. She has not been daunted. She is being heard! We will have more to say about our baby, when she launches out on her tenth pilgrimage. For the prescnt, we only wish to thank our friends who have helped us in the past, and who can do so much in the future.

First, there is our Red Revel, February 20. All the faithfuls of MOTHER EARTH, and we hope many others, will come together in the Red International at Lenox Casino, 116th street and Lenox avenue. We call on all those who still have red revolutionary blood left to join us in a joyous manifestation that the International spirit still lives, regardless of the blunders and the crimes committed against her in the trenches of Europe. Come all ye heavily laden with disappointment, discouragement, despair! Let us proclaim to the world "Sie bewegt sich doch!"

We have just bound in a dozen sets of the nine volumes. Who will be the first to order a set? Do not be content with owning all your copies complete. There are many people and libraries, who could use such a valuable collection. Then, too, in purchasing the bound volumes, you will help us with the special edition of the first issuc of our tenth year, which we are planning. Who will send the first birthday gift of twenty dollars for the set, including postage?

The March issue will be a special number of sixty-four pages, containing contributions fom our friends abroad and at home; expression as to what MOTHER EARTH mcans to them. Advance bundle orders at rcgular rates are in place now.

Last, but not least, MOTHER EARTH will havc a birthday party, on Sunday evening, March 7. As our magazine has always pleaded for the unity of creative art and revolution, we will combinc on this evening, music, classic dancing, dramatic reading and oratory, harmoniously blended, to send MOTHER EARTH on her path of new adventures, deeper knowledge, fine feeling, and above all, lustier battle against false gods. Long live the indomitable will of our fighter, MOTHER EARTH!

EMMA GOLDMAN.

NOTICE TO OLD SUBSCRIBERS.

We are binding the volumes of Mother Earth, and we are short in many copies. Friends possessing the same would favor us greatly if they would send us any of the following: Vol. I, April, May, June, July, August, September, December and January; Vol. II, January, July, March, August, September, November; Vol. III, April, May, June, November, December; Vol. IV, November and Jauuary; Vol. V, May and August; Vol. VI, June, July and December; Vol. VII, June; Vol. VIII, January.

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

THE echo of the agonized cries of women and children burncd alive at Ludlow have hardly subsided, when a new wail grips our hearts—the groans of the wounded and dying workers of Roosevelt, N. J. The killing of strikers on the slightest provocation has become an everyday occurrence in America, so much so that the public has grown callous and indifferent to this common practice. It is only when the murderous methods are as utterly uncalled for and as unexpected as was used by the William Clark Fertilizer Company that the public begins to rub its eyes in wonderment as to whether this is really America, or darkest Russia. Even our own antediluvian neighbor, the New York Times, feels called upon to say that the cold-blooded crime at Roosevelt was "a horrible blunder." Nevcrthcless this editorial writer has the temerity to excuse the "blunder" on the ground that

> "Unfortunatcly, New Jersey labor organizations have made a bad reputation for themselvcs, having

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Renewed Activity / Emma Goldman. – p. 390 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 9, no. 12 (Feb. 1915).

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RENEWED ACTIVITY

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

THE renewed activity of our comrades in various cities in the East keeps us on the jump, ever since our return to MOTHER EARTH office. The organizations in Newark and Brownsville had great success with their meetings. In Albany, the comrades Mandel, Zuckerman, Sandler, Swirm, Caplan, and Phoenix, with the help of our old faithful, Leon Malmed, arranged two meetings, both attended by huge crowds, far exceeding the capacities of the halls. Part of the interest must be laid to the Albany newspapers and the police. The venom of the first and the vigilance of the latter brought back old times to me, when the papers used to write bloodcurdling stories, and the police ornamented the walls of the hall. Anyhow they helped to arouse enough interest to warrant a third meeting, and the organization of a Social Science League, which will now carry on systematic work in Albany.

In Providence, it was our old war horse, John H. Cook, with the help of friend Willand, who arranged the meetings. As the admission was free, large crowds, who might have been deterred by the excessive unemployment, attended the lecture. There, too, the interest necessitated a third meeting.

In Boston, the Freedom group, with comrade Block, as the principal worker, arranged a meeting. Unfortunately the hall was too small. The Jewish lecture, arranged by the Working People's Institute of Boston, was attended by a huge crowd.

After our two independent lectures, afternoon and evening, Saturday, January 30, we dashed back to New York for our regular Sunday lectures. The latter so far have been tremendously successful, and are increasing in attendance every Sunday.

If the requests for dates keep pouring in, we will soon have to revise the number and length of days in the week, but as long as there is a will and strength to help one sustain one's will, there is also a way to help our comrades in the spread of Anarchist thought, which now, more than ever, needs to be brought to the attention of the people.

PROCLAMATION! TO THE CITY OF CHICAGO

The Unemployed of Chicago do hereby make a statement on the incident of the "Mass Meeting" of the Unemployed held at the Hull House January 17th, 2 P. M., which resulted in a brutal attack upon defenseless men and women by the police of this city. Under Constitutional guaranty of "free assemblage and free speech" we met to discuss our deplorable conditions. The sentiment of the said meeting was for the getting out on public streets to expose our misery to the world; misery imposed upon us through no fault of our own!

We, the Unemployed, consider it a crime of civilization that millions of us starve in the midst of plenty, especially when we helped to create the "plenty."

Politicians, making stock out of our misery, reply to our cry for "work and bread" with "commissions." We cry for shelter; they give us "municipal flops" inadequate to shelter one-tenth of the homeless of this city.

American citizens once proud are today being humiliated on "bread lines" and "soup kitchens." Hungry, shivering in the cold, standing in line waiting for a "handout." The flag that once waved over an independent people is today waving over a nation of paupers.

We, the Unemployed, who have not lost our manhood, demand work; and shall persist in the right to demand the same in hall or street, as we think fit. Let the voice of the hungry be heard!

It is useless to talk about "permits from the police" to parade in the streets. The police will not issue permits to hungry men. If the police of this city think they can repress the hungry with club, blackjack and bullet they have another think coming. Hunger knows but one law, and that is the law of self-preservation. Violence breeds violence! We are human.

THE UNEMPLOYED LEAGUE.

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ANARCHISM—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Mother Earth Tenth Anniversary / Emma Goldman.— pp. 402-404 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 10, no. 1 (March 1915).

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MOTHER EARTH TENTH ANNIVERSARY

NINE years ago, with no experience, but with abundant enthusiasm and the great capital of $250, MOTHER EARTH was thrown upon the world in quest of intellectual and spiritual adventures.

As at the birth of every first born, the friends and foes of MOTHER EARTH predicted all sorts of mishaps for the child. Some said, in a Puritan world, there is no place for the illegitimate; others would have it that though bastards have often gained recognition, it was only by denying their origin. Still others insisted that while the right of the mother to her child can not be questioned, yet the commuity or the group ought to have some say in the how and whither MOTHER EARTH should go. Finally there were those who prophesied the inevitability of compromise as the only guarantee of survival, since no one can defy all accepted values and remain alive.

That was nine years ago. To-day MOTHER EARTH begins her tenth journey through life. She has not denied her illegitimacy, nor has she submitted to group control. She has not relaxed her defiance, yet she is able to begin her tenth year with deeper faith and greater determination than she had at her birth.

MOTHER EARTH has survived because she hitched her wagon to a star and with its light to guide her difficult journey the pitfalls, though numerous, were safely steered past. The twofold aim of MOTHER EARTH, since her incepton was first; always to voice untrammeled and unafraid every unpopular cause; second, to establish a unity between revolutionary thought and artistic expression. To accomplish this MOTHER EARTH had to keep aloof from party policies, even Anarchist policies, from sectarian favoritism, indeed from every influence, while well-intentioned, would yet have obscured her goal.

For this, she was often repudiated by some Anarchists, as merely fostering private ends, by Socialists as being in the employ of capitalism, the old political parties, aye even the Catholic Church, while the moralists decried her as an utterly vicious and brazen creature, not to be tolerated in a decent home. All of which is inevitable in the day's work of an undaunted spirit. It is therefore

not with lamentations or complaints that MOTHER EARTH begins her tenth year. Rather is it with appreciation for the criticism of her friends and the condemnation of her enemies. But for them, MOTHER EARTH may not have had the necessary strength to persevere in the face of difficulties.

The main concern on this anniversary of her tenth year is whether or not MOTHER EARTH has accomplished the task she set before herself. Realizing that the only way to be honest to one's purpose one must first be honest with oneself—MOTHER EARTH frankly admits she has not. She has not always spoken as ably and as determinedly in behalf of every just struggle, not because of lack of interest or daring, but because of limitation of space, and still greater limitation of contributors, who could not or would not expound the particular issue involved. Neither has MOTHER EARTH always succeeded in bringing together the revolutionary spirit with that of the creative. That is because the creative artist himself in America has barely discovered his relation to the great social struggle about him.

Elsewhere in this issue, our friend, Harry Kelly, has enumerated the various movements and events sponsored, defended and succored by MOTHER EARTH. His list is far from exhausted;—the Mexican Revolution, the Lawrence, West Virginia and Paterson strikes, the Rangel-Cline, Suhr-Ford and Hill cases, the Ludlow horrors have all received consideration from MOTHER EARTH. Neither has she failed those who have risen individually against the conditions which mar and maim life.

Along literary and artistic lines, I have but to mention such names as Frederich Nietzsche, Fyodor Dostoievsky, Gerhart Hauptman, August Strindberg, and Meunier, whose works have been interpreted in MOTHER EARTH, as they certainly have not been in any other publication. Last but not least are Voltarine de Cleyre's Collected Works, though made possible largely through the generous contributions of our comrades, have been given to the world in a manner befitting the spirit of Voltarine de Cleyre.

Perhaps MOTHER EARTH might have been bigger, finer and above all more versatile, but to be all that means to

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reach perfection, a privilege granted only to the gods. MOTHER EARTH is human, all too human, therefore it will, no doubt, continue to blunder and be faulty. However, MOTHER EARTH will never recede from her position, she will never yield to conventions or shirk consequences, she will remain undaunted and she will be heard!

With this bold declaration, MOTHER EARTH makes her tenth bow to the world. To all those who have loved and sustained and encouraged her, she sends once more her greeting and her deep appreciation.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Owing to the fact that this is an Anniversary number we have been compelled to leave all other matter, including important comments, for the April issue. Also articles about the three Comrades which the Revolutionary movement has lost this month: Jack Whyte, George Brown and our French Comrade, Old Zibelin. Tributary articles to them will appear next month.

* * *

ANNIVERSARY MUSINGS

BY ALEXANDER BERKMAN

NEW YORK seems far, far away—almost two thousand miles separate me from dear old Gotham —but my mind reverts to the familiar scenes, and my spirit dwells again among the friends and comrades gathered to celebrate the tenth anniversary of our little magazine, MOTHER EARTH.

And well we may celebrate the occasion. Nine long years of an uphill fight against tremendous odds, a quiet day-by-day fight, made more difficult because of the lack of the spectacular and the hopelessness of "immediate" results.

I once heard some one say that no periodical has a right to exist more than ten years. A decade is sufficient —he argued—to make even the most radical publication "established" and conservative, and therefore a traitor to its initial spirit and purpose. The more reason have our friends to rejoice at the tenth anniversary of MOTHER EARTH, for even nine years have not "established" the magazine in the sense of financial success, nor turned it conservative, for MOTHER EARTH is as badly outspoken and as uncompromising to-day as was in its first issue of nine years ago.

The reason for it is obvious and fortunate. Our magazine voices a movement; it is not the organ of a party. A party—political or otherwise—necessarily becomes more circumscribed in thought, more rigid in feeling and timid in action, in proportion as it grows in numbers and power. A movement, on the contrary, is inherently flexible, constantly forced to widen its boundaries, and to receive new inspiration and courage through the influx of new elements.

Anarchism is a social philosophy, a revolutionary tendency, a popular movement—never a party. MOTHER EARTH seeks to voice the various expressions of the Anarchist spirit. Let us rejoice that that spirit and its voice, by their very nature, defy all that is rigid and hide-bound.

* * *

I suppose that in the life of every revolutionist there is a period—as there was in my life—when the words "Social Revolution" charmed forth the vision of a great upheaval, beginning perhaps in some little incident of rebellion, unexpected and sudden, and as suddenly sweeping the country—aye, the whole world—with the fire of a tremendous revolutionary uprising destined to end, after a short period of transition, in the triumph of Communist Anarchism.

But Time tempers the impatience of Youth with the clarified perception of experience and understanding. Slowly, but imperatively, life forces us to learn to conceive of the Social Revolution as something less cataclysmic and mechanical, something more definite and humanly real.

Not over night, nor from over the mountains, Messiah-like, comes revolution, much less the Social Revolution. If the latter means a complete and lasting social change, a fundamental reorganization of life based on the revaluation of popular ideas and conceptions, then it necessitates the gradual—primarily individual—substitution of new values for old ones. Human institutions are founded upon generally accepted, and therefore dominant, ideas. To uproot the former it is necessary to revolutionize the

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The Barnum & Bailey Staging of the "Anarchist Plot" / Emma Goldman.— pp. 73-75 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 10, no. 2 (April 1915).

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tition of such murder, frightened the Anarchist groups so thoroughly that they became quiet.

"Your Anarchist, or any other apostle of dynamite, is a coward at heart. He does not dare to fight in the open."

To expect enough intelligence from a man hunter like Burns as to historic data is to expect the impossible. Therefore, we are not at all provoked if he is criminally ignorant of the fact, which common school boys are beginning to know; namely, that the Haymarket affair was instigated by just such criminals as William J. Burns, who, like him, lived off the credulity of the master class of that time. Equally, he would know that it was a Democratic Governor, not an Anarchist, namely Altgeld, who proved to the whole world that Parsons, Spies and the other Anarchists were legally murdered.

Least of all need one expect that a Burns should know that, though the State of New York spent a small fortune, and though it did not even shrink from the death chamber, to extort a confession from Leon Czolgosz by means of torture, not a shadow of proof could be found to connect Emma Goldman with his act. Ignorance is not a crime but a virtue in a detective, else how could he possibly be engaged in such a despicable business?

But for William J. Burns to say that the Anarchist is a coward and would not fight in the open is enough to make the Gods laugh—William J. Burns, who could not apprehend a flea, if it were not for his business of espionage, which is the most cowardly of all trades. Especially is it that of the head of that dastardly department, who gathers in fortunes and honors, while his demoralizing and depraved slaves do his dirty jobs.

No doubt it took courage to trap the McNamaras by buying the soul of McManigal. Or will the worthy man-hunter, Burns, have the temerity to say that he ventured into the danger of trapping Caplan and Schmidt, or that he ever would have discovered them, but for some other McManigal, whom his filthy lucre polluted?

Yes, Mr. Burns, the Anarchist may not ask your permission if he really believes in doing something, but he is willing to face danger and to stand consequences. But you and your ilk are too cowardly to do either. You live off the fat of the land, because the people are benighted enough to believe in your importance. But if

ever the time would come when your contemptible methods stood before the public in all their cruel, brutal and cowardly nakedness, the country would blush with shame that in a Democracy, such as you could have been endured so long.

* * *

WE learn with deep regret that Comrade Peter Kropotkin is very ill. We are compelled to take serious issue with him on his inconsistent stand in the European war, but that has not lessened our deep appreciation for his great service in the past to Anarchism, nor will it ever make us love his beautiful personality any less. We hope our comrade will recover soon, and that he will again take his uncompromising and splendid stand in behalf of the ideal which he has so ably and devotedly sponsored for so many years.

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THE BARNUM & BAILEY STAGING OF THE "ANARCHIST PLOT"

BY EMMA GOLDMAN

THE attempt at a Barnum & Bailey staging of an "Anarchist plot" in St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City, might have been a clever circus stunt had the clowns not been quite so clumsy. As it was, it did not even make a "good story," though the press pounced upon it, like a cat upon a rat. But on closer examination, it proved to be a dead rat. And starved as newspaper cats are, they were compelled to drop the dead animal just as quickly as they got it into their paws.

MOTHER EARTH, not being in the rat catching business, would pass the ill-smelling spot without comment, but for the fact that the St. Patrick Cathedral bomb plot has disclosed the existence in this country of the agent provocateur. After all, if America must go to Europe for her art, her drama, her music—why not for the agent provocateur?

The Pinkerton, William J. Burns, Orchard, McManigal species are of native origin. But the agent provocateur is an importation. Russia, Spain, Italy, France and Germany are full of them and their victims are legion.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

The Barnum & Bailey Staging of the "Anarchist Plot" / Emma Goldman.— pp. 73-75 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 10, no. 2 (April 1915).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

That is why the provocateur is hated by the workers of Europe, even more than the spy.

Heaven only knows that the spy is despicable enough, but the provocateur is the lowest of all criminals. His business is to waylay a suitable subject, and then work upon the mind of his prey through various forms of suggestion so long until his victim is as pliable as putty. Then if his victim is still unwilling to commit an act of violence, the act is committed for him. From the moment the provocateur is sent upon his mission until the final scene when his unfortunate dupe is led to his doom, the police direct, supervise and pay for the cruel job.

And this damnable business, this rotten system, this outrageous procedure has now found its way into America in the person of the Italian detective, Polignani, the provocateur of the two unfortunate victims, Frank Abarno and Carmen Carbone. But says Commissioner Woods, "an officer will do no wrong." What's the matter with the Commissioner; has he just come out of boarding school? He talks as if he were still in his knickers. If so, the New York Police Department is no place for him. His mother would do well to take him home. Or is it all a pretense? And does he really think that any one will take him seriously? In any event, Commissioner Woods needs some instruction, which we cheerfully give him gratis.

The Anti-Militarist and Unemployed activities not resulting in what the police hoped for, it became necessary to help along a little. Ever since that time, the Anarchist, the I. W. W. groups and the Ferrer Center have been infested by mesmerists in search of fit subjects. Naturally they dared not approach experienced people, though they tried even that. But when they were told to get out, they turned to the young.

Polignani, evidently anxious to advance himself, was the most persistent of the provocateurs, who operated in radical circles during the past year. He chose for his instruments two workers, with a background so harrowing, of poverty, wretchedness and drabness, that it was an easy task to arouse their discontent. But even these poor enslaved and outraged boys would not fall into Polignani's trap. They were literally forced into it, as

all the evidence so far collected proves conclusively.

The police apparently did not suspect that these boys had friends. They hoped to induce them to plead guilty and rush them into Sing Sing for a long term of imprisonment. Now that they find themselves up against the concerted interests the revolutionary element of New York, the police, undoubtedly, in conjunction with the Catholic Church, are now bringing their whole machinery into force. But in vain. They have fallen into their own trap, and there they will remain until they are exposed in all their criminal efforts against their two dupes, Abarno and Carbone; and especially against the Anarchist activities in New York City.

The agent provocateur must be nipped in the bud. The revolutionary and labor movements are infested by American mosquito spies. They can not and will not stand for such vermin a la Polignani.

The fight is on and will be fought to a finish. Money is urgently needed. Those of our friends who are eager to help us to save Abarno and Carbone, and to expose the police, will please forward their contributions to MOTHER EARTH.

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A LETTER FROM MARGARET SANGER

The Editor of MOTHER EARTH, New York City:

Dear Comrade—In the November number of your publication, I have read with pleasure an article by Harry Breckenridge on my case. Through your columns I wish to thank Comrade Breckenridge for his article and also the other comrades of the Ferrer School who, I understand, have also attempted to get up some agitation on the case.

It may not be known to the readers of MOTHER EARTH that there are three federal indictments against me, based on the March, May and July issues of *The Woman Rebel*. It may be supposed that though I might get away with these three indictments based solely on an opinion of obscenity, there remains the August, September and October issues, which were suppressed, and contain material for further forthcoming indictments. So that if I were to fool about defending myself in the courts, I

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The Emma Goldman Papers
Two Versions of the Mexican Situation / E[mma] G[oldman].— pp. 84-85 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 10, no. 2 (April 1915).
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ever and with a stronger united front, within our own ranks as well as within the labor movement. And if we stick to our guns, and if our opposition to the State—to any State—remains as irreconcilable as it has ever been—there should be no doubt of the ultimate result. Victory WILL be ours.

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TWO VERSIONS OF THE MEXICAN SITUATION

In the *New Republic* of February 13th Mr. George Edward Hyde writes about Mexico as follows:

Mexico to-day lies waste, from the Rio Grande in the north to the Guatemalan border in the south. Thousands of miles of railway have been destroyed, bridges and station-houses have been burned at every step. The fields lie fallow or are only partially cultivated, while many acres of orchards have been burned clean. The government of the country has disappeared, and in its place has come chaos and anarchy.

Now what is this terrible Anarchy about?

It is impossible at present to make even a rough estimate of the material damage which has been done by the revolution. In the state of Tabasco hardly a ranch house is standing, and many plantations have been burned to the ground. A great deal of this property belonged to foreigners. In Morelos, the richest sugar state in Mexico, the cane-fields have been burned over several times, and refineries worth millions of dollars have been destroyed. Along the Isthmus of Tehuantepec the losses to the Belgian rubber interests and to British mahogany companies have been very heavy.

My, my, what terrible people these Mexicans are, to cause so much damage to the foreign robbers! And what else are these "Anarchists" guilty of?

Destruction of property on a small scale has been even more general. The revolutionary bands which infest the republic have been living off the land, and have not scorned to appropriate even the cheapest personal belongings of the inhabitants of towns which they have captured. A silk scarf might recompense the common soldier for weeks of hardship, while his leader was satisfied with a ring worth perhaps more than money to some unfortunate woman. The revolutionists have not scrupled to hold for ransom prominent citizens who fell into their hands.

No effort has been made by the revolutionists to maintain a government, except in its broader functions. The executive power has been relegated to the leader who was supreme at the moment, or to someone whom he appointed, and in consequence the officials of villages and towns throughout the country hold their office arbitrarily through force of arms. The legality of

the actions of such authorities may naturally be questioned. In fact, it is doubtful whether a truly legal marriage can be performed in Mexico to-day.

Terrible indeed that the exploited, robbed and outraged people of Mexico should no longer believe in the sanctity of property or the legality of marriage. As if they have not suffered enough under both these institutions! As if they have not paid with their liberty, their land and their very lives to their despoilers!

It does not occur to Mr. Hyde that the Mexican Revolution is significant just because the people have thrown off the fear of authority and the awe for property. It is precisely for this reason that the revolutionary flame in Mexico cannot be put out except through a final conquest by the people of land and liberty. For this very reason we hope our readers will heed the appeal of our Mexican Comrades.

E. G.

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THE ORGANIZING JUNTA OF THE MEXICAN LIBERAL PARTY

TO THE WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Brothers, Greetings!

It is known that the Mexican people have been in a state of armed revolution since four years ago, but very little is known about the nature of this gigantic movement, due to the fact that the capitalistic press tries to confuse through different means the minds of its readers, pretending that all the trouble there lies in useless quarrels of leaders, a conflict between spurious ambitions, whose only object is to strive for the Presidency of the Republic. If to the surface of this tremendous conflict come the names of Villa, Carranza or any other personality, who, as shown by their actions, do not have any other objective than the acquisition of power, the truth is that those men are not the Revolution, but mere military leaders that pretend to profit to their personal wishes out of the popular movement.

The Mexican people revolted in arms in November, 1910, to conquer their economic freedom. In the minds of the rebelled workingmen there is no place for the idea of elevating this or that individual to the Presidency of the Republic, but of that wrenching the land, natural mother of all riches, out of the hands of the capitalist class and to make it the property of all and everyone of the inhabitants of the Mexican Republic, men and women alike; and if the Revolution is still on foot after four years have elapsed, it is because that just aspiration has been unable as yet to succeed in all the country.

That the Mexican Revolution is essentially of an economical

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Legendizing the Martyrs of Revolution / Emma Goldman.— pp. 104-106 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth, —Vol. 10, no. 3 (May 1915).

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LEGENDIZING THE MARTYRS OF REVOLUTION

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

OUR neighbor, the *New York Post,* in its reckless youth, in 1801, began its career with the following bold proclamation:

> The design of this paper is to diffuse among the people correct information on all interesting subjects, to inculcate just principles in religion, morals, and politics; and to cultivate a taste for sound literature.—*Prospectus of the Evening Post, No. 1, November 16, 1801.*

Since then the *Post* must have found out that honesty is a poor policy, if one is to keep in line. True, she still clings to her maidenly virtue, which is indeed stale with age, hence woefully afraid of the light.

In its editorial of March 31st, apropos of the bomb frameup at St. Patrick's Cathedral, the *Post* was led to say:

> Assistant District Attorney Train's story of the way in which the Anarchist bomb-plotters were trapped is of great public interest. In cases of this kind, myths have a way of getting fixed in the public mind at an early stage, and growing to larger dimensions as time goes on. Most astonishing notions have wide currency in regard to the Chicago Anarchists who were executed as accessories to the Haymarket outrage of 1886, by which a number of policemen lost their lives; they have been legendized almost into idealist dreamers, whereas they were preaching, and instigating, and some of them directly partaking in preparations for, precisely the murderous outrage which was actually committed in this instance.

Unless the editor is ignorant of the historic facts relating to the legal murder of the Chicago Anarchists, he is a distorter of the truth, which is even less excusable than ignorance, for one whose paper claims to stand for correct knowledge, etc.

In either event, I call its attention, the attention of the *Post,* to the reason given by Governor Altgeld for the pardon of Schwab, Fielden and Neebe. And if that will not convince, to the speeches and letters of such eminent men as General Trumble, Ben Butler, Col. Swinton and scores of others. These men were not Anarchists, therefore, not given to legendizing the Chicago Anarchists, but they were men of knowledge and honesty, both of which the scribe on the *Post* is not. Therefore, they

openly proclaimed the innocence of the victims, who died such an heroic death. That Parsons, Spies and their comrades were deliberately murdered is no longer a legend. It is a fact. Equally so is it written with letters of fire in the book of time that their murderers were not only a bought jury and court, but even more so a prostituted press, which delivered our comrades into the hangman's hands. The same bloodthirsty, howling press, which, now, like the *Post,* helps in the case of Abarno and Carbone.

At the legal farce called a trial of these two latest victims of our corrupt and cowardly police, not the defense, but the prosecution brought out the fact that Polignani, the agent procovateur, was the instigator, the conspirator, the conniver, and final executor of the Cathedral bomb. Yet when the jury, after hours of deliberation, called upon the Judge for instruction as to whether or not Polignani was as guilty as Abarno or Carbone, they were informed than an officer may commit any crime, so long as he does it out of duty he can not be held responsible. With Judge Nott's decision in behalf of Polignani, Assistant Prosecuting Attorney Train was sustained in his eulogy of the provocateur as the Savior of the city of New York.

In the face of this harrowing outrage will the *Post* again have the temerity of accusing the Anarchists of legendizing their comrades as dreamers? Knowing as we do the criminal methods of the police, the coldblooded injustice of the courts and the craven dishonesty of the press, we are not surprised at the "mercy and justice" of Judge Nott in giving the two Italian boys not less than six and not more than twelve years. We knew all along that foreigners and poor boys, have not a shadow of a chance to escape the snare laid for them by the agent provocateur. But we mean to din into the dull ears of the *Post* and its kind not the legend, but the fact, that in a democracy the agent provocateur (Train has declared that two or three have been placed in each organization) has been duly accepted, sustained, rewarded and acclaimed as the champion of right and justice.

The Polignanis are an admission of the utter helplessness on the part of money and power to meet the ever-growing unrest. European countries have tried the agent

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provocateur, but have found him caught like a rat in his trap. If such should be the fate of the Polignanis, let not the *Post* and its colleagues, let not Judge Nott, or Assistant District Attorney Train seek for the cause or the guilt among the Anarchists, but in the Police Department, the cradle of the Polignanis.

The case of Abarno and Carbone is to be appealed. I confess I have as little faith in the outcome of the appeal as I had in the trial. Above all do I refuse to believe that anything can be gained by a denial of one's ideas and principles. This is a lamentable tendency in all labor trials in America, which, by the way, has never helped the victims.

Why not try other methods? Why not go into court with head erect? Why not throw it defiantly into the teeth of our enemies, "Yes, we are rebels. We are Anarchists. We are waging war against your system, your courts, your wrongs. We will not be daunted. We will not compromise. What are you going to do about it?"

This may net us a few additional years of imprisonment, but at least it will teach our enemies to fear and respect us, and that is the only thing which counts.

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THE UNEMPLOYED

By James Peter Warbasse

UNEMPLOYMENT is not an integral thing that can be held in the hand and subjected to criticism. It is one of the many expressions of a social malady. Even the thing that is commonly called by that name, is but a small part of the problem of unemployment. While the unemployed were shivering with cold during the winter, Sunday supplements, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, regaled the public with pictures of the unemployed at Palm Beach and other balmy resorts, dancing, playing at golf, disporting themselves upon the warm sands of the shore, eating, drinking, and stretching their languid limbs.

These represent an army of unemployed who require to be clothed, fed, housed, entertained, and conveyed hither and thither in trains, automobiles and yachts. Somebody must perform these services for them. Men,

who are compelled to live blank and unlovely lives, go down into the caverns of the earth and dig coals to keep them warm. Pale women and lean children, bereft of gladness, toil long hours to provide fabrics to clothe them. The patient oyster sacrifices its life to yield a gem for their adornment.

The existence of this voluntary unemployed class makes it necessary that another greater class shall be robbed of the products of their toil. In the struggle within this robbed, working class, to sell its labor, we find what we should expect—involuntary unemployment.

All this is in conformity with the statute law of the land. The state bestows upon it its blessing, and jealously protects it with its guardianship.

In Europe are seven million unemployed, living in trenches like swine, their bodies filthy and unwashed, hunting their fellow-men with murderous intent, led like sheep by that monstrous thing we call the State, cajoled into becoming murderers to keep alive a cruel master whose slaves they are. How appropriate is the skin of the sheep with which they cover their bodies as they follow one another to the slaughter.

And our own little band of 500,000 unemployed here in New York—who are they? They are men and women who actually want to do productive work. They want to do it so badly that they will lend themselves to the unspeakable scab wages of the Mayor's Committee—*ten cents an hour*. They want to go back into the industries and work the long hours, under brutalizing conditions, with little joy, art, or culture in it, for the bare reward of a poor animal existence. We should marvel that there are so few unemployed.

There is one ray of hope in the whole horrible business. It shines forth in the light of the eye of that rare man or woman who says: "I refuse your dirty terms. I will not submit my body to the pollution of your unholy industries. I will not lend myself to the immorality of being an accomplice in a social scheme for robbing the workers to maintain a parasite class to suck their lives. If my labor—my very soul—can express itself in no more holy way than to be sold as a gambler's commodity, I refuse to stultify it. If I must go down, beaten

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beauty of the Anarchist ideal: Social justice realized through the free organization of producers; war and militarism done away with forever; and complete freedom won, by the abolition of the State and its organs of destruction.

Signed by—Leonard D. Abbott, Alexander Berkman, L.Bertoni, L. Bersani, G. Bernard, G. Barrett, A. Bernardo, E. Boudot, A. Calzitta, Joseph J. Cohen, Henry Combes, Nestor Ciele van Diepen, F. W. Dunn, Ch. Frigerio, Emma Goldman, V. Garcia, Hippolyte Havel, T. H. Keell, Harry Kelly, J. Lemaire, E. Malatesta, H. Marques, F. Domela Nieuwenhuis, Noel Panavich, E. Recchioni, G. Rijnders, I. Rochtchine, A. Savioli, A. Schapiro, William Shatoff, V. J. C. Schermerhorn, C. Trombetti, P. Vallina, G. Vignati, Lillian G. Woolf, S. Yanowsky.

This manifesto is published by the International Anarchist movement, and will be printed in several languages and issued in leaflet form.

London, 1915.

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OUR AGITATION IN AND ABOUT NEW YORK

THE unusual interest in my lectures in New York City this winter would lead one to adhere to the old saying that "one old friend is better than two new ones." New York is indeed my oldest friend and like all true friends she has caused me as much joy as sorrow; she has brought me as many hopes, as disappointments; she is old, but ever new.

It is wellnigh a quarter of a century since I first stepped on a public platform in this city. Since then I have lectured every winter, both in English and Yiddish, always drawing large audiences. This is the more remarkable because of the large number of meetings that take place in New York always. This year the war alone was treated by numerous speakers from every platform, rostrum and pulpit in every part of the city. Yet my eight war lectures brought out large crowds in all sorts of New York winter weather. And those on various phases of sex, ten in all, were tremendously attended.

Six hundred people jammed our hall to listen to a discussion of Free Love. The lecture on "Limitation of Offspring" attracted as many and was the most exciting and inspiring of them all. Perhaps no other event so demonstrated the stupidity and inconsistency of the Comstock outfit. William Sanger, arrested for giving his wife's pamphlet to one man, yet on Sunday, March 28th, a large audience, including a dozen Comstock detectives, listened to a discourse on methods of prevention, which in point of frankness had never been tried from any public platform.

Was the truth so terrifying that the detectives did not dare proceed, or was it because like automatons they act only according to orders? Whatever the reason, Comstock stands exposed as a miserable coward, who proceeds only against people, afraid of the law and public opinion, or against those, whom he thinks obscure. Perhaps he has discovered that by the persecution of the Sangers, he has stepped into a hornet's nest. That may explain his timidity as regards E. G. My own belief is that energetic and defiant proclamation in behalf of contracepts would put St. Anthony and his regime out of commission very soon.

An interesting event of another nature was the debate with Isaac Hourwich on "Social Revolution versus Social Reform." It was attended by nearly 2,000 people and netted the Ferrer School for whom the debate was arranged, $250.

Mr. Hourwich was terribly disappointing to those who knew him in his revolutionary prime. His arguments were flat, because unlike the ordinary politician, Isaac Hourwich is not in the reform game for personal reasons, neither is his lost faith in the revolution sufficient incentive to make reform appear worth while. Without one or the other, what argument can one make, hence the failure of Mr. Hourwich.

The meetings outside of New York,—Albany, Schenectady, Boston, Lynn and Paterson, were also very gratifying, mainly because in all of these cities there is a new spirit among the comrades. Malmed, Mandell, Swire, Van Valkenburgh and the others against all odds are doing a splendid work in the city of graft. The comrades, Greenwald, Rome, Weis and several others are doing their share in Lynn and Boston. But the most

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energetic efforts have been made by our friends of *L'Era Nuova* of Paterson, which demonstrated that the combination of Church, Press and money can not check the spread of our ideas.

The meeting on the "Failure of Christianity," attended by a huge crowd and the spontaneous enthusiasm proved that while Brother Billy may beguile the foolish, the workers of Paterson have gotten on to him as the tool of the mill owners, therefore will have none of his salvation.

It was indeed a wonderful winter, not the least contributing factor to make it so was the fire and zeal of Ben Reitman and Anna Baron. Two more ardent workers never devoted themselves to the task of the daily routine in our office, and all that is connected with it. Anna remains in charge, while the two restless spirits are again setting out in quest of new exploits. Our comrades and friends, who have been so helpful, can continue if they will renew their subscriptions and order books, all of which will be attended to promptly.

But New York will always charm us and always lure us back.

* * *

When MOTHER EARTH reaches our readers, we will have finished with Philadelphia, Washington, D. C., and Pittsburgh. In Cleveland, we will be at the Pythian Temple, May 5th, 6th and 7th; in Chicago, at the Fine Arts Assembly Room, May 9th—16th; in Minneapolis, Federation Hall, May 23d and 24th; St. Paul, May 25th and 26th; in Denver, at Marble Hall, May 30th—June 3d; in Los Angeles, at Burbank Hall, beginning June 6th, for three weeks.

Mail will reach until May 8th through our office, after that care of Little Review, 917 Fine Arts Building, Chicago, Ill.

E. G.

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ANARCHY—Absence of government; disbelief in, and disregard of invasion and authority based on coercion and force; a condition of society regulated by voluntary agreement instead of government.

THE CASE OF JOE HILL

JOE HILL, rebel, author of many of the songs in the little red song book; revolutionist from lower California, who was convicted of the murder of ex-Policeman Morrison in Salt Lake City, will have a hearing for a new trial in the early part of May. Though there was no evidence against him he was convicted, because the Copper Trust—a part of the Mormon Church—desired to get even for Joe Hill's work in the Tucker Strike, where the company lost thousands of dollars. His trial was conducted under the supervision of the Copper Trust gunmen, the notorious Axel Steele being the chief "investigator" for the prosecution.

Witnesses undesirable to the prosecution left town so that they could not be found by the defense.

Before his trial in court, Joe had been convicted by the newspapers, the point always kept in sight being that he is an I. W. W. and an Anarchist. Judge Hilton of Denver has been engaged to conduct the hearing before the Supreme Court.

All rebels should write to the Supreme Court of the State of Utah, and the Governor, demanding a new trial.

For Joe Hill defense committee of San Francisco.

E. W. VANDERLIETH.

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DEATH OF F. TARRIDA DEL MARMOL

THE death of our comrade on Monday, March 15, came as a shock to most of us. He was suddenly taken ill during the night, at his residence at Higham's Park, Chingford, and died shortly after 3 o'clock in the morning, owing to the bursting of a blood-vessel on the brain. His funeral took place at Lewisham Cemetery on Saturday, the 20th, a number of comrades and friends following the hearse from the Crofton Park Station to the graveside, where a few sympathetic words to his memory were spoken by Mr. Heaford, Paul Campbell (I.L.P.), Malatesta, and Mme. Sorgue.

At the age of fifty-four, when he was in the prime of his intellectual force, and much could be expected from him, our comrade Tarrida del Marmol died a sudden death. All his friends are still dumbfounded by the sad

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tation, was that he was preparing to debate a Catholic in Brooklyn. If debates never clear anything why debate a subject wherein the church is bound to be brought in —unless Lunn will take the position that Socialism is not opposed to the Church as he has in the past? Lunn knows better than this. I have it down in black and white over his own signature that the Church is the stumbling block of all progress, and he can't deny it.

There was a time when I believed Dr. Lunn was a sincere man. Now I know he is an unscrupulous charlatan. As an editor he is so broadminded that he could jump through the eye of a needle without touching the sides. As a politician he can operate the steam roller with the dexterity of Elihu Root. As a Socialist he is impossible. He is to the communist manifesto what Paine was to the Bible, with apologies to Paine. If he believes in a free-press, as he says he does, it is in the other fellow's paper, not his own. It would be a treat to hear him wax warm in his verbosity if he could only be induced to take as his theme some Sunday night, "Why I preach one thing and practice another."

So much for the rookie of "Grape Juice" Bryan. But why should he be blamed? Why should anyone be tempted with authority and then be damned for exercising it?

Given a toy the child will play with it.

Given power the man will use it, for men are but grown up children.

So long as men insist upon placing power over which they can wield no influence within the reach of other men they should not complain when its abuse reacts upon themselves.

Schenectady is not entirely barren soil. On the contrary, it is possessed of much fertility. It has only had an overdose of anesthetic, and when it awakens from its present political stupor it will discover that its slumber was the result of too much Socialist politics and too little social conscience—a necessary discovery—but speed the day of resurrection.

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ANARCHISM—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST MANIFESTO ON THE WAR

EUROPE in a blaze, twelve million men engaged in the most frightful butchery that history has ever recorded; millions of women and children in tears; the economic, intellectual, and moral life of seven great peoples brutally suspended, and the menace becoming every day more pregnant with new military complications —such is, for seven months, the painful, agonizing, and hateful spectacle presented by the civilized world.

But a spectacle not unexpected—at least, by the Anarchists, since for them there never has been nor is there any doubt—the terrible events of to-day strengthen this conviction—that war is permanently fostered by the present social system. Armed conflict, restricted or widespread, colonial or European, is the natural consequence and the inevitable and fatal outcome of a society that is founded on the exploitation of the workers, rests on the savage struggle of the classes, and compels Labor to submit to the domination of a minority of parasites who hold both political and economic power.

The war was inevitable. Wherever it originated, it had to come. It is not in vain that for half a century there has been a feverish preparation of the most formidable armaments, and a ceaseless increase in the budgets of death. It is not by constantly improving the weapons of war, and by concentrating the mind and the will of all upon the better organization of the military machine that people work for peace.

Therefore, it is foolish and childish, after having multiplied the causes and occasions of conflict, to seek to fix the responsibility on this or that government. No possible distinction can be drawn between offensive and defensive wars. In the present conflict, the governments of Berlin and Vienna have sought to justify themselves by documents not less authentic than those of the governments of Paris and Petrograd. Each does its very best to produce the most indisputable and the most decisive documents in order to establish its good faith and to present itself as the immaculate defender of right and liberty, and the champion of civilization.

Civilization? Who, then, represents it just now? Is

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it the German State, with its formidable militarism, and so powerful that it has stifled every disposition to revolt? It is the Russian State, to whom the knout, the gibbet, and Siberia are the sole means of persuasion? Is it the French State, with its *Biribi,* its bloody conquests in Tonkin, Madagascar, Morocco, and its compulsory enlistment of black troops? France, that detains in its prisons, for years, comrades guilty only of having written and spoken against war? Is it the English State, which exploits, divides, and oppresses the populations of its immense colonial Empire?

No; none of the belligerents is entitled to invoke the name of civilization, or to declare itself in a state of legitimate defense.

The truth is, that the cause of wars, of that which at present stains with blood the plains of Europe, as of all wars that have preceded it, rests solely in the existence of the State, which is the political form of privilege.

The State has arisen out of military force, it has developed through the use of military force, and it is still on military force that it must logically rest in order to maintain its omnipotence. Whatever the form it may assume, the State is nothing but organized oppression for the advantage of a privileged minority. The present conflict illustrates this in the most striking manner. All forms of the State are engaged in the present war; absolutism with Russia, absolutism softened by Parliamentary institutions with Germany, the State ruling over peoples of quite different races with Austria, a democratic constitutional régime with England, and a democratic Republican régime with France.

The misfortune of the peoples, who were deeply attached to peace, is that, in order to avoid war, they placed their confidence in the State with its intriguing diplomatists, in democracy, and in political parties (not excluding those in opposition, like Parliamentary Socialism). This confidence has been deliberately betrayed, and continues to be so, when governments, with the aid of the whole of their press, persuade their respective peoples that this war is a war of liberation,

We are resolutely against all wars between peoples, and in neutral countries, like Italy, where the governments seek to throw fresh peoples into the fiery furnace

of war, our comrades have been, are, and ever will be most energetically opposed to war,

The role of the Anarchists in the present tragedy, whatever may be the place or the situation in which they find themselves, is to continue to proclaim that there is but one war of liberation: that which in all countries is waged by the oppressed against the oppressors, by the exploited against the exploiters. Our part is to summon the slaves to revolt against their masters.

Anarchist action and propaganda should assiduously and perseveringly aim at weakening and dissolving the various States, at cultivating the spirit of revolt, and arousing discontent in peoples and armies.

To all the soldiers of all countries, who believe they are fighting for justice and liberty, we have to declare that their heroism and their valor will but serve to perpetuate hatred, tyranny, and misery.

To the workers in factory and mine it is necessary to recall that the rifles they now have in their hands have been used against them in the days of strike and of revolt, and that later on they will be again used against them in order to compel them to undergo and endure capitalist exploitation.

To the workers on farm and field it is necessary to show that after the war they will be obliged once more to bend beneath the yoke and to continue to cultivate the lands of their lords and to feed the rich.

To all the outcasts, that they should not part with their arms until they have settled accounts with their oppressors, until they have taken land and factory and workshop for themselves.

To mothers, wives, and daughters, the victims of increased misery and privation, let us show who are the ones really responsible for their sorrows and for the massacre of their fathers, sons, and husbands.

We must take advantage of all the movements of revolt, of all the discontent, in order to foment insurrection, and to organize the revolution to which we look to put an end all social wrongs.

No despondency, even before a calamity like the present war. It is in periods thus troubled, in which many thousands of men heroically give their lives for an idea, that we must show these men the generosity, greatness, and

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International Anarchist Manifesto on the War / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – pp. 119-122 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 10, no. 3 (May 1915).

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beauty of the Anarchist ideal: Social justice realized through the free organization of producers; war and militarism done away with forever; and complete freedom won, by the abolition of the State and its organs of destruction.

Signed by—Leonard D. Abbott, Alexander Berkman, L.Bertoni, L. Bersani, G. Bernard, G. Barrett, A. Bernardo, E. Boudot, A. Calzitta, Joseph J. Cohen, Henry Combes, Nestor Ciele van Diepen, F. W. Dunn, Ch. Frigerio, Emma Goldman, V. Garcia, Hippolyte Havel, T. H. Keell, Harry Kelly, J. Lemaire, E. Malatesta, H. Marques, F. Domela Nieuwenhuis, Noel Panavich, E. Recchioni, G. Rijnders, I. Rochtchine, A. Savioli, A. Schapiro, William Shatoff, V. J. C. Schermerhorn, C. Trombetti, P. Vallina, G. Vignati, Lillian G. Woolf, S. Yanowsky.

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London, 1915.

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OUR AGITATION IN AND ABOUT NEW YORK

THE unusual interest in my lectures in New York City this winter would lead one to adhere to the old saying that "one old friend is better than two new ones." New York is indeed my oldest friend and like all true friends she has caused me as much joy as sorrow; she has brought me as many hopes, as disappointments; she is old, but ever new.

It is wellnigh a quarter of a century since I first stepped on a public platform in this city. Since then I have lectured every winter, both in English and Yiddish, always drawing large audiences. This is the more remarkable because of the large number of meetings that take place in New York always. This year the war alone was treated by numerous speakers from every platform, rostrum and pulpit in every part of the city. Yet my eight war lectures brought out large crowds in all sorts of New York winter weather. And those on various phases of sex, ten in all, were tremendously attended.

Six hundred people jammed our hall to listen to a discussion of Free Love. The lecture on "Limitation of Offspring" attracted as many and was the most exciting and inspiring of them all. Perhaps no other event so demonstrated the stupidity and inconsistency of the Comstock outfit. William Sanger, arrested for giving his wife's pamphlet to one man, yet on Sunday, March 28th, a large audience, including a dozen Comstock detectives, listened to a discourse on methods of prevention, which in point of frankness had never been tried from any public platform.

Was the truth so terrifying that the detectives did not dare proceed, or was it because like automatons they act only according to orders? Whatever the reason, Comstock stands exposed as a miserable coward, who proceeds only against people, afraid of the law and public opinion, or against those, whom he thinks obscure. Perhaps he has discovered that by the persecution of the Sangers, he has stepped into a hornet's nest. That may explain his timidity as regards E. G. My own belief is that energetic and defiant proclamation in behalf of contracepts would put St. Anthony and his regime out of commission very soon.

An interesting event of another nature was the debate with Isaac Hourwich on "Social Revolution versus Social Reform." It was attended by nearly 2,000 people and netted the Ferrer School for whom the debate was arranged, $250.

Mr. Hourwich was terribly disappointing to those who knew him in his revolutionary prime. His arguments were flat, because unlike the ordinary politician, Isaac Hourwich is not in the reform game for personal reasons, neither is his lost faith in the revolution sufficient incentive to make reform appear worth while. Without one or the other, what argument can one make, hence the failure of Mr. Hourwich.

The meetings outside of New York,—Albany, Schenectady, Boston, Lynn and Paterson, were also very gratifying, mainly because in all of these cities there is a new spirit among the comrades. Malmed, Mandell, Swire, Van Valkenburgh and the others against all odds are doing a splendid work in the city of graft. The comrades, Greenwald, Rome, Weis and several others are doing their share in Lynn and Boston. But the most

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to them how absurd it was to take for granted he was only going to talk about the violence of Labor. Why not the violence of capital? But the editors, the LEADERS, couldn't see it; which explains perhaps why a good many of the sons of toil lie quietly rotting in the cells they have helped to create and refuse to destroy. Leaders are such expensive things.

Berkman referred to the case of Caplan and Schmitt as being an instance where the need of militant tactics is apparent. He scoffed the notion that even a degree of fairness could be obtained from that blind old girl called Justice. He emphasized the fact that only when the workers rise and fearlessly tear the mask off the face of that shifty old dame will there be so much as an approximation to equity. He summed up the case: that reliance on legal means practically spells the conviction of these two men; that the only way to save them is to crystallize the voice of conscious militancy till it shall resound in an ominous roar; that if Labor depends on "innocence" it stands already convicted; if it depends neither on "innocence" nor on "guilt" but solely upon its right and might to obtain an overdue portion *regardless of methods,* Victory will be its reward instead of insect-laden victuals and a restricted outlook.

The lecture "Homosexuality and Sex Life in Prison" brought out a banner crowd as usual. The interest of the human family in the chief source of our earthly commotion seems never to recede from the boiling pitch. That is a good sign, I think. It verifies Berkman's contention that you can't suppress the unsuppressible. This subject and other of Berkman's themes I will treat in a later article. I have not the space here. As it is, I have overstepped my allotment in doing but partial justice to the exponent and expositions I have undertaken to review.

Berkman's handling of the sex question exhibits a breadth and comprchension I have never seen surpassed. Which only goes to show that the better we understand a problem the less liable we are to tangle the skein by grasping at a single thread.



AGITATION EN VOYAGE

BY EMMA GOLDMAN

SIX cities, twenty meetings, 7,000 people, all crowded into three weeks. What a panorama life is for him who lives intensely and dangerously. Certainly such a life leaves no room for monotony, nor yet for mental and physical repose for who's who are in the mad whirl.

For the observer who can sit back and watch the picture, it seems so easy, so effortless, such an envious occupation. Poor public! Poor agitators! Will they ever understand each other?

Philadelphia. Shades of Voltairine De Cleyre! She labored more than 15 years in that city, and how she labored! Yet, excepting in the consciousness that results can only be measured in the ultimate, Voltairine might never have wasted her precious energy for all she left behind in Philadelphia. Nowhere a trace of her gifts, her great zeal and devotion. Her old co-workers are dead either in the body or spirit. The new workers are busy with small interests and small grievances, yet Philadelphia is fertile soil.

One solitary individual, our comrade J. Bowman, arranged our meeting. He worked against many odds, but he did bravely. Still the English meeting would have been damned, had not our friend Stella Comyn at the eleventh hour undertaken the publicity work. She saved the situation. Five hundred people attented the lecture on Billy Sunday. Their enthusiasm proved that Philadelphia has possibilities despite Billy.

The Jewish meeting on Limitation of Offspring, despite pouring rain, brought out an attendance of 1,200. Much more could have been reached for both lectures, had not Bowman stood all alone. But we are going back to Philadelphia if only to reawaken the memory of Voltairine De Cleyre.

A seat of government is never fertile soil for revolutionary ideas. Therefore, we did not hope much from the grinding mill of American political life, Washington, D. C., but the surprise was on our side. Seventeen years ago I lectured in Washington before a German Free Thought society. Robert Reitzel, the invincible, he of many loves and many joys, was instrumental in getting

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me the date. Through him I had one of the unforgettable evenings at the Fritz Reuter Hotel among friends and wine and song.

Six years ago a Jewish society invited me; but it was scared off by the police. Three years later, Ben Reitman attempted a meeting and again the police interfered. Great old Reitzel is no more. Neither is the Fritz Reuter Hotel. Instead, there is the spirit of youth and daring whom nothing can stay. Two lovely comrades, Anna Wexler and her friend Rappoport, assisted by the Liberal Discussion Club and with the co-operation of Lillian Kisliuk and Phil. Dinowitzer, made the meeting possible. Above all they demonstrated that idealism does not necessarily exclude ability. Every detail was looked after, every provision for success made.

The meetings were most inspiring. Still more were our friends. Their spirit, solidarity, thoughtfulness and their intensity were like a spring breeze rejuvenating and rekindling—a visit long to be remembered. There is always a comic side, as well as much pain in our work. In Washington, the comedy was contributed not by the authorities, but a Catholic Socialist, Mahoney by name. He made frantic efforts to prevent the meetings—first, by terrorizing the hall people, then by calling upon the police to stop it. Since we have left, he has delivered himself of a speech to the effect that if he had understood the lecture on Limitation of Offspring, he would have had Emma Goldman arrested. In justice to many Washington Socialists, be it said, they were very much chagrined over their Catholic comrade.

We are going back to Washington next fall to rejoin our dear, splendid friends, for an energetic, systematic campaign. Not only the political grinding mill, but also the Mahoneys need our education.

One Jewish meeting in Baltimore arranged by Comrade Leon Malmed in 24 hours showed possibilities for that city. We shall not neglect it so long again.

Pittsburgh. A splendid meeting was arranged by a group of Anarchists, with our good friend Jake Margolis and others to help. The audience was very enthusiastic. As a result of this, the comrades have determined to give Pittsburgh a large portion of our agitation next fall. My

stay was brief but pleasant, in the gathering of our friends. It closed a day of many vital impressions. The only shadow cast was the absence of our brave comrade, Walter Loan, who is now in prison for the crime of being staunch and uncompromising.

Cleveland has been better on prior occasions. It is a difficult city to arouse, and the one man who can do it, Ben Reitman, was not in Cleveland this time. Comrade Shaefer, though willing enough, could not do all the work. Still, the visit to Cleveland was worth the effort, especially the Jewish meeting on the drama, which was received with great interest.

Chicago remained true to its past. The Sunday meetings far excelled our expectation. At least 400 were turned away when I spoke on the Limitation of Offspring, while those who could get into the Fine Arts Assembly Hall jammed the place beyond its capacity. The night of the lecture on homo-sexuality Chicago was visited by a perfect cloudburst. Nevertheless a large and representative audience braved the storm. The attendance during the week nights was not very large but interesting. The three Jewish meetings were both.

The preliminary work was done almost entirely by Ben Reitman, who had preceded me two weeks in advance. However, several of our faithful comrades helped, among them the group of *Little Review*, Susanka, Bernstein, Sarah Aulafsky, and Swedge and Appel. The week in Chicago was immense. So many new faces, new impressions, new hopes swiftly passing before one's eyes!

Now to the Golden West. Minneapolis, Denver, Los Angeles. We will be in the Angel City on June 5th to June 20th at Burbank Hall, 542 South Main Street. The lectures will be on the following dates: June 6th, 3 and 8 P. M., June 8th, 9th, 12th, 13th (afternoon and evening), 15th, 16th, 18th, 19th, 20th (afternoon and evening), 22nd, 23rd, 25th, 26th, 27th (afternoon and evening), 29th and 30th. Cards and tickets at Burbank Hall. Comrades in California, Oregon, and Washington who wish for dates will please communicate with me, care of Burbank Hall, Los Angeles. After Los Angeles, San Francisco, where we hope to open on the first of July.

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On the day before the event, a little trouble was made by the society from whom the Forum had been renting the hall for three years. But as Mr. de J. informed them that we should of course go ahead anyway at this late date, no more was heard from them, though it was not certain that they would not interfere even to the last moment.

Every precaution was taken to insure success. Miss Goldman came by auto from Los Angeles, leaving there after a Saturday night lecture, arriving in San Diego at 5 a. m. of the morning she was to speak at eleven. Miss Fitzgerald and Mr. Capes came with her. Mr. Malmed and Mr. Berkman had preceded them by two days. Mr. Malmed's surprise, by the way, that San Diego people were not all carrying weapons, and that they did not look like highwaymen, afforded some of us considerable amusement.

There is nothing more to say, except to report the lectures. For there was not the slightest trouble at the hall, even though many of the members had come as early as 8:30 to be ready for any difficulties. The morning lecture was on Ibsen's "An Enemy of the People." (This is the lecture that she had twice before attempted to give.) The afternoon lecture was on Nietszche and the War, and at night she talked informally on the Sanger case. Berkman, with larger experience than I, agreed with me that Miss G. never spoke so well as in the War lecture. The enthusiasm was tremendous.

The party left in San Diego a lot of Anarchist literature, and a goodly number of subscriptions were taken.

The triumph was big for the Open Forum and for Miss Goldman, but some of us did not forget that, except for the actual suffering of a number of great Souls three years ago, this triumph could not have been. Mr. Kirk and Mr. McKee have spent six months in the county jail during that time. Mr. Sauer, the brave editor of the San Diego *Herald*, was injured brutally by the vigilantes before the well known visit of Reitman and Miss Goldman. Others have suffered financially and socially, but out of the fire has come the intellectual salvation not only of the martyrs, but of all the inhabitants

of the city—a kind of real vicarious atonement in which not even "belief" is necessary for participation in the fruits thereof.

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AGITATION EN VOYAGE

THE panorama of life continues, with increasing pace. Since last I wrote, Milwaukee, Madison, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Denver have passed in rapid succession. Everywhere the main interest seems to center about the war and the problem of birth control —two subjects more intimately related than most people realize.

In Milwaukee the lecture was arranged by our Yiddish comrades. The following morning I hastened to Madison, Wis., where I lectured twice before large audiences of students, and left the same night for Minneapolis.

I felt a little doubtful of success in that city, because our good worker Ruth Olsen had been called out of town, and Ben Reitman was unable to reach there in advance. But our friends Ada Wolfe and Caspar Richman amply made up for the lack of numbers. As a result we had splendid meetings, both in point of attendance and quality.

The St. Paul lectures were arranged by the Liberal Alliance League, the main workers being Alexander and Price. The meetings here were not as large as those in Minneapolis. But, then, St. Paul is a Catholic stronghold and extremely reactionary. Nevertheless the first meeting where I discussed the Modern School and the Child was very spirited. What a pity a chain of Ferrer schools cannot be started throughout the country. The dissatisfaction with the old régime and the interest in modern methods of education ought to prove fertile soil. But where are the American Francisco Ferrers and where the Mlles. Meunier to back the Modern School movement?

Denver is always worth while, especially because of the splendid group of friends there. Nowhere else is there such an atmosphere of good comradeship as in the Rocky Mountain city. Such as Frank and Lena Monroe, John Spiss, Ellen Kennan, Gertrude Nafe, May

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Courtney, Citrou and all the other friends make one forget that in radical ranks also are full of strife and petty jealousies. Denver is the one choice spot where the American Anarchists, at any rate, are almost as one in the spirit of solidarity, which is the more remarkable because they have their differences in ideas.

Ellen Kennan, with the help of the others, prepared the meetings, with the result that we had good audiences every evening, the largest being at the lecture on the "Limitation of Offspring."

The visit closed with a social gathering which brought together all those friends whom it is impossible to meet and know during a brief stay of five days.

Above all I enjoyed the gracious hospitality of Ellen Kennan. How few people are familiar with the old, lost art of entertaining without making one feel bound and cramped. Ellen Kennan is indeed an artist, sensitive to every mood of her guest and knowing how to minister to her guests as few people really know. It was a treat such as falls but rarely to the lot of the propagandist en voyage.

The one discord in the harmony of Denver was the John Lawson protest meeting arranged by the workers of Denver. Poor John Lawson, there is little hope for you if such public gatherings are to open the doors of your prison!

In the first place it was the utter lack of publicity and agitation which sent John Lawson to prison for life. But bad as silence is in such a case, it yet speaks louder than the inane speeches of Congressman Buchanan or the incoherent tongue-wagging of some of the Denver female politicians. The whole farce substantiated the unwitting confession of McKenzie King before the Industrial Commission, namely that "the will and conscience of young Mr. John D. Rockefeller is more powerful in Colorado than any other force that can be brought to bear at this time." Only with labor completely cowed by this sinister force could such a spiritless and stupid public protest take place as the meeting for John Lawson.

The more remarkable is the one public personality in the Rockefeller owned town, Denver, Judge Ben B.

Lindsay, attacked and cordially hated by all sides, he yet stands out a refutation of the idea that one must be corrupted and brutalized, even against his will. But, then, sincerity—as well as the lack thereof—hath its price. Judge Lindsay is beginning to see that even with the best intentions one cannot do truly big and humane things on the bench, through the cruel channel of the courts. That will in the end cost him his position. But it will also profit him his peace of mind and bring him freedom of action—two things well worth a judgeship.

About California, in our next issue, as we are only now closing in Los Angeles. But knowing as I do how eager our readers are to learn about San Diego, an account of it appears on another page by the bravest man in San Diego, George Edwards. The recital of my own impressions I must reserve for a later date. The whole affair is still too vivid to write about. I only know it has happened. I actually have spoken in San Diego! Once more the town looked human.

Our meetings in San Francisco open July 4, at Scottish Rite Hall, Van Ness avenue and Sutter street. Subjects: Sunday, July 4, 8 p. m., "The Psychology of War"; Monday, July 5, 8 p. m., "The Misconceptions of Free Love"; Tuesday, July 6, 8 p. m., "War and the 'Sacred Right of Property'"; Wednesday, July 7, 8 p. m., "Jealousy—Its Cause and Possible Cure"; Thursday, July 8, 8 p. m., "The Betrayal of the Spirit of the International"; Friday, July 9, 8 p. m., "The Follies of Feminism" (A criticism of the Modern Woman's Movement); Saturday, July 10, 8 p. m., "The Immorality of Prohibition and Continence"; Sunday, July 11, 3 p. m., "The Philosophy of Anarchism"; Sunday, July 11, 8 p. m., "Billy Sunday and His 'Power'"; Monday, July 12, 8 p. m., "Monogamy or Variety—Which?"; Tuesday, July 13, 8 p. m., "The Sham of Culture"; Wednesday, July 14, 8 p. m., "Women and War"; Friday, July 16, 8 p. m., "The Modern School and the Child"; Saturday, July 17, 8 p. m., "The Intermediate Sex" (A discussion of Homosexuality); August 4, in Portland; August 11, in Seattle.

Mail will reach me till end of July at General De-

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livery, San Francisco. Comrades and groups within easy reach of the Bay City wishing for dates will please communicate with me at once.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

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THE FLIES IN THE MARKET-PLACE

FLEE, my friend, into thy solitude! I see thee deafened with the noise of the great men, and stung all over with the stings of the little ones.

Admirably do forest and rock know how to be silent with thee. Resemble again the tree which thou lovest, the broad-branched one—silently and attentively it o'erhangeth the sea.

Where solitude endeth, there beginneth the market-place; and where the market-place beginneth, there beginneth also the noise of the great actors, and the buzzing of the poison flies.

In the world even the best things are worthless without those who represent them: those representers, the people call great men.

Little do the people understand what is great—that is to say, the creating agency. But they have a taste for all representers and actors of great things.

Around the devisers of new values revolveth the world:—invisibly it revolveth. But around the actors revolve the people and the glory: such is the course of things.

Spirit hath the actor, but little conscience of the spirit. He believeth always in that wherewith he maketh believe most strongly—in himself!

To-morrow he hath a new belief, and the day after, one still newer. Sharp perceptions hath he, like the people, and changeable humors.

To upset—that meaneth with him to prove. To drive mad—that meaneth with him to convince. And blood is counted by him as the best of all arguments.

A truth which only glideth into fine ears, he calleth falsehood and trumpery. Verily, he believeth only in Gods that make a great noise in the world!

Full of clattering buffoons is the market-place,—and the people glory in their great men! These are for them the masters of the hour.

But the hour presseth them: so they press thee. And also from thee they want Yea and Nay. Alas! thou wouldst set thy chair betwixt For and Against?

On account of those absolute and impatient ones, be not jealous, thou lover of truth! Never yet did truth cling to the arm of an absolute one.

On account of those abrupt ones, return into thy security: only in the market-place is one assailed by Yea? or Nay?

Slow is the experience of all deep fountains: long have they to wait until they know what hath fallen into their depths.

Away from the market-place and from fame taketh place all that is great: away from the market-place and from famc have ever dwelt the devisers of new values.

Flee, my friend, into thy solitude: I see thee stung all over by the poisonous flies. Flee thither, where a rough, strong breeze bloweth!

Flee into thy solitude! Thou hast lived too closely to the small and the pitiable. Flee from their invisible vengeance! Towards thee they have nothing but vengeance.

Raise no longer an arm against them! Innumerable are they, and it is not thy lot to be a fly-flap.

Innumerable are the small and pitiable ones: and of many a proud structure, rain-drops and weeds have been the ruin.

Thou are not stone: but already thou hast become hollow by the numerous drops. Thou wilt yet break and burst by the numerous drops.

Exhausted I see thee, by poisonous flies; bleeding I see thee and torn in a hundred spots; and thy pride will not even upbraid.

Blood they would have from thee in all innocence: blood their bloodless souls crave for—and they sting, therefore, in all innocence.

But thou, profound one, thou sufferest too profoundly even from small wounds: and ere thou hadst recovered, the same poison worm crawled over thy hand.

Too proud are thou to kill these sweet tooths. But take care lest it be thy fate to suffer all their poisonous injustice!

They buzz around thee also with their praise: obtrusive-

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ness, is their praise. They want to be close to thy skin and thy blood.

They flatter thee as one flattereth a God or devil; they whimper before thee, as before a God or devil. What doth it come to! Flatterers are they, and whimperers, and nothing more.

Often, also, do they show themselves to thee as amiable ones. But that hath ever been the prudence of the cowardly. Yea! the cowardly are wise!

They think much about thee with their circumscribed souls—thou are always suspected by them! Whatever is much thought about is at last thought suspicious.

They punish thee for all thy virtues. They pardon thee in their inmost hearts only—for thine errors.

Because thou art gentle and of upright character, thou sayest: "Blameless are they for their small existence." But their circumscribed souls think: "Blamable is all great existence."

Even when thou art gentle towards them, they still feel themselves despised by thee; and they repay thy beneficence with secret maleficence.

Thy silent pride is always counter to their taste: they rejoice if once thou be humble enough to be frivolous.

What we recognize in a man, we also irritate in him. Therefore be on your guard against the small ones!

In thy presence they feel themselves small, and their baseness gleameth and gloweth against thee in invisible vengeance.

Sawest thou not how often they became dumb when thou approachedst them, and how their energy left them like the smoke of an extinguishing fire?

Yea, my friend, the bad conscience art thou of thy neighbors: for they are unworthy of thee. Therefore, they hate thee, and would fain suck thy blood.

Thy neighbors will always be poisonous flies: what is great in thee—that itself must make them more poisonous, and always more fly-like.

Flee, my friend, into thy solitude—and thither, where a rough strong breeze bloweth. It is not thy lot to be a fly-flap.

Thus spoke Zarothustra.

FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE.

LIMITATION OF OFFSPRING

Review of Dr. Wm. J. Robinson's Book

BY EMMA GOLDMAN

THIS is a book that could not have come at a more opportune time. The country-wide interest aroused by the Sanger cases has called attention to the subject of contracepts more forcibly than anything else. Dr. Robinson's book is therefore sure of a large sale. But aside of its momentary significance it contains much valuable material for those who are eager for a popular exposition on the subject of limitation of offspring, especially as to whether or not contracepts are injurious, whether they lead to immorality, and a hundred and one other questions asked by people still in the net of superstition. The arguments contained in the book should convince the most obdurate opponents. The remedies offered appear on perfectly blank pages—a very ingenious way of focussing the attention of the reader upon the infamous law.

What a pity that the author should allow his personal vanity to run riot and thus considerably detract from the sincerity of the work! By his boast of being the pioneer in America in the propaganda for the limitation of offspring, and that the *Critic and Guide* was and is the first journal to advocate the matter, he exposes himself to the charge of either gross ignorance or willful misrepresentation.

Is it possible that Dr. Robinson does not know that the agitation for birth control began nearly 40 years ago in this country, and that such publications as the *Word*, by Hayworth; *Lucifer*, by Moses Harman, subsequently published as the *American Journal of Eugenics; Fair Play*, by E. C. Walker; the *Firebrand* and *Free Society*, by A. Isaac, and numerous other publications, have advocated birth control long before the *Critic and Guide* was ever heard of, not to mention the fact that MOTHER EARTH has since 1906 carried on a similar propaganda. Is it possible that the Doctor does not know, further, that Hayworth, Harman and others have repeatedly paid for their courage with their liberty, and that Ida Craddock paid for it with her life. It is hardly reasonable

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to assume that he is ignorant of these historic data, since it would stamp him as utterly incompetent to speak as teacher, which is the author's chief claim.

If, on the other hand, he is aware of the great pioneers of the movement, and yet persists to speak of himself as the only honest-to-god authority, he is willfully ignoring the group of American men and women who have faced danger and obloquy so that Dr. William J. Robinson may now reap the fruit.

Even one's exaggerated bump of conceit should not make one so ungenerous to those who have preceded us, nor yet so utterly lacking in a sense of justice to our contemporaries.

This brings me to the author's criticism of "the extreme radical who attempts to defy the law by distributing circulars about the prevention of conception." He assures us that "such a very foolish thing would accomplish nothing." Yet it is precisely such foolish action of an extreme radical which has already assisted in the downfall of Anthony Comstock and put life into the Academy of Medicine and such ultra conservative papers as *Harper's Weekly* and the New York *Times*. It was Margaret H. Sanger who has aroused the country to the issue of limitation of offspring.

Apart from the author's exaggerated ego, "Limitation of Offspring" is well worth while, especially because of the brilliant, instructive and deeply human contribution by Professor Jacobi, which Dr. Robinson wisely reprinted from the *Critic and Guide*.

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ANARCHISM—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

Comrades who are desirous to purchase land in the "Aurora" or "Isaak Colony," Lincoln, California, can do so now. There is for sale 24 acres of orchard land with bearing fruit trees on it. For particulars address:

DR. L. M. ROBINS
99 McKibben St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

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MOTHER EARTH

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The Emma Goldman Papers
Agitation en Voyage / Emma Goldman.– pp. 218-222 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 10, no. 6 (Aug. 1915).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

If a brick-laying ignoramus coupled patriotism with sex we would check his enthusiasm off to mugginess and tab the conclusion as the verdict of a befogged mind. We expect a little more from the intelligence that can grapple successfully with disease. We expect it.

One medico emitted the astonishing accusation that the reason our health is impaired is because the ladies—at home and abroad, don't pay the proper attention to the art of cookery. "You should feed us better and we'd be all right," was his half-cocked finale. One of his hearers had a picture of under-paid shop girls, of toast burned on gas jets, of foodless factory hours and fretful infants, of aching frames, of disease rampant. That same person much regretted he had not a soiled egg or two to present to the gentleman in order that he might know the smell if not the taste of that sweet portion we give to our "worthy" poor.

The world is old but knowledge is young. Sometimes —when the fog is thick, it isn't easy to see a light ahead. But it always helps to close your eyes and *feel* the light —even when you can't see it.

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AGITATION EN VOYAGE

By Emma Goldman.

SO many interesting events have occurred since we reached California, June 4th, it is difficult to decide just what to relate; every day was fraught with something, and all days, gloomy and bright, tragic and humourous, are necessary in the life of the Agitator.

First our own meetings, twenty-eight in the short span of one month. Our field had been thoroughly ploughed by our splendid workers, Billie and Perry McCollough, the success assured from the very start, inasmuch as we were located in our old and very faithful hall, The Burbank.

To expect that twenty-eight meetings should be attended regularly by large audiences is to expect the impossible, but the average was good, and so was the sale of our literature.

Our "staff," as Ben Reitman calls his co-workers, could very well stand the Taylor efficiency test, with this exception, while Taylor's crew move like sheep in dull

obedience, our friends worked joyously, each taking part in filling his place to the best of his ability, because each loves the work; really the only efficiency which does not deteriorate.

Our lovely comrades, Dr. and Mrs. Fleming, deserved the champion belt for devotion, never failing us once; but there were many others who stood the strain heroically: the Craigs, both mother and daughter, the latter the true type of the younger generation knocking at the door, Fred Spear, Ben Capes, Leon Malmed, (both old soldiers but very young in the revolutionary movement), Bret McCollough, M. E. Johnson and many others, helped to make our stay in Los Angeles both joyous and profitable. Added to the friends already mentioned, must be Alexander Berkman and "Fitzie" who joined us from San Francisco and who were not a little instrumental in giving color to the *camaraderie* and good cheer; but, of course, the most untiring of them all is Ben Reitman; the work is life to him, ever in his mind, ever in his blood to the exclusion of all else.

Next to the course of lectures in Los Angeles, there were a number of unusual events: First my address before the Woman's City Club on "Feminism;" 500 woman-rights women, from the deepest red to the dullest gray came to see and hear the "disreputable" Emma Goldman. Once in the lions' den, I decided if I was to be devoured I must arouse the appetite of the beast to its right proportion. Was it the impudence on my part, or that the City Club women are a tame set? In any event, I am still alive, skin and all.

The more interesting and more vital thing was the Caplan-Schmidt meeting at the Labor Temple. That I should be able to speak in the sanctum of Labor, or rather of Labor leaders, was in itself worth coming to Los Angeles. Oh, the pathos of it all! In the day of judgment of human tragedies and comedies, the Los Angeles Labor Temple episode will no doubt be given proper consideration. It is of no moment at the present time; much more important is the fact that I have spoken in the Labor Temple. The Mexicans and Jews made up for the absence of the "brave" Americans, and their spirit and last pennies gave the meeting color, as well as

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$100.00 for the defense of our imprisoned comrades—$46.75 was added from our social in their behalf. While the sum seems small in proportion to the case, it is by far the largest amount collected at any meeting until now.

Our Caplan-Schmidt social was another great event both in point of spirit and artistic expression. George Edwards from San Diego, played his tremendous score to the Grand Inquisitor; Fred Spear sang and Ben Capes kept our audience in joyous laughter by his recitations. Of course there was dancing, which seems to be as necessary nowadays as food and air.

Our brave comrades Caplan and Schmidt were with us, although separated in the physical sense. They knew of the meeting as well as the social and they realized that both affairs were in the deepest sense of the word, an expression of true comradeship and revolutionary spirit; both our boys are an oasis in American labor, brave, undaunted, proud and with that amount of contempt for the "majesty" of the court and authority every revolutionist should have. Oh! if Labor, and especially Labor in California would only grasp the opportunity to sustain the social background of Caplan and Schmidt; if only they would!

Our friend, George Edwards, has reported our San Diego triumph; but what he could not report, nor could I for that matter, is the soul-inspiring sensation San Diego has aroused in all of us. No doubt some friends have suspected me of a sort of bravado when I declared that I would return to San Diego if it took the rest of my life, but to me the declaration was in dead earnest; therefore I felt that Anarchism heard in San Diego alone, will wipe out the hideous nightmare of three and two years ago.

Last year a brave and determined little woman, Minnie Remis, tried desperately to get a hall for me. The Socialists could have saved the situation, but they were too cowardly, so were the other hundred-and-one varieties of Radicals, including even those who stood firm at our last visit; but having looked into the contorted faces of the mob myself, I could not blame any one. However, the plan last year had to be abandoned.

This year I was fortunate in dealing with men, not old

women, and they stood admirably to the finish. Primarily it was George Edwards, but for him the Open Forum might not even have thought of inviting me; but George the gentle, affectionate and non-aggressive has a way of his own in carrying his point. He was supported in his determination by De Jarnette and a few other brave men.

True to the spirit of their forbears who used direct action when throwing tea in Boston Harbor, this little band of American rebels refused even to be moved by the landlord, who declared that under no circumstances would he have E. G. speak in his hall. They sent the man about his business, took possession of the premises and the day was carried. The morning session was surcharged with intense expectation, a fitting atmosphere for Ibsen's "Enemy of the People." The lecture stopped by the vigilantes was finally heard in San Diego, June 20, 1915. George Edwards added color with an inspiring rendering from Tchaikovsky.

The afternoon was comparatively easy: the clouds having been dispersed and the sky cleared for the interpretation of Friedrich Nietzsche's philosophy. The house was packed with the most enthusiastic audience. Again our friend George added much to the affair by playing his own composition to Olive Shreiner's "Dream of Wild Bees." The day was closed with a social gathering and a short talk on the case of Margaret and William Sanger, and the necessity of birth control.

It was indeed wonderful; but most wonderful was the trip by auto during the night along the dangerous difficult road to San Diego. Three years ago Ben Reitman was forced to make part of the same trip in the midst of a mob of fourteen thugs, without a sympathetic soul near him, and I thought of the hideous night as our skillful woman chauffeur whisked us up and down the hills, past the precipice, along the steep stone piles into the open glorious country of southern California.

I had no certainty that I would succeed on this mission, but at least I was with friends and felt that I was coming to friends, so different from our comrade's terrible experiences of three years ago. And while I thought of it all I knew more than ever, that an ideal backed by determination, will overcome all obstacles, that the ideal

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alone is worth living and daring for. And so did Ben Reitman who returned to San Diego thereby breaking the nervous tension that was his for three years.

After Los Angeles and San Diego, San Francisco at first looked dreary and dead, but the tremendous interest in our work soon convinced us that one must never judge by first appearances. We are still in the midst of our meetings; will therefore discuss San Francisco in the next issue.

We open at Portland in the Scandinavian Hall, Fourth and Yamhill, August 1st to 10th; then Seattle from the 11th to the 19th, hall to be announced later; Butte, Montana, the 21st to the 24th, possibly Fargo the 26th, and back to Chicago the 28th; New York early in September. General Delivery will reach me in all the cities, with the exception of Chicago.

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JOHN M. CHURCH*

BY EDGAR LEE MASTERS

I WAS attorney for the "Q"
And the Indemnity Company which insured
The owners of the mine.
I pulled the wires with judge and jury,
And the upper courts, to beat the claims
Of the crippled, the widow and orphan,
And made a fortune thereat.
The Bar Association sang my praises
In a high-flown resolution.
And the floral tributes were many—
But the rats devoured my heart
And a snake made a nest in my skull!

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*From Spoon River Anthology. Edgar Lee Masters. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.25.

WOE UNTO THE JEW

BY W. S. VAN VALKENBURGH.

TO point out the virtues of a particular person or group of persons does not necessarily imply partiality nor fetish worship.

While it is very difficult for an internationist to understand why the native of a given country should manifest any enthusiastic desire to take up arms, it is almost beyond conception why a Jew can even be urged to bear arms. Few, indeed, are emoluments that come to the patriot, but few as these are, even they are denied the Jew.

Just now the European governments outside of Russia are contemplating the segregation of the alien Jews into concentration camps until after the war, thereby making conscription virtual if not actual. While in Russia it is only too well known that upwards of 300,000 are fighting under the colors of the Tzar.

There were many well intentioned people who believed that when the Tzar addressed "my beloved Jews" at the beginning of the war, that at least a measure of relief from persecution was to be the lot of the Jew in the land of the Little White Father. Perish such false dreams! Never has the police surveillance over the Pale been more stringent. Never have the pogroms been more brutal and more frequent. Not even the families of the soldiers serving in the armies have been spared in the slightest. And these slaughters have been made the more furious because of the exceptional frenzy into which the *moujik* has been led by the military authorities and the immunities assured him due to the war.

The Jew has been banished for being a merchant. He has been banished for not being a merchant. He has been driven from his home both because he was a Jew and because he was a Christian. It seems that no fiendish ingenuity has been overlooked to make his life more unbearable or his presence more uncomfortable. And yet withal he bears up bravely under it.

While enlightened people, like the English and the French, enter into an unholy alliance with a government so vile, so treacherous and so historically brutal that its very name is synonymous with blood, the Jew plods

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] "Billy" Sunday Berated / Emma Goldman. – p. 3 ; 28 cm. *In* The Oregonian [Portland]. –(Aug. 2, 1915, fragment).

Obtained from the Multnomah County Library, Portland, OR.

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try while it is expected that those parts which are suitable for pasture will be occupied by Boer trekkers from the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

WOMEN PLAN CAMPAIGN

CONGRESS TO BE CARD-INDEXED IN FIGHT FOR SUFFRAGE.

"Every Legitimate Means" to Be Employed in Strong Endeavor to Pass Anthony Amendment.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 1.—(Special.)—If making a card-index of the members of Congress, listing the maiden name of each one's wife, cataloging each one's business affiliations, making sure to what religious body each belongs, and "using every legitimate means" based on such information can win the vote for women, opponents of suffrage would better look out. For this is the latest plan for the Fall campaign to be conducted by the Congressional Union for Women's Suffrage.

"By the time Congress meets we shall have every member of the Senate and House indexed, so that we can tell just how he stands on our proposition. If he is for it, we will know, and give ourselves no more concern about him; but if he is against it, we shall leave no stone unturned to bring him in line," said a statement of the Union today.

"It is our purpose to get together all the information we can about each member of Congress, and use every legitimate influence at our disposal to have him support the Anthony amendment."

SESSION TO BE SHORT

JEWELERS OF STATE TO BE IN CONVENTION FOR DAY ONLY.

State Association to Hear Talks Next Thursday by Members of National Body—Legislation to Be Topic.

The eighth annual convention of the Oregon Retail Jewelers' Association will be confined to one day of actual business sessions this year, so that a full day can be given to entertainments for the visiting delegates by the local jewelers.

The convention will open at 9:30, Thursday morning, August 5, with an informal reception for the visiting

celebration and crowds from all the beaches were here.

The last link was laid yesterday, when a number of prominent businessmen of Tillamook assisted in driving the golden spike. The road is of plank and connects the highway from Ocean Lake to Rockaway. Automobile owners, business men and members of the Boosters' Club contributed largely to finance the project. They expect later to extend the road to Wheeler, 15 miles beyond Rockaway.

Addresses by a number of business men today were given in the park, including one by J. J. Krebs, president of the Boosters' Club. Races, contests and sports of various kinds were held on the beach. Some carnival attractions were running for the children. The programme lasted all day. Prizes were awarded to the winners.

'BILLY' SUNDAY BERATED

EMMA GOLDMAN CALLS EVANGELIST MENACE TO LABOR.

Suppression of Individual Declared the Cause of War, and Advocates of Peace Are Rebuked.

"Billy Sunday is a menace to labor," declared Emma Goldman, anarchist leader, in her address last night in Scandinavian Hall. Miss Goldman spoke before a large audience and her talk was followed by a lively discussion.

"The fact that such methods as those used by Billy Sunday have to be employed proves the complete failure of Christianity," she said. "Billy Sunday is being consciously used by the money powers to check the rising tide of labor.

"I have no doubt that he believes in his brimstone and hell fire, but he is intensely ignorant. He is a tool of the employers who are employing him to lull the workers to a state of contentment by telling them to come back to the old-time religion.

"In Paterson, N. J., Sunday was a failure, because there the workingmen did not support him. They said, 'Nothing doing.' In Philadelphia Billy Sunday was backed by 44 representative persons, a large proportion of whom were financiers, corporation lawyers and others of the like class, who want to blind the workers."

In the afternoon Miss Goldman spoke on "The Philosophy of Anarchism." She took a fling at peace advocates, and said: "There is no peace. It is time to get at the cause and stop these talks of peace. War begins when individuality is suppressed, when human consciousness is put down. It begins in the home, in the shop, in the community.

OREGON CITY, ...rial.)—The sto... tive bride-room ... night and almost ... Brothers store. Six ... is being whispered ... today.

Helen Smith and ... terday took a tr... obtained a marria... employed by Prid... and presser, and ... to the store to ... touches on some ... the building, he l... on and at 10:15 ... Patrolman Woodw... store was filled w... by Hub Thomas, o... Theater. Woodwa... the window to fi... iron was burning ... was no damage to ... or the stock.

Mr. Boesbe said ... not know when ... would be married, ... sists that it will ... Miss Smith is th... and Mrs. Peter Sn... came here from M...

CITY AUCTIO...

Farmers Near W... at Goo...

WOODLAND, W... cial.)—Woodland's ... public sale was ... terday, the sale be... business street in... grounds as forme... article of househ... equipment was o... good prices were ...

Few pigs were ... good prices, but no... as cattle buyers h... stock on the mar... Wood, of Vancouv... auction. The fift... this month, the d... later.

IGNATIUS FE...

Members of Chur... Then Have Pro...

The members of ... J., East Forty-thir... held their annual ... feast of St. Ignati... services of the da... tended. A solemn ... brated at 10 A. M. ... panegyric of the ... church was delive... Whipple, who told ... accomplishments. ... ing services, the ... served luncheon.

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The Emma Goldman Papers
To Our Friends / Emma Goldman and Ben L. Reitman.– pp. 262-263 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 10, no. 8 (Oct. 1915).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Hearst's newspapers, "the sole effect is to prevent the reproduction of human life." Why not start with J. D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie, just to arouse public opinion in favor of the plan?

THE chief actors in the case against seven members of the Cloakmakers' Union, now on trial for murder in New York City, are renegades, crooks, perjurers, and informers. Upon the testimony of such noble souls the Police and the District Attorney have built their framework of "convincing" evidence. The Cloakmakers grew too strong; several thousand members demanded decent working conditions, better wages, shorter hours—such an attitude was unendurable and a "danger to society." Something had to be done. And so the spokesmen for the Cloakmakers were arrested and indicted.

It will be a very poor showing if the workers of New York and the country are unable to see through such a rotten game, and to bend every effort to get the fellow workers out of the claws of a law that relies chiefly on the integrity and "truthfulness" of the most despicable and foul products of modern society.

* * *

Joe Hill was not shot on October 1st as the program of State Utah's justice demanded. At the eleventh hour President Wilson sent a telegram to Governor Spry asking for a stay, and the rifles did not go off. On October 16 the case will come before the Board of Pardons. Also there is a strong possibility of a new trial. The first verdict seems to be based on such flimsy, far-fetched evidence, and looks so obviously blood-thirsty, that Hill's prospects for gaining his liberty now appear bright and promising. The I. W. W. poet and rebel may soon join again the ranks of militant Labor.

TO OUR FRIENDS

THOUGH we have only recently returned from our tour, we are already preparing for another. This not because we wish to play false to New York, but because we feel that the cities between New York and Chicago have greater need of our work.

We open with five lectures in Philadelphia beginning the 26th of October to the 30th.

Washington, D. C. November 1st to 7th inclusive.
Pittsburgh, November 8th to 13th,

Cleveland, November 14th and 15th,
Youngstown, November 16th and 17th,
Chicago, November 21st to December 5th.

Halls and other details to be announced later. We would like to hear from our friends who desire dates after Chicago.

EMMA GOLDMAN
BEN. L. REITMAN

We open in New York City early in January, but we are eager to see all our New York friends at the MOTHER EARTH Fall Festival, October 16th.

* * *

THE WAR AT HOME

By ALEXANDER BERKMAN

I AM sick of the sentimental gush that is being peddled everywhere about the war in Europe and the terrible shedding of blood there.

What is the matter with the war in our own country, right here at home, and the blood dearly shed in our "peaceful" United States?

No one seems to care about that. Every soft-hearted shemale bemoans the brave soldiers killed in the trenches, and copious tears are shed over the homeless and starving Belgians. But what about the 35,000 killed and the 2,000,000 wounded in this country? And the thousands left without home or support?

It happened right here, in America. It's dreadful to think of. Yet these are the very conservative figures of the United States Bureau of Labor.

That's the losses suffered by the Army of Labor annually in this country.

Say it again:

Killed: 35,000
Wounded: 2,000,000.

I haven't heard of any relief fund organized by charitable and Christian America to aid *her own* war sufferers. Nor have I heard of any Ford donating ten millions to bring about peace in the United States.

Indeed, not! His own factories contribute their respectable quota to the total of killed and wounded soldiers in the labor war of his own country.

This war the Fords and the Bryans and the rest of the peace lovers *have* no desire to stop. For it would mean the shutting off of their blood-begotten profits.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

To Our Readers / Emma Goldman.– pp. 317-318 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 10, no. 9 (Nov. 1915).

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The tendency of men to leave public affairs in the hands of representatives and chosen officers, leads to the enslaving of the masses under the despotic will of these leaders; therefore keep yourselves free from all official, compulsory, leadership, and let no one prescribe laws for you!

The general welfare can only be secured by labor performed without compulsion; the fruits of which may be partaken of by everybody, without any official or outside restriction.

If everyone would carefully study the life and nature of man, he would find the following truths, which are so very important for the regeneration of society:

That full liberty for the enjoyment of things kills greed. The desires for pleasure are then held in natural limits.

Men will always work voluntarily, without any compulsion, when the fruits of labor come to all alike.

These are no speculations, but facts founded upon numerous careful observations; and on this immovable rock will the anarchistic-communistic society be built.

Only by voluntary labor, the fruits of which shall be freely enjoyed by all, can the general welfare of mankind be firmly and forever established—E. Steinle.

* * *

The work performed by free men for their own benefit will be greatly superior to the work performed under the whip of the capitalist.

Although there will be no courts of justice to patch up at great cost their quarrels, men will agree together; although there will be no police nor prisons, less crimes will be committed than nowadays, perhaps none at all.

Crimes and vices are carefully manufactured by the capitalistic system. The Government and the police foster and abate a good many crimes, prevent none. Men are made criminals and vicious by poverty, ignorance, bad example and hatred resulting from the struggle for life. Educate people to help and love each other; and crime will become an anachronism.

Let us not stop for objections or details. These will be arranged somehow. Great principles are our guide. The great evils of the present society demand a radical remedy; and this is anarchist socialism.—S. Merlino.

TO OUR READERS

We have begun a two months' tour which is to take us between Philadelphia and St. Louis, as well as various cities on our way back to New York.

Philadelphia and Baltimore have already been visited. Also part of our Washington lectures will have been covered before Mother Earth will reach you. We are there until November 7th at the Pythian Temple, 1012 Ninth Street, N. W.

Pittsburgh, Pa., at Montefero Hall, 2616 Fifth Avenue.

Monday, November 8th, 8 P. M., "Birth Control."

Tuesday, November 9th, 8 P. M., "Preparedness, the Road to Universal Slaughter."

Wednesday, November 10th, 8 P. M., "Feminism, a Discussion of the Follies of the Woman's Rights Movement."

Thursday, November 11th, 8 P. M., International Meeting to Commemorate the Death of Our Chicago Comrades.

Friday, November 12th, 8 P. M., "The Immorality of Prohibition and Continence."

Admission, 15 cents.

Saturday, November 13th, at Ann Arbor, Woodman's Hall, Main and Washington Streets. Admission, 25 cents.

Detroit, at Turner Hall, 136 Sherman Street.

Sunday, November 14th, 8 P. M., "The Philosophy of Atheism."

Monday, November 15th, 8 P. M., "The Right of the Child Not to Be Born."

Tuesday, November 16th, 8 P. M., "Frederick Nietzsche, the Intellectual Storm Center of the European War."

Admission, 25 cents.

Youngstown, Ohio, Thursday, November 18th.

Chicago, Fine Arts Theatre, 410 South Michigan Avenue.

November 21st to December 5th, 1915

Subjects:

Sunday, November 21st, 8.15 P. M., "Preparedness, the Road to War and Disaster."

Tuesday, November 23rd, 8.15 P. M., "The Right of the Child Not to Be Born."

Thursday, November 25th, 8.15 P. M., "The Message of Anarchism."

Saturday, November 27th, 8.15 P. M., "Sex, the Great Element of Creative Art."

Sunday, November 28th, 8.15 P. M., "The Philosophy of Atheism."

Tuesday, November 30th, 8.15 P. M., "Victims of Morality."

Thursday, December 2nd, 8.15 P. M., "Nietzsche and the German Kaiser."

Saturday, December 4th, 8.15 P. M., "Birth Control."

Sunday, December 5th, 8.15 P. M., "Beyond Good and Evil."

Admission: Orchestra, 50 cents; Balcony, 25 cents.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

To Our Readers / Emma Goldman.— pp. 317-318 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 10, no. 9 (Nov. 1915).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

I will also have five Yiddish meetings at Workman's Hall, West Twelfth and Miller Streets, Friday, November 19th; Sunday, November 21st, 3 P. M.; Friday, November 26th; Sunday, November 28th.

Friends, the success of our meetings depends upon your help. Help distribute cards and sell tickets. All mail will reach me care of The Little Review, 834 Fine Arts Building.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

CAPLAN-SCHMIDT DEFENCE FUND

Per Alexander Berkman

Previous total (as per report October Mother Earth)	$1,076.61
St. Louis, per J. Bluestone	41.00
Tom and May Forrester, Los Angeles	10.00
James Myers, Kansas City, Mo., per M. E. F.	5.00
From Rangel-Cline Fund, per M. G. Heidelberg, N. Y.	15.00
N. Y. C. S. mass meeting	40.00
Joint Board Cloak and Skirtmakers' Union, New York	100.00
Ind. and Agr. Co-operative Ass'n., New York	3.00
Dvinsker Bund, Branch 75, New York	1.00
Wm. Shapiro, Boston, Mass.	1.00
Ushepoler Benevol Ass'n, New York	2.00
Elise C. Albert, Subscription List, Pittsburg	4.25
Sophia and Myer Hornstein, Subscription List, London, Can.	13.00
Mollie Rosenthal, Subscription List, London, Can.	7.00
Minnie Lewisohn, Subscription List, New York	12.75
D. J. Zimmerman, Subscription List, New York	1.25
Workmen's Circle, No. 288, New York	1.00
A family, New York	.46
S. R., New York	1.00
Per J. M. Bluestone, St. Louis	12.00
Mrs. E. G. Kilpatrick, Cripple Creek, Colo.	5.00
S. Ciccozzi, Victoria, B. C.	1.00
W. C., No. 455, New York	1.00
Leon Stein, Subscription List, New York	2.65
Irving Fisher, Subscription List, New York	4.40
International Brush Makers, No. 8, New York, per I. F. Fisher	1.01
E. Lieb, Pittsburg	1.00
R. Vega, Youngstown, Ohio	.50
Carpenters, Brooklyn, N. Y.	50.00
Per J. M. Bluestone, St. Louis, Mo.	20.00
Dora T. Israel, San Francisco	20.00
Per Mrs. E. B. Barriger, St. Louis, Mo.	3.00
Daniel D. Leon W. C. Branch, No. 538, Paterson	1.00
Butchers' Union, No. 174, New York	10.00
M. Harris, New London	16.00
Baltimore	20.00
Per Blecher, Collection Germinal Group Lecture	9.50
Komenitz Litovsker Branch, Arbeiter Ring	1.00
Arbeiter Ring, No. 500	2.00
Arbeiter Ring, No. 514	1.00
Broker Y. M. R. A.	1.00
Lubaschiver Progressive Ass'n	2.00
Yarmelinitz Podolar Arbeiter Ring, Branch 01	5.00
United Progressive Club	1.00
Brichaner Y. M.	.80
Pilnitzer Y. M.	1.00
Arbeiter Ring, Branch 368	2.00
Arbeiter Ring, Branch 244	1.00
Arbeiter Ring, Branch 330	1.00
Arbeiter Ring, Branch 240	1.50
Russian Benevolent Society	1.01
Albert Pearl Shop Collection	1.00
Warshaver Y. M. Collection	2.15

Education Club	.50
Cabinet Makers' Union	2.45
Arbeiter Ring, Branch 54	2.00
Arbeiter Ring, Branch 280	3.00
International Bruch Makers' Union, Local 8	1.00
List 29, per Irving Fisher	1.00
Plotzer Arbeiter Ring	6.00
Bed Spring Makers' Union	2.00
Astonian Publishing Society	7.71
Donation	.47
Dr. Gordon, New York	2.00
Oshmaner Bros. Mutual Aid and Benefit Ass'n	2.00
A Friend	.50
Brownsville Painters' Union, Local No. 716, per Judin	10.00
Per Judin	20.00
Holmer Progressive Workman's Circle, Branch 20	2.00
List 43 and 50, per I. Berger, Newark	0.15
List 27, Anarchist Red Cross Society, New York	15.85
List 28 per Jacobson, New York	6.30
List 35, per D. Lange, New York	7.30
	$1,637.10

Correction: In the last issue Pittsburg Collections were totaled 25 cents, by grace of the priuter'a devil, instead of the correct $18.25.

September 22nd, 1915.

Caplan-Schmidt Mass Meeting

Receipts	$53.00
Collection	40.00
Sale of Pamphlets	6.00
	$99.00
	$59.10
	$39.90

Expenses

Rent	$12.00
Music	10.00
Advertisements	11.60
Printing	18.00
Sign	1.50
Telegram	6.00
	$59.10

$40 turned over for publicity work to Alexander Berkman.

Seattle, E. O. Meeting

Seattle Open Air Meeting	$11.05
Sale of literature	4.00
	$15.05

$16.00 turned over to Alexander Berkman.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

GREAT DAYS, by Frank Harris, Mitchell Kennerley.

PROGRESSIVISM AND AFTER, William English Walling, Macmillan Co.

THE IDIOT POSSESSED, Brother KARAMAZOV, CRIME AND PUNISHMENTS, Fyodor Dostoevsky. Macmillan Co.

SOCIALISTIC FALLACIES, Yves Guyot, The Macmillan Co.

THE THICKET, Alice Wood, Mitchell Kennerley.

VIOLETTE OF PERE LACHAISE, Anna Struusky Walling, Frederick A. Stokes Co.

THE CRY FOR JUSTICE, Edited by Upton Sinclair, The John C. Winston Co., Philadelphia.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

A Dirty Detective Stunt / Emma Goldman.— pp. 298-99 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 10, no. 9 (Nov. 1915).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

the panic caused on a subway train when a maddened detective attacked a harmless youth, who, to quote the *Times*, "would probably have been killed if the detective's revolver had not been defective." The detective was arrested for felonious assault and suspended. Such is the breed upholding Law and Order. Perhaps it is worth one reporter to make the newspapers admit the brutality of the police. But even now they probably cannot realize the situation, as there is no limit to their cowardice and stupidity.

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A DIRTY DETECTIVE STUNT

THE following letter of Comrade Emma Goldman is an answer to a slanderous attack on the integrity and character of friend David Caplan, awaiting trial in the prison of Los Angeles. The letter has been mailed for publication to the New York Tribune, The Call, The New York Volkszeitung, The Day, the Jewish Vorwarts and the Warheit.

The letter will serve as a warning to all those friends who still feel some respect for the stuff printed in the daily press, although they ought to know that this press will never print a "story" for the sake of truth and justice as long as the supply of lies and falsification will not give out, of which there is very little prospect.

We may expect that this dirty detective stunt will not remain the only one; that more "stories" of that kind will appear in the newspapers in the course of the trial of which the proceedings were taken up again on October 25th after a postponement of a week on account of the sudden death of Fairall, chief counsel for the defense of Mathew A. Schmidt.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., October 28, 1915.
Editor New York Tribune:
New York City, N. Y.

SIR: In your issue of the 27th inst., there appears an item headed "Caplan Turns State's Evidence." The article makes the statement that David Caplan has arranged to confess against his comrade Mathew Schmidt now on trial in the Los Angeles court.

Permit me to inform your readers that there is not a word of truth in the story. The information was given out to the Los Angeles papers by Detective McLaren, who seems to compete with William J. Burns in the honors of bullying and terrorizing victims for his own aggrandisement.

I am in daily communication with the defense and the two accused men, Caplan and Schmidt. I have known Caplan for fifteen years and I know that he is the kind of a man who would rather die than implicate a comrade even if he had anything to confess. Furthermore, I have received only a few days ago, communication from one of the men connected with the defense and publicity work to the effect that it was Detective McLaren who is guilty of the vilification of David Caplan, that the latter has protested against this contemptible method. That he has announced he will in the future see no one connected with the prosecution, until his own trial comes up.

The prosecution must be in a sorry plight with its evidence if it will stoop to such desperate and despicable methods to sweat and grill a man who, according to American law must be considered innocent until he is proven guilty.

Caplan's revolutionary traditions coupled with character and integrity precludes any possibility of betraying a comrade. I hope that your sense of justice and fair play will prompt you to give your readers the true side of David Caplan's story.

Yours truly,
EMMA GOLDMAN.

En route.

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REFLECTIONS

BY ALEXANDER BERKMAN

THE sudden death of Charles H. Fairall, chief counsel of Mathew Schmidt, has brought the trial to a temporary halt. The circumstances of Fairall's death are rather peculiar. A big, strong man, of middle age, apparently in the full vigor of life, is suddenly found dead after "a slight indisposition" of 48 hours. I have heard rumors of foul play. These are probably due to the fact that Fairall, from the very opening of the trial, proved a sharp thorn in the flesh of

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The Emma Goldman Papers

New York Letter / Emma Goldman.– p. 56 ; 36 cm. *In* The Spur [London]. –(Dec. 1915).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

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Barons of Beef.
Capons Bechamel.
Smoked Tongues.
Game Pies.

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1 lb. Cake. 2 Apples.

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ption I have read yet.

s, &c. NELLIE BEST.
London Branch, "Woman's
Society for Peace").

nk "Socialism and War"
head. Wishing you every

T. HETHERINGTON.
W. 2.

SGOW MEETINGS

Announcement.

In the Infirmary.

[Our comrade "Shamrock" has sold her labour-power, after a prolonged period of schooling, in two of the humaner and unmercenary branches of the labour market. She has found both these public services (teaching and nursing) so understaffed and overworked, that only the drudge, the unimaginative, and the callous could endure them. Although physically strong, she has, in both professions, been broken. In the early thirties, she is now a domestic servant, in order to win back some degree of physical well-being. "Shamrock's" watchword is a line from George Eliot: "The only disaster is calamity falling on a base mind." Her present poem suggests the irony of the "Christmas birth" celebration.—ED.].

Only a tiny form
Robed in white,
Resting so sweetly
At last—to-night.

The child-life that fluttered there,
At length has fled,
Leaving the Temple
Empty—dead!

But the Temple is sacred,
Though Life has flown;
Loved hands have tended it—
With fresh flowers strown.

Only a baby-form
Solemnly beautiful,
Echoing Death's mystic music
Wonderful.

—SHAMROCK.

Deficit Fund Donations.

H. A. R.	£0	10	0
"Miles"	0	1	0
O. Werner	0	4	0
Edgar Bassett	0	2	6
T. Hetherington	0	2	0
P. Greenan	0	1	0
H. Duncton	0	10	0
"The Three Bobs"	0	3	0
J. Ratigan	0	2	0
Clara Cole	0	1	0
Nellie Best	0	1	0
S. A. Gravett	0	2	0
"Mufti Three"	0	3	0
Anti-Christus	0	1	0
W. Pyne	0	2	0
S. V. Bracher	0	1	0
Gamahel, Senior	0	1	0
Samuel Clegg	0	1	0
W. Greaves	0	1	0
S. Bradbury	0	1	0
E. Wright	0	1	0
Anon. (S. Newington) ...	0	1	0

Our Meeting Banned.

Memorial Hall,
Farringdon Street,
London, E.C., 26th Nov., 1915.

Dear Sir,—In reply to your inquiry of yesterday, our Halls will not be available for such a meeting as you suggest. Yours faithfully,

(Signed) J. KNOX WILSON
(Secretary).

Mr. Guy A. Aldred.

17, Richmond Gardens,
Shepherds Bush, W.
Nov. 28th, 1915.

Dear Sir,—In reply to your letter dated the 26th inst., may I remind you that the purpose of my proposed meeting for December 9th next was to discuss conscription? Your halls have been available for this purpose during the present month. The Independent Labour Party and the National Party have held "mass meetings against conscription" in them. Yesterday, they were available to the No-Conscription Fellowship, for a national convention. To-morrow night, they will be available to the Union of Democratic Control. I cannot believe that your courage is forsaking you in face of a press campaign. Nor can I conclude that my earnestness as a speaker is more [illegible] than the combined eloquence of the [illegible] mentioned.

Yours truly,
GUY ALDRED.

Mr. J. [illegible]on.

New York Letter.

Over here the war-spirit is growing, and manifesting itself in an evil-smelling measure called "preparedness." Not only will the sweat of the masses be used to bolster up capitalistic and militaristic methods, but even our youth in the schools are to be poisoned through the organisation of military drills and training. The "Socialists" are doing their anti-war agitation in the same half-hearted way they oppose every clamorous idea. They are opposed to war, if it is for plunder, but are in favour of war, of course, if it is for defence.

The Birth Control movement is gaining ground and requires constant attention.

Comrade Berkman has been doing wonderful work in behalf of Caplan and Schmidt. He was successful particularly in arousing the Jewish workers, the Hebrew Trades coming out strong for the boys. The trial is now on and every effort is being made to dispose of our comrades, as in the case of the McNamaras.

The I.W.W. are disrupted pretty much, and are losing what little ground they gained in the past. But for a few, the Anarchists are quarreling as to whether Kropotkin is right or wrong in his position. All the more reason to increase our efforts, which accounts for my going out on a lecture tour again so soon. I am going away for two months' speaking between New York and Chicago, and will take in a number of cities on the way. I hope to have large meetings when I speak against "Preparedness."

So you see, dear comrade Aldred, we are not lagging behind, but doing full measure. Keep up your good work against war and conscription, and do send us your paper regularly. With best wishes and kindest regards to all comrades of *The Spur*, yours fraternally,

EMMA GOLDMAN.

New York, Oct. 16.

"Socialism and War."

Reviewing this pamphlet, in its issue for November 6th last, *Forward*, the Glasgow I.L.P. and "Catholic Socialist" organ, quotes three lengthy paragraphs and prefaces them with the following comments:—

"Written from a Communist's standpoint, and offers us as the only remedy fine healthy phrases about 'Social Revolution,' 'Abolition of Exploitation,' etc., which, like insurance medicine, don't help us much. Anarchist Communism may be the ultimate goal, the 'abolition of Labour Unionism' may be ultimately desirable, but we want to see the steps to it—being Scottish. Our ideal is an £8 cottage, but meantime the Sanitary Inspector must keep our landlord up to the scratch for the children's sake. We, too, want to prevent Capitalist created wars, and if we can nationalise and gradually abolish the manufacture of armaments, and abolish Secret Diplomacy, we should, at least, be getting on the way to our ideals. Some exceedingly interesting home-thrusts in the pamphlet, however."

"WILLIAM MORRIS" ISSUE

READY JANUARY, 1916. 16pp. 1d.

Edited by GRANT McIVER.

Memoir by McIVER. Illustrations by 'KRITIKOS."

"Socialism of Morris," by ALDRED.

By WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE SOCIALIST PROGRAMME.

Reward of Genius. Words in Season

Art, Labour and Socialism.

Workers' Position. Beauty of Life.

Whigs, Democrats and Socialists. Songs, &c

All Socialists should order now. Special terms for quantities.

Published by the BAKUNIN PRESS, W., and printed for the Publishers by WILLIAMS & STEANAW, LTD., London, E.C.

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ATTENTION!

San Francisco

INTERNATIONAL BALL

GIVEN AT

San Francisco Turn Verein Hall

2460 Sutter St., near Devisadero St.

Saturday Evening, January 15th, 1916

Admission 25 Cents

Proceeds for THE BLAST, the new weekly revolutionary labor paper to be issued in San Francisco, January 15th, 1916.

MOTHER EARTH

Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature
Published Every 15th of the Month

EMMA GOLDMAN, Publisher and Editor, 20 East 125th Street, New York, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter April 9, 1906, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Vol. X DECEMBER, 1915 No. 10

TO OUR READERS

Most all radical and revolutionary publications are compelled to do a lot of begging in order to exist. MOTHER EARTH being neither subsidized nor having party backing has been one paper that has spared its readers the constant drain of support. Now that the holidays are near and all our readers indulge in the luxury of giving presents, perhaps we may be permitted to urge you to combine the pleasant with the practical. Give your friends something that will develop their minds and help MOTHER EARTH at the same time.

First, we offer three yearly subscriptions for $2.00. Send us two names and use the opportunity of renewing your own subscription.

Secondly, America is about to be saddled with a costly and brutal militarism. Do something to prevent it. Get 100 copies of "Patriotism" or our new pamphlet on "Preparedness" and give them out among your young men friends or to high school and college boys whose minds are to be poisoned with the patriotic bug. It will only cost you $2.50 per hundred and you cannot render a greater service to the country.

Thirdly, why not spare your friends from bad literature when you can supply them with something good? Here is our special $1.50 offer: "Selected Works" by Voltairine de Cleyre, "Anarchism and Other Essays," by Emma Goldman and "Syndicalism" by Pataud & Pouget. Postage for the three, 20c.

Our $2.50 offer: "Spoon River Anthology" by Ed-

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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gar Lee Masters, the greatest poetic work since "Leaves of Grass," "The Poet in The Desert" by Charles Erskine Scott Wood, a strong propaganda work, and "Social Significance of the Modern Drama," by Emma Goldman. Postage 30c.

Our $5.00 offer to enrich a good library: "The Sexual Question" by August Forel, "The Intermediate Sex" by Edward Carpenter, "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist" by Alexander Berkman, "The Anti Christ" and "Twilight of the Idols" by Friedrich Nietzsche. Postage 50c.

These offers are good only until the first of the year. Will you not avail yourself of them at once? Help your friends, do something for your ideal and make it just a little easier for MOTHER EARTH.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

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OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

CHURCHES, blustering charity, newspapers, Christmas story writers—all are busy vending their Christmas wares in their show windows. They will not spare us the usual yearly begging and trading campaign, conducted in the name of Christ, under the headline "Peace on Earth, Good Will to Man." How could they lose such a grand opportunity for selling, and for cheating their Christian brothers and sisters!

But all the Christmas phrases, piled up higher than the highest cathedral, will not cover up the fact that Christ's doctrine of love and peace is bankrupt. His coming into the world and his dying on the cross were utterly futile, worse than useless. His doctrine and martyrdom led up to so-called "Christian civilization." The cross spread the gospel over the planet. Behind the cross marched the crusader, the missionary, the priest, the trader and finally the soldier to kill and mutilate those who had the temerity to resist. The Christian Governments ruled the Earth, murdered the pagans, the unbelievers, robbed their lands until a fierce murderous competition arose among themselves. To turn out, in the most efficient manner, the most practical instruments for wholesale murder, to command the biggest army, became the great goal of governmental Christian civilization. And the worst of it all was, that the people, drilled,

forced, intimidated and educated into Christian obedience, patriotism, nationalism had neither the intellectual nor material power or courage to resist the satanic design of the rulers of the Christian world.

The result of nearly 2000 years of dominating Christianity we observe now in all its glory. About fifteen million people have been slain and crippled. Whole countries are devastated, cities, villages, houses burned; the inhabitants scattered like bands of helpless beggars.

And still the cry for more and more munition, for more human cattle to be led to the slaughter house continues. From the munition industry huge profits and dividends are drawn. The German Kaiser, it was stated, has money invested in American war stocks. He draws profits from manufacturing munitions for the Allies, by means of which German *Landeskinder* are killed by the thousands. In England and Russia some speculators threw patriotism to the winds and used underhand methods in order to ship provisions to Germany by way of the neutral countries, also reaping large profits.

But the lion's share of the exceedingly high remuneration from the munition industry goes to the capitalists of the United States. And to climax this grim satire, all the citizens of this Christian republic were called upon in the Thanksgiving day proclamations to specially thank God for this brand of industrial progress and prosperity.

Indeed, Christianity looks a sight this Christmas of 1915! Consider the heathens', pagans', savages', cannibals' gruesome misdeeds, torture and bloodshed recorded in history and it will appear like naive childsplay compared with the efficient methods of Christian civilization to cripple and kill millions and millions of the children of God.

* * *

IN connection with an editorial on the trial of M. A. Schmidt in Los Angeles, "The Public," the Single Tax magazine, raises this question: "Is another Haymarket trial taking place?"

The writer says: "Unless satisfactorily explained, reports that are coming from the trial in Los Angeles of Mathew Schmidt, accused with David Caplan of complicity with the MacNamaras in dynamiting the Los Angeles Times Building, must necessarily cause doubt of

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eration is to be molded into obedient slaves. The spirit of rebellion is to be crushed by military discipline and standing armies.

Moloch is in the saddle, and the people lie bleeding at his feet.

It is time, high time, for the rebels of America to wake up.

Let us turn our eyes to the present. The future will take care of itself.

To rouse the sleeping and inspire the waking, that is the mission of the social rebels. They are to uproot the old, to blast tradition and prejudice, revolutionize thought and feeling, and fire the hearts of the people with resistance to oppression and the yearning for liberty and life.

The best medium to accomplish this is a strong *revolutionary labor weekly,* that shall preach no ism but the breaking of chains, and that shall gather together the forces of rebellion throughout the country, give the militant spirit clear expression, and help it form itself into action.

Let the voice of rebellion be heard!

THE BLAST is to be such a voice.

It will propagate no isms.

It will speak frankly and unafraid the language of revolutionary labor.

It will deal with all the vital problems facing labor and the people at large.

It will be published by conscious rebels in San Francisco, with ALEXANDER BERKMAN as editor.

The first issue of THE BLAST will appear January 15th, 1916. It will be published weekly.

With the active assistance of those who realize the need of such a paper, THE BLAST hopes to become a powerful factor in the life of the country. By the aid of our friends it will find its way to the hearts of the people, especially among the rank and file of the workers, and may it thus blaze the path for the coming greater blast, the Social Revolution.

Address communications, subscription and contributions to THE BLAST, P. O. Box 661, San Francisco, Cal.

Price of subscription, $1.00 a year. For Canada and foreign countries, $1.25.

PREPAREDNESS, THE ROAD TO UNIVERSAL SLAUGHTER

By EMMA GOLDMAN

EVER since the beginning of the European conflagration, the whole human race almost has fallen into the deathly grip of the war anesthesis, overcome by the mad teaming fumes of a blood soaked chloroform, which has obscured its vision and paralyzed its heart. Indeed, with the exception of some savage tribes, who know nothing of Christian religion or of brotherly love, and who also know nothing of dreadnaughts, submarines, munition manufacture and war loans, the rest of the race is under this terrible narcosis. The human mind seems to be conscious of but one thing, murderous speculation. Our whole civilization, our entire culture is concentrated in the mad demand for the most perfected weapons of slaughter.

Ammunition! Ammunition! O, Lord, thou who rulest heaven and earth, thou God of love, of mercy and of justice, provide us with enough ammunition to destroy our enemy. Such is the prayer which is ascending daily to the Christian heaven. Just like cattle, panic-stricken in the face of fire, throw themselves into the very flames, so all of the European people have fallen over each other into the devouring flames of the furies of war, and America, pushed to the very brink by unscruplous politicians, by ranting demagogues, and by military sharks, is preparing for the same terrible feat.

In the face of this approaching disaster, it behooves men and women not yet overcome by the war madness to raise their voice of protest, to call the attention of the people to the crime and outrage which are about to be perpetrated upon them.

America is essentially the melting pot. No national unit composing it, is in a position to boast of superior race purity, particular historic mission, or higher culture. Yet the jingoes and war speculators are filling the air with the sentimental slogan of hypocritical nationalism, "America for Americans," "America first, last, and all the time." This cry has caught the popular fancy from one end of the country to another. In order to maintain

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America, military preparedness must be engaged in at once. A billion dollars of the people's sweat and blood is to be expended for dreadnaughts and submarines for the army and the navy, all to protect this precious America.

The pathos of it all is that the America which is to be protected by a huge military force is not the America of the people, but that of the privileged class; the class which robs and exploits the masses, and controls their lives from the cradle to the grave. No less pathetic is it that so few people realize that preparedness never leads to peace, but that it is indeed the road to universal slaughter.

With the cunning methods used by the scheming diplomats and military cliques of Germany to saddle the masses with Prussian militarism, the American military ring with its Roosevelts, its Garrisons, its Daniels, and lastly its Wilsons, are moving the very heavens to place the militaristic heel upon the necks of the American people, and, if successful, will hurl America into the storm of blood and tears now devastating the countries of Europe.

Forty years ago Germany proclaimed the slogan: "Germany above everything. Germany for the Germans, first, last and always. We want peace; therefore we must prepare for war. Only a well armed and thoroughly prepared nation can maintain peace, can command respect, can be sure of its national integrity." And Germany continued to prepare, thereby forcing the other nations to do the same. The terrible European war is only the culminating fruition of the hydra-headed gospel, military preparedness.

Since the war began, miles of paper and oceans of ink have been used to prove the barbarity, the cruelty, the oppression of Prussian militarism. Conservatives and radicals alike are giving their support to the Allies for no other reason than to help crush that militarism, in the presence of which, they say, there can be no peace or progress in Europe. But though America grows fat on the manufacture of munitions and war loans to the Allies to help crush Prussians the same cry is now being raised in America which, if carried into national action, would build up and American militarism far more terrible than German or Prussian militarism could ever be, and that because nowhere in the world has capitalism become so brazen in its greed and nowhere is the state so ready to kneel at the feet of capital.

Like a plague, the mad spirit is sweeping the country, infesting the clearest heads and staunchest hearts with the deathly germ of militarism. National security leagues, with cannon as their emblem of protection, naval leagues with women in their lead have sprung up all over the country, women who boast of representing the gentler sex, women who in pain and danger bring forth life and yet are ready to dedicate it to the Moloch War. Americanization societies with well known liberals as members, they who but yesterday decried the patriotic clap-trap of to-day, are now lending themselves to befog the minds of the people and to help build up the same destructive institutions in America which they are directly and indirectly helping to pull down in Germany—militarism, the destroyer of youth, the raper of women, the annihilator of the best in the race, the very mower of life.

Even Woodrow Wilson, who not so long ago indulged in the phrase "A nation too proud to fight," who in the beginning of the war ordered prayers for peace, who in his proclamations spoke of the necessity of watchful waiting, even he has been whipped into line. He has now joined his worthy colleagues in the jingo movement, echoing their clamor for preparedness and their howl of "America for Americans." The difference between Wilson and Roosevelt is this: Roosevelt, a born bully, uses the club; Wilson, the historian, the college professor, wears the smooth polished university mask, but underneath it he, like Roosevelt, has but one aim, to serve the big interests, to add to those who are growing phenominally rich by the manufacture of military supplies.

Woodrow Wilson, in his address before the Daughters of the American Revolution, gave his case away when he said, "I would rather be beaten than ostracized." To stand out against the Bethlehem, du Pont, Baldwin, Remington, Winchester metallic cartridges and the rest of the armament ring means political ostracism and death. Wilson knows that; therefore he betrays his original position, goes back on the bombast of "too proud to

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fight" and howls as loudly as any other cheap politician for preparedness and national glory, the silly pledge the navy league women intend to impose upon every school child: "I pledge myself to do all in my power to further the interests of my country, to uphold its institutions and to maintain the honor of its name and its flag. As I owe everything in life to my country, I consecrate my heart, mind and body to its service and promise to work for its advancement and security in times of peace and to shrink from no sacrifices or privation in its cause should I be called upon to act in its defence for the freedom, peace and happiness of our people."

To uphold the institutions of our country—that's it—the institutions which protect and sustain a handful of people in the robbery and plunder of the masses, the institutions which drain the blood of the native as well as of the foreigner, and turn it into wealth and power; the institutions which rob the alien of whatever originality he brings with him and in return gives him cheap Americanism, whose glory consists in mediocrity and arrogance.

The very proclaimers of "America first" have long before this betrayed the fundamental principles of real Americanism, of the kind of Americanism that Jefferson had in mind when he said that the best government is that which governs least; the kind of America that David Thoreau worked for when he proclaimed that the best government is the one that doesn't govern at all; or the other truly great Americans who aimed to make of this country a haven of refuge, who hoped that all the disinherited and oppressed people in coming to these shores would give character, quality and meaning to the country. That is not the America of the politician and munition speculators. Their America is powerfully portrayed in the idea of a young New York Sculptor; a hard cruel hand with long, lean, merciless fingers, crushing in over the heart of the immigrant, squeezing out its blood in order to coin dollars out of it and give the foreigner instead blighted hopes and stulted aspirations.

No doubt Woodrow Wilson has reason to defend these institutions. But what an ideal to hold out to the young generation! How is a military drilled and trained people to defend freedom, peace and happiness? This is

what Major General O'Ryan has to say of an efficiently trained generation: "The soldier must be so trained that he becomes a mere automation; he must be so trained that it will destroy his initiative; he must be so trained that he is turned into a machine. The soldier must be forced into the military noose; he must be jacked up; he must be ruled by his superiors with pistol in hand."

This was not said by a Prussian Junker; not by a German barbarian; not by Treitschke or Bernhardi, but by an American Major General. And he is right. You cannot conduct war with equals; you cannot have militarism with free born men; you must have slaves, automatons, machines, obedient disciplined creatures, who will move, act, shoot and kill at the command of their superiors. That is preparedness, and nothing else.

It has been reported that among the speakers before the Navy League was Samuel Gompers. If that is true, it signalizes the greatest outrage upon labor at the hands of its own leaders. Preparedness is not directed only against the external enemy; it aims much more at the internal enemy. It concerns that element of labor which has learned not to hope for anything from our institutions, that awakened part of the working people which has realized that the war of classes underlies all wars among nations, and that if war is justified at all it is the war against economic dependence and political slavery, the two dominant issues involved in the struggle of the classes.

Already militarism has been acting its bloody part in every economic conflict, with the approval and support of the state. Where was the protest of Washington when "our men, women and children" were killed in Ludlow? Where was that high sounding outraged protest contained in the note to Germany? Or is there any difference in killing "our men, women and children" in Ludlow or on the high seas? Yes, indeed. The men, women and children at Ludlow were working people, belonging to the disinherited of the earth, foreigners who had to be given a taste of the glories of Americanism, while the passengers of the Lusitania represented wealth and station—therein lies the difference.

Preparedness, therefore, will only add to the power of the privileged few and help them to subdue, to enslave

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and crush labor. Surely Gompers must know that, and if he joins the howl of the military clique, he must stand condemned as a traitor to the cause of labor.

Just as it is with all the other institutions in our confused life, which were supposedly created for the good of the people and have accomplished the very reverse, so it will be with preparedness. Supposedly, America is to prepare for peace; but in reality it will be the cause of war. It always has been thus—all through blood-stained history, and it will continue until nation will refuse to fight against nation, and until the people of the world will stop preparing for slaughter. Preparedness is like the seed of a poisonous plant; placed in the soil, it will bear poisonous fruit. The European mass destruction is the fruit of that poisonous seed. It is imperative that the American workers realize this before they are driven by the jingoes into the madness that is forever haunted by the spectre of danger and invasion; they must know that to prepare for peace means to invite war, means to unloose the furies of death over land and seas.

That which has driven the masses of Europe into the trenches and to the battlefields is not their inner longing for war; it must be traced to the cut-throat competition for military equipment, for more efficient armies, for larger warships, for more powerful cannon. You cannot build up a standing army and then throw it back into a box like tin soldiers. Armies equipped to the teeth with weapons, with highly developed instruments of murder and backed by their military interests, have their own dynamic functions. We have but to examine into the nature of militarism to realize the truism of this contention.

Militarism consumes the strongest and most productive elements of each nation. Militarism swallows the largest part of the national revenue. Almost nothing is spent on education, art, literature and science compared with the amount devoted to militarism in times of peace, while in times of war everything else is set at naught; all life stagnates, all effort is curtailed; the very sweat and blood of the masses are used to feed this insatiable monster—militarism. Under such circumstances, it must become more arrogant, more aggressive, more bloated with its own importance. If for no other reason, it is

out of surplus energy that militarism must act to remain alive; therefore it will seek an enemy or create one artifically. In this civilized purpose and method, militarism is sustained by the state, protected by the laws of the land, is fostered by the home and the school, and glorified by public opinion. In other words, the function of militarism is to kill. It cannot live except through murder.

But the most dominant factor of military preparedness and the one which inevitably leads to war, is the creation of group interests, which consciously and deliberately work for the increase of armament whose purposes are furthered by creating the war hysteria. This group interest embraces all those engaged in the manufacture and sale of munition and in military equipment for personal gain and profit. For instance, the family Krupp, which owns the largest cannon munition plant in the world; its sinister influence in Germany, and in fact in many other countries, extends to the press, the school, the church and to statesmen of highest rank. Shortly before the war, Carl Liebknecht, the one brave public man in Germany now, brought to the attention of the Reichstag that the family Krupp had in its employ officials of the highest military position, not only in Germany, but in France and in other countries. Everywhere its emissaries have been at work, systematically inciting national hatreds and antagonisms. The same investigation brought to light an international war supply trust who cares not a hang for patriotism, or for love of the people, but who uses both to incite war and to pocket millions of profits out of the terrible bargain.

It is not at all unlikely that the history of the present war will trace its origin to this international murder trust. But is it always necessary for one generation to wade through oceans of blood and heap up mountains of human sacrifice that the next generation may learn a grain of truth from it all? Can we of to-day not profit by the cause which led to the European war, can we not learn that it was preparedness, thorough and efficient preparedness on the part of Germany and the other countries for military aggrandizement and material gain; above all can we not realize that preparedness in America must and will lead to the same result, the same barbarity, the

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same senseless sacrifice of life? Is America to follow suit, is it to be turned over to the American Krupps, the American military cliques? It almost seems so when one hears the jingo howls of the press, the blood and thunder tirades of bully Roosevelt, the sentimental twaddle of our college-bred President.

The more reason for those who still have a spark of libertarianism and humanity left to cry out against this great crime, against the outrage now being prepared and imposed upon the American people. It is not enough to claim being neutral; a neutrality which sheds crocodile tears with one eye and keeps the other riveted upon the profits from war supplies and war loans, is not neutrality. It is a hypocritical cloak to cover, the countries' crimes. Nor is it enough to join the bourgeois pacifists, who proclaim peace among the nations, while helping to perpetuate the war among the classes, a war which in reality, is at the bottom of all other wars.

It is this war of the classes that we must concentrate upon, and in that connection the war against false values, against evil institutions, against all social atrocities. Those who appreciate the urgent need of co-operating in great struggles must oppose military preparedness imposed by the state and capitalism for the destruction of the masses. They must organize the preparedness of the masses for the overthrow of both capitalism and the state. Industrial and economic preparedness is what the workers need. That alone leads to revolution at the bottom as against mass destruction from on top. That alone leads to true internationalism of labor against Kaiserdom, Kingdom, diplomacies, military cliques and bureaucracy. That alone will give the people the means to take their children out of the slums, out of the sweat shops and the cotton mills. That alone will enable them to inculcate in the coming generation a new ideal of brotherhood, to rear them in play and song and beauty; to bring up men and women, not automatons. That alone will enable woman to become the real mother of the race, who will give to the world creative men, and not soldiers who destroy. That alone leads to economic and social freedom, and does away with all wars, all crimes, and all injustice.

* * *

WHY!

By GERTRUDE BOYLE

HE is dead, that feorless one, yet he is not gone!
For in our minds dwells the vision, in our hearts the spirit of that dauntless champion of the Truth.
He died facing the guns!
Yet his goze rested not on them, but travelled out to the Light beyond.
His cleor, keen vision penetrated the dork chaos of the Ignoronce confrouting him, the Avarice that shot him down.
He saw a star gleam fixedly obove the deep block hole Spite and Fear entombed him, and he knew that star would not dim,
But guide the groping men of the Earth to the monger, to the cradle of Freedom, where ever dwells the infant Truth. . . .
And lo! in every ear shall echo, in every questioning mind,—why? why? why have they done thus with him?
And the very force and persistency of thot WHY shall unveil the Truth, uneorth the mod Injustice, the crouching Tyronny beneath such foul act. . . .
Ah, you tremble, O Governor, in your judgment seat!
You forgot thot e'en Pontius Pilate washed his honds of it. . . .

Deod!—thot fearless one,—
Yet he is not gone!

* * *

Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Cotton Operatives Get an Advance by Direct Action

By TOM MANN

THE biggest question we are confronted with in Britain just now is the prospect of conscription, the determination to bring this about is very strong with many capitalists, politicians and newspaper contributors. You will be aware that the authorities have decided to try more rigorous methods to get soldiers, if volunteers in sufficient number have not enlisted for the army by the end of November. Meanwhile in certain areas strong attempts are being made to enlist men into

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Emma Goldman, "~~Departure~~ Victim of ~~from~~ Morality and the Philosophy of Atheism." Published by Max Jankovitz, 139 Division Street, New York, New York.

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אָפּפער פון מאָראַל.

ניט לאנג צוריק האָב איך געהערט הערען אנטהאני מאסמאק, וועלכער איז פערציג יאָהר נעווען דער מאראל היטער פון אטעריקא. א טעהר פוסטע און נאַרישע פלוירערייַ, א טיפּערע אונווויסענהייט, האָב איך נאָך קיינמאל ניט נעהערט פון אירנענר א פּלאַטפּאָרמע.

די פּראַנע וואָס מיר האָט זיך געשטעלט, זיך צוהערענריג צו ריע־ זער אלטער, פּאַנאַטישער רערע פון רעם מענש, איז נעווען, ווי קאָן א מאן וואָס איז אזוי כענרעניצט און אונאינטעליגענט הערשען מיט רער קראפט פון א צענזאָר און ריקטאַטאָר איבער א פּאָלק וואָס האלט זיך רעמאָקראטיש ? אמת, קאָמסטאק ווערט נעשטיצט פון נעווען. מיט פּער־ צייג יאָהר צוריק, ווען רער פּוריטאַניזם איז נעווען נאָך פיעל מוטינער, אָננרייפענרינער ווי הייַנט, פּולשטענרינ אָכשטעלענריג רָאָס ליכט פון שכל און פּראָנרעס, איז קאָמסטאק'ן נעלונגען, מיט רער הילף פון רונ־ קעלע מאכינאציעס און פּאָליטישע קונסטשטיק, רורכצופיהרען א נעווען וועלכעס האָט איהם נענעכען א פּולשטענרינע קאָנטראָלע איבער רעם פּאָסט־אָפּיס — א קאָנטראָלע וואָס איז נעווארען אן אונגליק פאר רער פּרייהייט פון רער פּרעסע, אזוי נוט ווי פאר רעם רעכט פון אמעריקאנער כירנער צו ווערען אונבעלעסטינט, צו זיין בעל הכית ביי זיך אין הויז.

זינט רעמאָלט האָט קאָמסטאָק זיך אריינגעריסען אין פּריוואטע וואוינונגען פון מענשען, האָט קאָנפיסקירט פּריוואטע און פּערזענליכע קאָרעספּאָנרענץ, פּערנומען קונסטווערק, אָון ארנאניזירט א סיסטעם פון שפּיאָנערייַ און כאכער מיט וואָס אפּילו רוסלאָנר־וואָלט זיך נעשעהטט. פּוגרעסטוענען ליגט ניט אין נעווען אלייַן רי קראפט פון אנטהאני קאָמסטאָק. עס איז עפּעס אנרערש. פּיעל שרעקליכער פון נעווען. עס איז רער שמאָלער פּוריטאַנישער נייסט, ווי מיר כענענען איהם אין

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די בלוטלאזע און אונפרוכטבארע מוחות פון די „יאנג־מען־און־אלד־מייר׳ס קריסטשען־יוניאן", אין די פעראיינען וואס פרעדיגען נעלאסע־קייט, מעסינקייט, איינגעהאלטענקייט, אין די שבת־לייענען, אין די פו־דימאניש לייענען, א. אז. וו. — א נייסט וואס איז שטאק בלינד צו די איינפאכסטע לעבענס־ערשיינונגען און, פון ראגען קומט רער זומף און די פוילקייט. פונקט ווי אין די אנטי־בעלום טעג, כעיאמערן דיעזע אלטע מומיעס די שרעקליבע אויסגעלאסענקייט פון אונזער צייט. די ווי־סענשאפט, קונסט, ליטעראטור, די דראפא, לינט פערנעוואלדיגט פון רער פאנאטישער צענזור און פון נעזעצליבקייט, און רער רעזולטאט איז, ראס אמעריקא, מרצץ די גרויסע פרעטענציעס פאר פראנרעס און פרייי־הייט, לינט נאך אלץ פערזונקען אין רעם נאריששטען פראוויגציאליזם.

ראס קלענסטע מלובה'לע פון אייראפא קאן זיך בעריהמען טיט זיין קונסט, בעפרייט פון די קייטען פון מארעל, א קונסט וואס האט רעם מום צו שילרערן און מהלען די נרויסע סאציאלע פראבלעמען פון אונזער צייט. מיט רעם שארפען קאנט פון רער קריטיק שניירט זי אריין אין יערען סאציאלען נעשווויר, יערער אונגערעבטינקייט, פאדערענדיג פונראמענמאלע ענדערונגען און די איכערשאצונג פון אננענומענע ווער־טען. די סאטירע, רער וויץ און הומאר, אזוי נוט ווי ראס טיעף ערנסטע וואהרט דורך אלע זייגע מיטלען און וועגען, ווערען אננעווענרט אויפצו־רעקען אונזערע קאנווענציאנעלע לינגענס, סאציאלע און מארעלישע. צו וועלען טהאן ראס זעלבע רא אין אמעריקא וועט זיין אן אוטויסטע מיה. ווייל אפילו ראס כלויזע פרופען אין רער ריבטונג איז נעווארען אונ־מענליך צוליעב רעם שטרענגען רעשים, רעם מארעל ריקמאסאר און זיין קליקע.

די ווייסטע אין רער ריבטונג זענען, טראצרעם. דערנאננען אונ־זערע „מאקרייקערס" (מיט רעם וואהרט רא בעצייכענט עסמא נאלרמאן א קלאס פאליטיקער :יי .בער האט נעקעמפט נענען אונריינער פאליטיק.) וועלבע האבען אהן ספק נעבראכט נרויסע נוצען אין רעם עקאנאמי־שען און סאציאלען לעבען. צי די „מאקרייקעס" האבען יא ארער ניט נע־האלפען ענדערן רעם צושמאנד. אכער וועניגסטענס האבען זיי נעהאל־פען ארבריסען די מאסקע פון רעם לינגערישען פנים פון אנזער חיפא קריטישער און זעלבסטצופריעדענער נעזעלשאפט.

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וואטירט די אננעוואטעלטע בחות פון מיליאנען מענשען וועלכע זיר־
נען אליין ארים, און, וואס עס איז נאך שרעקליבער, וואס ארימער
ס'איז דער קרבן פון דער איינענטומס־מאראל, אלץ נרעסער איז זיין
רעספעקט און זיין מורא פאר זיין בעל־הבית. דעריבער קומט אויס
צו הערן פארטנעשריטענע מענשען, אפילו אזוי־נערופענע קלאסען־
בעוואוסטע ארבייטער, בעקלאנען אלס אונמאראליש אזאלבע מעמא־
הען ווי סאכאמאזש און רירעקטע אקציע. ווייל דיזוע מיטלען ציעלען
אויף איינענטהום.

. היינט ווען די קרכנות אליין זיינען אזוי פארבלענדט פון דער
איינענטומס־מאראל, וואס קאן מען שוין ערווארטען פון די בעלי־
בתים? דעריבער שיינט עס צו זיין די העכסטע צייט צו טאכען קלאר
דעם אמת דאס, בל זמן די ארבייטער וועלען נים פערלירען זייער
רעספעקט פאר דעם טיטעל פון זייער איינענער פערשקלאפונג. קאנען
זיי נים האפען אויף קיין ערלעזונג.

* * *

אבער מיט וואס איך ווייל זיך דא מעהרסטענס בעשעפטיגען איז
טיט דער ווירקונג וואס די מאראל האט אויף פרויען. אזוי טויטליך,
אזוי פאראליזירענדיג איז נעווען ריעזע ווירקונג, אז אפילו מאנבע
פון מיינע פארטנעשריטענסטע שוועסטער ווילען זיך שוין קיינ־
מאל נים קאנען פון איהר באלשסענדיג בעפרייען.

עס איז די מאראל וואס פערהאמט די פרוי צו א צושטאנד פון
פארזעסענקייט, א פראסטימוטקע, א נאכלעסיגע, לייבטזיניגע און אונ־
אויפהערליכע אויסבריה.ערקע פון אונגליקליכע קינדער.

צוערשט מכח דער פארזעסענער מויר, ריעזע פערהונגערטע
און פערוועלקטע מענשליכע פלאנץ. וועו נאך א יונגע שהנע בלום
פערליעכט זי זיך אין אן אנשטענדיגען יונגענמאן. אבער די מא־
דאל פארערט דאס כל זמן ער קאן מיט דעם מיידעל נים חתונה הא־
בען, מאר זי בשום אופן נים וויסען פון קיינע ליעבעם הינרייסונגען,
פון דעם עקסטאז פון ליידענשאפט, וועלבע דערגרייבט איהר העכס־
טען אויפטרוק אין דער נעשלעכטליכער אומארמונג. אויף דער יונגער־

מאן וויל חתונה האבען, אבער די איינענטומס־טאראל, די מאראל פון
דער פאמיליע און די סאציאלע מאראלען פארערען דאס פריהער מוז
ער האבען א פולען נעלרבייטעל, טוז אבשפארען נענוג איינצושטע־
לען א הויז און בדי צו קאנען אויסהאלטען א פאטיליע. די יונגע מע־
שען מוזען ווארטען, אפטמאל פיעלע לאנגע, שווערע יאהרען.

דערווייל ווערענדיג נעשלעבטליך נערייצט א ראנק זיין מענליכען
פערברענגען און בעריהרונג מיט זיין נעליעבטע, זובט רער אנשטענ־
דיגער יונגערמאן צו בעפריערינגען זיין נאטור פאר נעלר. אין ניין־און־
נייניציג פון יערע הונרערט פאלען, וועט ער ווערען נעשלעבטליך אנ־
נעשטעקט, און וועו ער איז שוין טאטעריעל פארזיבערט און קאן
חתונה האבען, וועט ער אנשטעקען זיין וויב און דורך איהר זיינע
קינרער. און די יונגע בלום, אין וועמען יערע צעל נליהט טיט רעם
פייער פון לעבען, אין וועמען ראס נאנצע וועזען שרייט נאך ליעבע
און לירענשאפט? זי האט קיין בעפריערינונג. ביי איהר ענטוויקעלט
זיך קאפוועהטאג, שלאפלאזינקייט, היסטעריקע: זי ווערט פערביטערט,
בייז, און אין א קורצער צייט ווערט זי א פארוועלקט, פערצעהרט און
פרוירינ בעשעפעניש, א לאסט אי פאר זיך און אי פאר אנרערע. קיין
וואונרער וואס שטירנער האט ניבער פארנעצויגען די אויסנעלאסענע
פרוי איירער א מיידעל וואס איז פארוסען נעוואהרען צוואמען טיט
איהר טונענר ביז'ן נראהען צאפ.

א טעהר פאטעטישע, א מאחר פרוירינע פינור פון ריעזער נרא־
נשוארענער מאראל איז ניט רא. ריעזער אמת איז נאך פיעל שטארקער
וועו מען האט אין זין די נרויסע טאסע פראפעסיאנעלע מיטעל־קלאס
מיירלעך, אייראר רי פשוט'ע פאלקס מיירלעך. דורך רער עקאנאמישער
נויטוועגדינקייט, רער אריסקייט, ווערען די לעצטע נאך אין זייער
פריהער יונענר ארייננעוואהרפען אין רעם לעבענ'ס ווילרען שטראס;
זיי וואקסען אויף צוואמען מיט רי טענער אין רער פאבריק, אין שאפ,
ארער בייס אונטערהאלט און טאנץ. רער רעזולטאט איז א מעהר נאר־
מאלער אויסרוק פון זייערע פיזישע אינסטינקטען. דאו, נאך א זאך.
די יונגע מענער און די יונגע פרויען פון פאלק זיינען ניט אזוי פער־
עקשנ'ט, אזוי צונעבונדען צו און אויסגערעכענט מיט אויסערליכקיי־

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טעו, און דערביבער הערעו זיי זיך אסטמאל יא צו צום ברוף פון ליעבע און לויטענשאפט, ניט קוקענדיג אויף צערעמאניעס און מכתנים.

אבער דאס אויסצארבייטע און איבערנעוואקסענע מיידעל פון דעם מיטעל־קלאס, נעהאדעוועט אין די שמאלע גרעניצעו פון מאמי־ליע און מאציאלע מנהגים, נעהיטעו פון טויזענד אויגעו. וועלבע האט מורא פאר איהר איינגעגעם שאטעו — איהר מיעמע בענקשאפט צו א מאו אדער קינד, — מוז פערוואנדעלט ווערעו אין א ליעבע צו קעיז אוז הינד, קאנאריקעם אדער צו דער ביבעל־קלאס. אט דאס איז די נרויזא־מע חכמה פון דער מאראל, וועלבע **רשרשטיקט** טענליך די ליעבע. דאס ליכט און די פרייר, און די לעבענס פון אונצעהלינע קרבנות.

יעצט, וואס איז שייך דער פראסטימוטקע. צום טראץ פון נעזוא־צעו, פערבאטוננעו, **מערמאלנונגעו** און תפוסות: צום טראץ זייער אב־זונדערונג, מעלדונג, קרייצונעו נעגעו אויסגעלאסענקייט און אנדערע עהנליבע מעטאדעו. איז די נאעו־פרוי דאך דער אטת'ער נעשעענסט. דער בייזער נייסט פון אונזער צייט. זי בערעקט די פעלדער וויא וויל־פיי. אויינבערענדיג זיך אין אין איטליבעו שפעלטעלע פון לעבעו. פע. טענדיג און צושטערענדיג.

נאך אלעטעו אבער צאהלט זי דאך ניט מעהר ווי צוריק, אין א זעהר קלייגער מאס, די קללה און די שוידערליבקייטעו וואס די נעזעל־שאפט האט אויסגעלענט אויף איהר וועג. זי, טיער און פערמאטערט אין דעם לויף פון די יאהרהונדערטעו, נעפאלגט און נעטריעבעו פון וויגקעל צו ווינקעל, נעטרעטעו פון יעדעו, איז דאך די נעמעזיס פון די מארערנע צייטעו. די דאבע נעטין, וואס הערשט אונ'רחמנות'דיג מיט א פייערדינער שווארט. וויל, האט זי דעו ניט דעם טאו אין איהר קראפט? און, דורך איהם, די היים, דאס קינד און די דאסע. אט אויף דעם אופן שניידט זי, און ווערט אליין אמנרויזאמסטעו נעשניטעו.

וואס האט זי בעשאפעו? פון וואנעו קומט זי? די מארעל, די מארעל וואס איז נדויזאס צו דער פרוי. איינמאל האט זי נעוואנט צו זיין זי אליין, צו זיין נעטרייו צו איהר נאטור, צו לעבעו. און אלעס איז פאר איהר פערשלאסעו: די פרוי ווערט ארויסנעוואורפעו און קרינט קיין בעשיצונג פון דער נעזעלשאפט. די נאסעו־פרוי ווערט דער קרבן פון דער מארעל, פונקט ווי די פארוועלקטע אלטע מויד איז איהר

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זייער פיזישער און נייסטינער בעפרייאונג, און פונקט אזוי פיעל טויר זענדע וואס ווערען צוקרישפעלט און צושערינט איידער צו ברענגען א קינד אין א נעזעלשאפט וועלכע איז נעבויט אויף פערפוילונג און צער שטערונג.

איז עס ווייל די מאדערנע פרוי וויל זיך אבווארפן פון דער פעראנטוואָרטליכקייט, אדער איז עס ווייל עס פעהלט איהר די ליעבע צו קינדער, וואס טרייבט זי צו די ווירקואמסמע און נעפערליכסטע מיטלען צו פערהימען שוואנגערשאפט? בלויז פלאבע און פאנאטישע מוחות קאנען מאבען אזא מין בעשולדינונג. אז ניט וואלטען זיי נעווארנע פרוי איז נעווארען ראסענבעוואוסט, נעפיהלסול צו די בעדערפענישען און רעבטען פון רעם קינד, דער סימבאל און די פערקערפערונג פון דער ראסע, און דאס דערביבער האט די מאדערנע פרוי א נעפיהל פון פעראנטוואָרטליכקייט און מענשליכקייט, א נעפיהל וואס איז נשוען אין נאנצען פרעמד צו איהר נרויסמוטער.

וועלכע פון די עקזאמישע מלחמה קאנט אדום איהר, וועלכע קאמף, אריסקייט, פערברעכען, קראנקהייט און משונעת קוקט איהר גליק אין פנים, וועלכע אונצעהלינע קלייניע קינדער וועלכע צודיבען אויף נאלדשמויב, ווי קאן די וועלבסט־און ראספן־בעוואוסטע פרוי וועלכע א מומער? די מאדאל קאן ניט ערנסטפערן אויף דיעזער פראנע. זי קאן בלויז בעפעהלען, צווינגען אדער פערדאמען — און וויפיעל פרויען זענען נעגונג שטארק אויסצוהאלטען דיעזע פערדאמונג, צו פעראכטען דיעזע מאדאלישע פארשריפטען? ליידער, וועניג. דערביבער פילען זיי אן די פאבריקען, די אויסבעסערונגס־חייזער, די נאדען־הייזער, די נענניסען, די משוגעים־חייזער, אדער זיי שטארבען זובענדיג צו פעהיטען א נעבורט. אה, מוטערשאפט, וואס פאר א פעהבדעבענס וועלכע בענאנגען אין דיין נאמען! וואס פאר א שוועלע קרבנות עס וועלכע נעליינט צו דיינע פים, מאדאל, רו צושטערערין פון לעבען!

נליקליבערוויין וואנט שוין אן צו מאנגן איבער רעם פינסטערן כאוס. די פרוי וואכט אויף, זי נואדפט פון זיך אראב רעם בייזן חלום פון מאדאל; זי ווייל מעהר ניט זיין נעבונדען. ליעבענדיג רעם נאר, טראכט זי ניט וועגען דעם אינהאלט פון זיין נעלד־בייטעל, נאר

וועגען דער רייכקייט פון זיין נאטור, וועלבע איז רער פאנטאן פון לע־בען און פרייר. און אויך דארף זי ניט די פאנקציאנירונג פון דעם שטאט: איהר ליעבע איז נענוג הייליגקייט פאר איהר. און אזוי קאן זי זיך איבערנעבען צו איהר אויסנעוועלטען מאן, פונקט ווי די בלר־מען ניבען זיך איבער צום מהוי און צום ליכט, אין פרייהייט, שעהנ־קייט און ענטציקונג.

א דאנק איהר ניי־נעבארען וועלבסט בעוואוסטזיין אלס אן איך, א פערזענליכקייט, א ראסען בויעריז, וועט זי ווערען א מוטער נאר דאן ווען זי אליין וועט ווינשען א קינר, און ווען זי וועט קאנען נעבען דעם קינר, אפילו איידער זיין נעבורט, אלעס וואס איהר נאטור און שבל קאן בעשאפען: הארמאניע, נעזונדהייט, בעקוועמליבקייט, שעהנקייט און, מעהר פון אלץ, פערשטענדנים, בעניסטערונג און ליעבע, וועלבעס איז די אייניצינע פרוכטבארע ערד פאר א ניי לעבען, א ניי וועזען.

די מאדאל שרעקט ניט אב א פרוי וועלכע האט זיך דערהויבען איבער רעם בענרעף פון נוט און שלעבט. און הנם די מאדאל קאן זיך וויטער אננעהן און פערשלונגען נייע קרבנות, איז זי אבער קראפט־לאז אנטקעגען דעם נייעם נייסט וועלבער לייכט אין זיין פולער חע־ליבקייט אויף דעם שטערן פון דעם בעפרייטען און אונטערשראקענעם מאן און פרוי.

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די פילאָזאָפיע פון אַטהעאיזם.

דער אלנעמיינער בעגריף פון גאָט, איבערנאַטירליבע קראפט, ייסט, נאַטהייט, אדער אירגענד אן אנדערע בעצייכנונג דורך וועלכער דער תמצות פון טהעאיזם, דעד גלויבען אין גאָט, האָט זיך אויסגעדיקט, איז נעווארען טיט דעם לויף פון דער צייט און דעם פראָגרעס, אלץ אונבעשטימטער און אונקלארער. די גאָט־אידעע ווערט זעלטן וויטער אויף אזוי פיעל טעהר פארפערמרט און פערוואלקענט, זעלטן מעהר דער מענשליבער טוח לערענט זיך אויס צו פערשטעהען די נאטור ערשיינונגען און אויף וויפיעל די וויסענשאפט קומט שטופענווייז אין פערבינדונג טיט די מענשליכע און סאציאלע פראבלעמען. גאָט פיהרט היינט מעהר ניט דעם מענשליבען מזל טיט דערוועלבינער אייזענער האנד ווי פארצייטענס. ניבער איז היינט די גאָט־אידעע א מין ספירימואליסטישער סטיטולאנט טיט וועלכן צו בעפריערינען די קאפריזען אין פאנטאזיעס פון דער מענשליבער שוואכקייט און אלץ איהרע שאטירונגען. בעת דער מענשליכער ענטוויקלונג, האָט זיך די גאָט־אידעע נעמוזט צופאסען צו יערער פאזע פון די מענשליכע אינטערעסען, א פאקט, וועלבער איז פולשטענדיג אין אינקלאנג טיט דעם אורשפרונג פון דעד אירעע אליין.

דער פרימיטיוער מענש, ניט מסוגל צו פערשטעהען די נאטורערשיינונגען און ווערערינ פון זיי נעפאלגענט, האָט נעזוהען אין יעדער ענטפלעקונג א בייזע קראפט בעשטימט פאר איהם; און אזוי ווי די אונווייסענהייט און מורא זענען אימער די עלטערען פון אלע אכערגלויבענס, האָט די נעמאכטערטע פאנטאזיע פון דעם פרימיטיוועז מענש זיך אויסנעוועבט די גאָט אידעע.

די גאָט אידעע האָט אויפנעלעבט, זיך צונעפאסט, און זיך פער־

נרעסערט אדער פערקלענערט, וועדלינ די נויטען פון דער צייט, האָט בעהערשט די מענשהייט און וועט וויטער זי בעהערשען ביז וואנען דער מענש וועט אויפהויבען זיין קאָפ צום ליבטינען טאָג, אונדערשרא־קען און מיט אן אויפגעוועקטען ווילען. שוין וויזען זיך סמנים דאָס דער טהאיזם, וועלבער איז די טעאריע פון ספעקולאציע, ווערט פער־נוטען פון דעם אטהעאיזם, די דעמאָנסטראטיוע ווייסענשאפט. עס איז די ערד, ניט דעם הימעל, וואָס דער מענש מוז איינגעהטען אויב עד ווייל באמת ווערען נעדאטעוועט.

דאָס שטופענווייזע אבשוואכען פון דעם נלויבען איז א זעהד אינטעדעסאנטע עדשיינונג, בעזונדערס ווי דיעזער פאקט שפיענעלט זיך אָב אין דער מודא פון די נלויבינער, וועלבער עס זאָל ניט זיין זייער בעזונדערער נלויבען. זיי בעגרייפען, צו זייער נדויסען שרעק, דאָס די פעלקער ווערען וואָס א טאָג אלץ מעהר אטהעאיסטיש, אלץ מעהר אנטי־רעליניעז, טהמת מעהר און מעהר בעשעפטינען זיך די פעלקער דורכאויס נור טיט די פראבלעמען פון זייער פאקטישער עקזיסטענץ.

ווי אזוי די מאסען צוריקצוברענגען צום נלויבען, צום נייסט, צו דער סבה בל הסבות, א. אז. ו. — דיעזעס איז די אטברענענדינסטע פראגע פון אלע טהעאיסטען. דעריבער זענען די מעהרסטע פון זיי נעצוואונגען זיך צו פאדנעהמען טיט יעדער פראגע, אפילו ווען זי האָט קיין שיכות ניט צום ענין פון א נאָטהייט, דער ענטפלעקונג אדער א יענער וועלט. דעריבער זייער מאלעראנץ; אבער די טאלעראנץ קומט ניט פון פעדשטעהען, נאר פון שוואכקייט. מעהר און מעהר ווערען די אלערלייי תורות „פון דעם איינצינען אמת'ן נאָט, דעם איינצינען ריי־נעם נייסט, די איינצינע אמת'ע רעליניאן" נערולדיג איבערנעטייטשט און אירדנע'פשט'עלט, כדי טיט נעוואלד צו בעשאפען א נעטיינזאטען באדען און צו ראטעווען די מאדערנע מאָסען פון דעם „שעדליכען" איינפלוס פון אטהעאיזם.

עס איז כאראקטעריסטיש פון דער טהעאיסטישער „טאלעראנץ" דאָס באמת קיטערט זיך קיינער ניט אין וואָס דער עולם נלויבט, בל זמן ער נלויבט אדער טיינט אז ער נלויבט. בדי צו ערייכען דיעזען צוועק, וועדען בענוצט די נעטיינסטע און וואולנארסטע טעטאדען.

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און די ווילדסטע אנשטרענגונגען זענען נושא חן ביי און וועלכע אוכ־
טערשטיצט פון די ערדישע מאכטהאבערס: דעם רוסישען צאר ביז צום
פרעזידענט פון אמעריקא, פון ראקעפעלער און וואנאמייקער ארצ
ביז צום קלענסטען נעשעפטס־מאן. ווי ווייסען אז דאס קאפיטאל וואס
מען לענט אריין אין בילי סאנרעי, און אין די אלערליי אנדערע רעלי־
גיעוע אינסטיטוציעס, וועט ברענגען א נעוואלדיגען פראפיט פון די
איבערוועלטיגטע, נעצוימטע און נארישע מאסען. בעוואוסט אדער
אונבעוואוסט ועהען די מעהדסטע מהאיסטען אין דעם גלויבען אין
נעמעד און שרים, נע עדן אוֹן ניהנום, שבר ועונש, א בייטש מיט דער
הילף פון וועלבער מען צווינגט די מאסען צו ויין נעהארבזאם, קליין
ביי זיך און צופריערעדן. אין דער אמת'ן וואלט דער גלויבען אין נע־
טער שוין לאנג פערלוירען דעם באדען. וועו ניט די פעראייניגטע אוכ־
טערשטיצונג פון מאמאן און די מאבטהאבער.

האבען דען ניט אלע גלויבינער נעשילדערט זייער נאט אלס א
נאט פון ליעבע און גוטסקייט? און דאך נאך טויזענדער יאהרען
פון די דאוינע רשות זענען די נעטער נאך אלץ טויב צו די קרעבצען
פון דער מענשליבער ראסע. קאנפוציוס איז קאלט צו דער אדימקייט
און הונגער פון דעם בינעזישען פאלק; בודהא וועלט ניט נעריהדט
אין זיין פילאזאפישער גלייכגילמינקייט פון דעם הונגער און אונגליקען
פון די פערנוואלדינגט הינדוער; יהוה איז טויב צום ביטערען געוויין
פון זיין פאלק ישראל בעת יעזום ;ויל ניט אויפשטעהן תחית המתים
נענען וויינע קרימטען וועלכע מעדערען זיך איינם דאס אנדערע. או
נאט איז אן אל מלא רחמים, אן אל נקמות און א נאט פון נערעב־
טינקייט זינגען און לויבען אלע שירים ושבחים. אבער וואו וענעד ה־
עטער צו מאבען א סוף צו אלע ריעזע שוידעדליבקייטען, צו ריעזע
וונגערעבטינקייטען, צו ריעזער אונמענשליבקייט צו מענשען? ניין,
ית די נעטער, נור דער מ ע נ ש מון אויפשטעהן אין ויין נערעב־
ען צארן, נור ער אליין מוז ברענגען נערעבטינקייט אויף ריעזער
ערד.

די פילאזאפיע פון אטהעאיזם איז דער אויסרוף פון דער ענט־
וויקלונג און דאס וואקסען פון דעם מענשליבען נעדאנק. די פילא־
זאפיע פון אטהעאיזם, פון גלויבען, אויב טיר קאנען זי רופען פילא־

נאפיע, איז אין א צושטאנד פון רוה און פערנליווערטקייט. דער בלוי־
זער וויללען דורבצודרינגען ריעזע נעהיימניסען, בעוויזט, פון טהע־
איסטישען שטאנדפונקט, א ניט־צוטרוי אין דער אלעס־ארומנעהמע־
דער אלמעבטינקייט, און אפילו א פערליקענונג פון דער נעטליבער
חבמה. אבער צום גליק איז דער מענשליבער נעראנק קיינמאל ניט
נעווען, און וועט קיינמאל ניט ויין, נעבונדען פון פיקסע אידעען, ר־
ריבער נראבט ער זיך וויייטער און וויייטער אין ויין בסרר'דינגען נאנג
צום וויסען. דער מענשליבער מוז בענרייפט אז „דער אוניווערזום
איז ניט א רעזולטאט פון א בשאפונגם־רוף פון עפעס א נעטליבער
חבמה, נעקומען פון נאדניט, בעשאפענדיג פון א באאטישער, פארם־
לאזער מאסע א מיימטערווערק אין ויין פולער פאלקאמענהייט", נור
אן עס איז דאס פראדוקט פון באאטישע כחות אין וייער אייבינער
בעוועגונג, פון צוואמענשטיימונגען און קאמאמטראפען, פון צודיק־
שבויבונגען אין צוציהונגען, קרימסאליזירענדיג זיך דורך דעם פרינ־
ציפ פון צופאסונג צו דעם צושמאנר וואס די מהעאיסטען דופן „דער
אוניווערזום בעשאפען אין אדרנונג און שהנקייט".

די פילאזאפיע פון אטהעאיזם שטעלט מיט זיך פאר א בענריף
פון דעם לעבען, אהן וועלבער ניט איז מעטאפיזישער יענער־וועלט
ארער נעטליבער פיהדונג. דער אמהעאיזם, אין ויין פילאזאפישען אנ־
בליק בערוואדפט יערע פערבינדונג ניט בלויז צו א בעשטימטען בענדיף
פון א נאט, נור ז זאנט זיך אב אפילו אויפצונהמען די בלויזע נאט
אידעע, און בעקעמפט דעם טהעאיסטישען פרינציפ אלס אועלבען.
די נעבער אין זייער אינדיווידועלער פונקציע זענען א העלפט ניט אזוי
שערליף ווי דער פרינציפ פון טהעאיזם וועלבער שטעלט מיט זיך
פאר דעם גלויבען און אן איבערנאטירליבער, און אפילו אן אלמעב־
טינער, קראפט וועלבע רענירט די ערד און די מענשען אויף איהר. עס
איז ויין אבסאלוטיזם, ויין פאדאליזירענדינע ווידקונג אויף רעם
מענשליבען נעדאנק און האנדלונג. וואס דער אטהעאיזם בעקעמפט מיט
אלע זיינע בחות. די פילאזאפיע פון אמהעאיזם האט איהרע וואראלען
אין רער ערר, אין ריעזען לעבען. די מענשהייט איז שוין שוועד און
ביטער בעשטראפט נעוואדען פאר בעשאפען זיך נעטער; נור וועהמא־
נען און פערפאלגונגען איז נעווען אויבר מזל זינט דעם אנפאנג פון איה־

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Victims of morality and the philosophy of atheism. In Yiddish] Upfer fun Morale un die Filozophia fun Oteizm / Emma Goldman.— New York : Max Jankovitz, [between 1916 and 1940].— 18 p. ; 22 × 28 cm.

Obtained from the American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, MA.

רע נעטער. בלויז איין אויסוועג איז פאראן: דער מענש טוו צוברע־
כען זיינע נעטליכע קייטען מיט וועלכע ער האט זיך צונעשטידט צו די
טויערן פון נן ערן און ניהנום. בדי ער זאל קאנען אנהויבען טראכ־
טען מיט זיין אויפנעוועקטען און ליבטינען שבל וועגען א נייער וועלט
אויף דער ערד.

תמיד האבען די נאטלאזע, די אטהעאיסטען נעוואוסט, אז נערעכ־
טינקייט, אמת, און עהרליבקייט האבען קיין שום שיבות ניט צו די
הימלען, אז זיי זענען צונעקניפט און צונויפנעוועבט מיט די טעכטי־
גע ענרערוננגען וואס קומען פאר אין דעם סאציאלען און מאטעריעלען
לעבען פון רער מענשליבער ראסע; ניט פערנליווידט און אין אין אויי־
ביג רוהינען צושטאנר, נור שטענדיג און בסרר זיך בעווענענדיג, זיך
בייטענדיג, פונקט ווי דאס לעבען אליין. רער אטהעאיזם, בעת ער
פערלייקענט די נעטער, איז אין דערזעלבינער צייט די מעבטינסטע
בעשטעטינונג און אויפהויבונג פון דעם מענש, און דורך איהם, דער
אייגינער בעוויזן פון לעבען, זיין צוועק און שעהנקייט.

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* * * *

The open-minded reader who devotes an hour or two to a perusal of "Anarchism and Other Essays," by Emma Goldman, will put down the book with a new respect for the author and perhaps also with some measure of respect for certain of her doctrines.—Baltimore Sun.

* * * *

Few people in this country outside democratic politics would recognize the name of Emma Goldman, or be able to give an application if it were mentioned to them. Yet for good or ill, Emma Goldman is likely to influence the future of the United States a great deal more than noisy Mr. Roosevelt or stout Mr. Taft. . . . For twenty years she has been the prophetess of revolt throughout the United States.—London (Eng.) Chronicle.

* * * *

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* * * *

The volume contains an interesting biographical sketch by Hippolyte Havel, which throws new light on the character of this remarkable woman. It is a book well worth reading from start to finish, if only to change the ideas which the majority of people have on the subject.—San Francisco Call.

MARRIAGE AND LOVE

THE popular notion about marriage and love is that they are synonymous, that they spring from the same motives, and cover the same human needs. Like most popular notions this also rests not on actual facts, but on superstition.

Marriage and love have nothing in common; they are as far apart as the poles; are, in fact, antagonistic to each other. No doubt some marriages have been the result of love. Not, however, because love could assert itself only in marriage; much rather is it because few people can completely outgrow a convention. There are to-day large numbers of men and women to whom marriage is naught but a farce, but who submit to it for the sake of public opinion. At any rate, while it is true that some marriages are based on love, and while it is equally true that in some cases love continues in married life, I maintain that it does so regardless of marriage, and not because of it.

On the other hand, it is utterly false that love results from marriage. On rare occasions one does hear of a miraculous case of a married couple falling in love after marriage, but on close examination it

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will be found that it is a mere adjustment to the inevitable. Certainly the growing-used to each other is far away from the spontaneity, the intensity, and beauty of love, without which the intimacy of marriage must prove degrading to both the woman and the man.

Marriage is primarily an economic arrangement, an insurance pact. It differs from the ordinary life insurance agreement only in that it is more binding, more exacting. Its returns are insignificantly small compared with the investments. In taking out an insurance policy one pays for it in dollars and cents, always at liberty to discontinue payments. If, however, woman's premium is a husband, she pays for it with her name, her privacy, her self-respect, her very life, "until death doth part." Moreover, the marriage insurance condemns her to life-long dependency, to parasitism, to complete uselessness, individual as well as social. Man, too, pays his toll, but as his sphere is wider, marriage does not limit him as much as woman. He feels his chains more in an economic sense.

Thus Dante's motto over Inferno applies with equal force to marriage: "Ye who enter here leave all hope behind."

That marriage is a failure none but the very stupid will deny. One has but to glance over the statistics of divorce to realize how bitter a failure marriage really is. Nor will the stereotyped Philistine argument that the laxity of divorce laws and the growing looseness of woman account for the fact that: first, every twelfth marriage ends in divorce; second, that since 1870 divorces have increased from 28 to 73 for every hundred thousand population; third, that adultery, since 1867, as ground for divorce, has increased 270.8 per cent.; fourth, that desertion increased 369.8 per cent.

Added to these startling figures is a vast amount of material, dramatic and literary, further elucidating this subject. Robert Herrick, in *Together;* Pinero, in *Mid-Channel;* Eugene Walter, in *Paid in Full,* and scores of other writers are discussing the barrenness, the monotony, the sordidness, the inadequacy of marriage as a factor for harmony and understanding.

The thoughtful social student will not content himself with the popular superficial excuse for this phenomenon. He will have to dig down deeper into the very life of the sexes to know why marriage proves so disastrous.

Edward Carpenter says that behind every marriage stands the life-long environment of the two sexes; an environment so different from each other that man and woman must remain strangers. Separated by an insurmountable wall of superstition, custom, and habit, marriage has not the potentiality of developing knowledge of, and respect for, each other, without which every union is doomed to failure.

Henrik Ibsen, the hater of all social shams, was probably the first to realize this great truth. Nora leaves her husband, not—as the stupid critic would have it—because she is tired of her responsibilities or feels the need of woman's rights, but because she has come to know that for eight years she had lived with a stranger and borne him children. Can there be anything more humiliating, more degrading than a life-

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long proximity between two strangers? No need for the woman to know anything of the man, save his income. As to the knowledge of the woman—what is there to know except that she has a pleasing appearance? We have not yet outgrown the theologic myth that woman has no soul, that she is a mere appendix to man, made out of his rib just for the convenience of the gentleman who was so strong that he was afraid of his own shadow.

Perchance the poor quality of the material whence woman comes is responsible for her inferiority. At any rate, woman has no soul—what is there to know about her? Besides, the less soul a woman has the greater her asset as a wife, the more readily will she absorb herself in her husband. It is this slavish acquiescence to man's superiority that has kept the marriage institution seemingly intact for so long a period. Now that woman is coming into her own, now that she is actually growing aware of herself as a being outside of the master's grace, the sacred institution of marriage is gradually being undermined, and no amount of sentimental lamentation can stay it.

From infancy, almost, the average girl is told that marriage is her ultimate goal; therefore her training and education must be directed towards that end. Like the mute beast fattened for slaughter, she is prepared for that. Yet, strange to say, she is allowed to know much less about her function as wife and mother than the ordinary artisan of his trade. It is indecent and filthy for a respectable girl to know anything of the marital relation. Oh, for the inconsistency of respectability, that needs the marriage vow to turn something which is filthy into the purest and most sacred arrangement that none dare question or criticize. Yet that is exactly the attitude of the average upholder of marriage. The prospective wife and mother is kept in complete ignorance of her only asset in the competitive field—sex. Thus she enters into life-long relations with a man only to find herself shocked, repelled, outraged beyond measure by the most natural and healthy instinct, sex. It is safe to say that a large percentage of the unhappiness, misery, distress, and physical suffering of matrimony is due to the criminal ignorance in sex matters that is being extolled as a great virtue. Nor is it at all an exaggeration when I say that more than one home has been broken up because of this deplorable fact.

If, however, woman is free and big enough to learn the mystery of sex without the sanction of State or Church, she will stand condemned as utterly unfit to become the wife of a "good" man, his goodness consisting of an empty head and plenty of money. Can there be anything more outrageous than the idea that a healthy, grown woman, full of life and passion, must deny nature's demand, must subdue her most intense craving, undermine her health and break her spirit, must stunt her vision, abstain from the depth and glory of sex experience until a "good" man comes along to take her unto himself as a wife? That is precisely what marriage means. How can such an arrangement end except in failure? This is one, though not the least important, factor of marriage, which differentiates it from love.

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Ours is a practical age. The time when Romeo and Juliet risked the wrath of their fathers for love, when Gretchen exposed herself to the gossip of her neighbors for love, is no more. If, on rare occasions, young pople allow themselves the luxury of romance, they are taken in care by the elders, drilled and pounded until they become "sensible."

The moral lesson instilled in the girl is not whether the man has aroused her love, but rather is it, "How much?" The important and only God of practical American life: Can the man make a living? Can he support a wife? That is the only thing that justifies marriage. Gradually this saturates every thought of the girl; her dreams are not of moonlight and kisses, of laughter and tears; she dreams of shopping tours and bargain counters. This soul-poverty and sordidness are the elements inherent in the marriage institution. The State and the Church approve of no other ideal, simply because it is the one that necessitates the State and Church control of men and women.

Doubtless there are people who continue to consider love above dollars and cents. Particularly is this true of that class whom economic necessity has forced to become self-supporting. The tremendous change in woman's position, wrought by that mighty factor, is indeed phenomenal when we reflect that it is but a short time since she has entered the industrial arena. Six million women wage-earners; six million women, who have the equal right with men to be exploited, to be robbed, to go on strike; aye, to starve even. Anything more, my lord? Yes, six million wage-workers in every walk of life, from the highest brain work to the most difficult menial labor in the mines and on the railroad tracks; yes, even detectives and policemen. Surely the emancipation is complete.

Yet with all that, but a very small number of the vast army of women wage-workers look upon work as a permanent issue, in the same light as does man. No matter how decrepit the latter, he has been taught to be independent, self-supporting. Oh, I know that no one is really independent in our economic treadmill; still, the poorest specimen of a man hates to be a parasite; to be known as such, at any rate.

The woman considers her position as worker transitory, to be thrown aside for the first bidder. That is why it is infinitely harder to organize women than men. "Why should I join a union? I am going to get married, to have a home." Has she not been taught from infancy to look upon that as her ultimate calling? She learns soon enough that the home, though not so large a prison as the factory, has more solid doors and bars. It has a keeper so faithful that naught can escape him. The most tragic part, however, is that the home no longer frees her from wage-slavery; it only increases her task.

According to the latest statistics submitted before a Committee "on labor and wages, and congestion of population," ten per cent. of the wage workers in New York City alone are married, yet they must continue to work at the most poorly paid labor in the world. Add to this horrible aspect the drudgery of housework, and what remains of the protection and glory of the home? As a matter of fact, even the middle-class girl in marriage can not speak of her home, since

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it is the man who creates her sphere. It is not important whether the husband is a brute or a darling. What I wish to prove is that marriage guarantees woman a home only by the grace of her husband. There she moves about in *his* home, year after year, until her aspect of life and human affairs becomes as flat, narrow, and drab as her surroundings. Small wonder if she becomes a nag, petty, quarrelsome, gossipy, unbearable, thus driving the man from the house. She could not go, if she wanted to; there is no place to go. Besides, a short period of married life, of complete surrender of all faculties, absolutely incapacitates the average woman for the outside world. She becomes reckless in appearance, clumsy in her movements, dependent in her decisions, cowardly in her judgment, a weight and a bore, which most men grow to hate and despise. Wonderfully inspiring atmosphere for the bearing of life, is it not?

But the child, how is it to be protected, if not for marriage? After all, is not that the most important consideration? The sham, the hypocrisy of it! Marriage protecting the child, yet thousands of children destitute and homeless. Marriage protecting the child, yet orphan asylums and reformatories overcrowded, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children keeping busy in rescuing the little victims from "loving" parents, to place them under more loving care, the Gerry Society. Oh, the mockery of it!

Marriage may have the power to "bring the horse to water," but has it ever made him drink? The law will place the father under arrest, and put him in convict's clothes; but has that ever stilled the hunger of the child? If the parent has no work, or if he hides his identity, what does marriage do then? It invokes the law to bring the man to "justice," to put him safely behind closed doors; his labor, however, goes not to the child, but to the State. The child receives but a blighted memory of its father's stripes.

As to the protection of the woman,—therein lies the curse of marriage. Not that it really protects her, but the very idea is so revolting, such an outrage and insult on life, so degrading to human dignity, as to forever condemn this parasitic institution.

It is like that other paternal arrangement—capitalism. It robs man of his birthright, stunts his growth, poisons his body, keeps him in ignorance, in poverty and dependence, and then institutes charities that thrive on the last vestige of man's self-respect.

The institution of marriage makes a parasite of woman, an absolute dependent. It incapacitates her for life's struggle, annihilates her social consciousness, paralyzes her imagination, and then imposes its gracious protection, which is in reality a snare, a travesty on human character.

If motherhood is the highest fulfillment of woman's nature, what other protection does it need save love and freedom? Marriage but defiles, outrages, and corrupts her fulfillment. Does it not say to woman, Only when you follow me shall you bring forth life? Does it not condemn her to the block, does it not degrade and shame her if she refuses to buy her right to motherhood by selling herself? Does not marriage only sanction motherhood, even though

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conceived in hatred, in compulsion? Yet, if motherhood be of free choice, of love, of ecstasy, of defiant passion, does it not place a crown of thorns upon an innocent head and carve in letters of blood the hideous epithet, Bastard? Were marriage to contain all the virtues claimed for it, its crimes against motherhood would exclude it forever from the realm of love.

Love, the strongest and deepest element in all life, the harbinger of hope, of joy, of ecstasy; love, the defier of all laws, of all conventions; love, the freest, the most powerful moulder of human destiny; how can such an all-compelling force be synonymous with that poor little State and Church-begotten weed, marriage?

Free love? As if love is anything but free! Man has bought brains, but all the millions in the world have failed to buy love. Man has subdued bodies, but all the power on earth has been unable to subdue love. Man has conquered whole nations, but all his armies could not conquer love. Man has chained and fettered the spirit, but he has been utterly helpless before love. High on a throne, with all the splendor and pomp his gold can command, man is yet poor and desolate, if love passes him by. And if it stays, the poorest hovel is radiant with warmth, with life and color. Thus love has the magic power to make of a beggar a king. Yes, love is free; it can dwell in: no other atmosphere. In freedom it gives itself unreservedly, abundantly, completely. All the laws on the statutes, all the courts in the universe, cannot tear it from the soil, once love has taken root. If, however, the soil is sterile, how can marriage make it bear fruit? It is like the last desperate struggle of fleeting life against death.

Love needs no protection; it is its own protection. So long as love begets life no child is deserted, or hungry, or famished for the want of affection. I know this to be true. I know women who became mothers in freedom by the men they loved. Few children in wedlock enjoy the care, the protection, the devotion free motherhood is capable of bestowing.

The defenders of authority dread the advent of a free motherhood, lest it will rob them of their prey. Who would fight wars? Who would create wealth? Who would make the policeman, the jailer, if woman were to refuse the indiscriminate breeding of children? The race, the race! shouts the king, the president, the capitalist, the priest. The race must be preserved, though woman be degraded to a mere machine, —and the marriage institution is our only safety valve against the pernicious sex-awakening of woman. But in vain these frantic efforts to maintain a state of bondage. In vain, too, the edicts of the Church, the mad attacks of rulers, in vain even the arm of the law. Woman no longer wants to be a party to the production of a race of sickly, feeble, decrepit, wretched human beings, who have neither the strength nor moral courage to throw off the yoke of poverty and slavery. Instead she desires fewer and better children, begotten and reared in love and through free choice; not by compulsion, as marriage imposes. Our pseudo-moralists have yet to learn the deep sense of responsibility toward the child, that love in freedom has awakened in the breast of woman. Rather would

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she forego forever the glory of motherhood than bring forth life in an atmosphere that breathes only destruction and death. And if she does become a mother, it is to give to the child the deepest and best her being can yield. To grow with the child is her motto; she knows that in that manner alone can she help build true manhood and womanhood.

Ibsen must have had a vision of a free mother, when, with a master stroke, he portrayed Mrs. Alving. She was the ideal mother because she had outgrown marriage and all its horrors, because she had broken her chains, and set her spirit free to soar until it returned a personality, regenerated and strong. Alas, it was too late to rescue her life's joy, her Oswald; but not too late to realize that love in freedom is the only condition of a beautiful life. Those who, like Mrs. Alving, have paid with blood and tears for their spiritual awakening, repudiate marriage as an imposition, a shallow, empty mockery. They know, whether love last but one brief span of time or for eternity, it is the only creative, inspiring, elevating basis for a new race, a new world.

In our present pygmy state love is indeed a stranger to most people. Misunderstood and shunned, it rarely takes root; or if it does, it soon withers and dies. Its delicate fiber can not endure the stress and strain of the daily grind. Its soul is too complex to adjust itself to the slimy woof of our social fabric. It weeps and moans and suffers with those who have need of it, yet lack the capacity to rise to love's summit.

Some day, some day men and women will rise, they will reach the mountain peak, they will meet big and strong and free, ready to receive, to partake, and to bask in the golden rays of love. What fancy, what imagination, what poetic genius can foresee even approximately the potentialities of such a force in the life of men and women. If the world is ever to give birth to true companionship and oneness, not marriage, but love will be the parent.

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The Philosophy of Atheism / [Emma Goldman]. – [1916, draft]. – 6 p. ; 40 × 24 cm.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF ATHEISM

To give an adequate expoeition of the Philosophy of Atheism, it would be necessary to go into the historical changes of the belief in a Deity from its earliest beginning to the present day. However, it is not out of place to mention, in passing, that the concept God, Supernatural Power, Spirit, Deity, or in whatever other term the essence of Theism may have found expression, has become more indefinite and obscure in the course of time and progress. In other words, the God idea is growing more impersonal and nebulous in proportion as the human mind is learning to understand natural phenomena and in the degree that science progressively correlates human and social events.

God, today, no longer represents the same forces as in the beginning of His existance; neither does He direct human destiny with the same iron hand as of yore. Rather does the God idea express a sort of spiritualistic stimulus to satisfy the fads and fancies of every shade of human weakness. In the course of human development the God idea has been forced to adapt itself to every phase of human affairs, which is perfectly consistent with the origin of the idea itself.

The conception of gods originated in fear and curiosity. Primitive man, unable to understand the phenomena of nature and harassed by them, saw in every terrifying manifestation some sinister force expressly directed against him; and as ignorance and fear are the parents of all superstition, the troubled fancy of primitive man wove the God idea.

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Very aptly, the world-renowned atheist and anarchist, Michael Bakunin, says in his great work God and the State": All religions, with their gods, their demigods and their prophets, their messiahs and their saints, were created by the prejudiced fancy of men who had not attained the full development and full possession of their faculties. Consequently, the religious heaven is nothing but the mirage in which man, exalted by ignorance and faith, discovered his own image, but enlarged and reversed - the

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is divinised. The history of religions, of the birth, grandeur and the decline of the gods, who had succeeded, one another in human belief, is nothing, therefore but the development of the collective intelligence and conscience of mankind. As fast as they discovered in the course of their historically-progressive advance, either in themselves or in external nature, a quality or even any great defect whatever, they attributed them to their gods, after having exaggerated and enlarged them beyond measure, after the manner of children, by an act of their religious fancy. With all due respect then to the metaphysicians and religious idealists, philosophers, politicians or poets; the idea of God implies the abdication of human reason and ajustice; it is the most decisive negation of human liberty and necessarily ends in the enslavement of mankind, both in theory and practice.

Thus the God idea revived, readjusted and enlarged or narrowed, according to the necessity of the time, has dominated humanity and will continue to do so until man will raise his head to the sunlit day, unafraid and with an awakened will to himself. In proportion as man learns to realize himself and mold his own destiny theism becomes superfluous. How far man will be able to find his relation to his fellows will depend entirely upon how much he can outgrow his dependence upon God.

Already there are indications that theism, which is the theory of speculation, is being replaced by Atheism, the science of demonstration; the one hangs in the metaphysical clouds of the Beyond, while the other has its roots firmly in the soil. It is the earth, not heaven, which man must rescue if he is truly to be saved.

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The decline of theism is a most interesting spectacle, especially as manifested in the anxiety of the theists, whatever their particular brand. They realize, much to their distress, that the masses are growing daily more atheistic, more anti-religious; that they are quire willing to leave the Great Beyond and its heavenly domain to the angels and sparrows; because more and more the masses are becoming engrossed in the problems of their immediate existence.

How to bring the masses back to the God idea, the spirit, the First Cause, etc., - that is the most pressing question to all theists. Metaphysical as all these questions seem to be, they yet have a very marked physical background. Inas much as religion, "Divine Truth," rewards and punishments are the trade-marks of the largest, the most corrupt and pernicious, the most powerful and luorative industry in the world, not excpeting the indurstry of manufacturing guns and munitions. It is the human heart. Necessity knows no law; hence the majority of theists are compelled to take up every subject, even if it has no bearing upon a deity or revelation or the Great Beyond. Perhaps they sense the fact that humanity is growing weary of the hundred and one brands of God.

How to raise this dead level of theistic beliefs is really a matter of life and death for all denominations. Therefore their tolerance; but it is a tolerance not of understanding, but of weakness. Perhaps that expalins the efforts fostered in all religious publications to combine variegated religious philosophies and conflicting theistic theories into one denominational trust. More and more the various concepts of the only true God, the only pure spirit, the only true religion" are tolerantly glossed over in the frantic effort to establish a common ground to rescue the modern mass from the "pernicious influence of atheistic ideas.

It is characteristic of theistic "tolerance" that no one really cares what the people believe in, just so they believe or pretend to believe. To accomplish this end, the crudest and vulgarest methods are being used. Religious endeavor meetings and revivals with Billy Sunday as their champion - methods which

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outrage every refined sense, and which in their effect upon the ignorant and curious often tend to create a mild state of insanity, and curious often tend to not front not infrequently coupled with eroto-mania. All these frantic efforts find approval and support from the earthly powers; from the Russian despot to the American President; from Rockefeller and Wannmaker down to the pettiest business man. They know that capital invested in Billy Sunday, the Y.M.C.A., Christian Science, and various other religious institutions will return enormous profits from the subdued, tamed and dull masses.

Consciously or unconsciously, most theists see in gods and devils, heaven and hell, reward and punishment, a whip to lash the people into obedience, meekness and contentment. The truth is that theism would have lost its footing long before this, but for the combined support of Mammon and power. How thoroughly banrkupt it really is, is being demonstrated in the trenches and battlefields of Europe today.

Have not alltheists painted their Deity as the god of love and goodness? Yet after thousands of years of such preachments the gods remain deaf to the agony of the human race. Confucius cares not for the poverty, squalor and misery of the people of China, Buddha remains undisturbed in his philosophical indifference to the famine and starvation of the outraged Hindoos; Jahve continues deaf to the bitter cry of Israel; while Jesus refuses to rise from the dead against his Christians who are butchering each other.

The burden of all song and praise, "unto the Highest" has been that God stands for justice and mercy. Yet injustice among men is ever on the increase; the outrages committed against the masses in this country alone would seem enough to overflow the very heavens. But where are the gods to make an end to all these horrors, these wrongs, this inhumanity to man?. No, not the gods, but Man must rise in his might wrath. He, deceived by all deities, betrayed by their emissaries, he, himself, must undertake to usher in justice upon the earth.

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The philosphy of Atheism expresses the expansion and growth of the human mind. The philosophy of theism, if we can call it philosophy, is static and fixed. Even the mere attempt to pierce these mysteries represents, from the theistic point of view, non-belief in the all embracing omnipotence, and even a denial of the wisdom of the divine powers outside of man. Fortunately, however, the human mind never was, and never can be, bound by fixities. Hence it is forging ahead in its restless march towards knowledge and life. The human mind is realizing "that the universe is not the result of a creative fiat by some divine intelligence, out of nothing, producing a masterpiece chaotic in perfect operation," but that it is the product of chaotic forces operating through aeons of time, of clashes and cataclysms, of repulsion and attraction crystalizing through the principle of selection into what the theists call "the universe guided into order and beauty". As Joseph McCabe well points out in his "Existence of God": "A law of nature is not a formula drawn up by a legislator, but a mere summary of the observed facts - a bundle of facts". Things do not act in a particular way because there is a law, but we state the "law" because they act in that way."

The philosophy of Atheism represents a concept of life without any metaphysical Beyond or Divine Regulator. It is the concept of an actual, real world with its liverating, expanding and beautifying possibilities, as against an unreal world, which, with its spirits, oracles, and mean contentment has kept humanity in helpless degradation.

It may seem a wild paradox, and yet it is pathetically true, that this real, visible world and our life should have been so long under the influence of metaphysical speculation, rather than of physical demonstrable forces. Under the lash of the theistic idea, this earth has served no other purpose than as a temporary station to test man's capacity for immolation to the will of God. But the moment man attempted to ascertain the nature of that will, he was told that it was utterly futile for "finite human intelligence" to get beyond the all-powerful infinite will. Under the terrific weight of this omnipotence, man has been bowed into

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the dust, a will-less creature, broken and swarting in the dark. The triumph of the philosophy of Atheism is to free man from the nightmare of gods; it means the dissolution of the phantoms of the beyond. Again and again the light of reason has dispelled the theistic nightmare, but poverty, misery and fear have recreated the phantoms - though whether old or new, whatever their external form, they differed little in their essence. Atheism, on the other hand, in its philosophic aspect refuses all servitude to the God idea, and opposes the theistic principle as such. Gods in their individual function are not half as pernicious as the principle of theism which represents the belief in a supernatural, or even omnipotent, power to rule the earth and man upon it. It is the absolutism of theism, its pernicous influence upon humanity, its paralyzing effect upon thought and action which Atheism is fighting with all its power.

The philosophy of Atheism has its root in the earth, in this life; its aim is the emancipation of the human race from all God-heads, be they Judaic, Christian, Mohammedan, Budhistic, Brahministic, or what not. Mankind has been punished long and heavily for having created its gods; nothing but pain and persecution have been man's lot since gods began. There is but one way out of this blunder; Man must break his fetters which have chained him to the gates of heaven and hell, so that he can begin to fashion out of his reawakened and illumined consciousness, a new world upon earth.

Only after the triumph of the Atheistic philosophy in the minds and hearts of man will freedom and beauty be realized. Beauty as a gift from heaven has proved useless. It will, however, become the essence and impetus of life when man learns to see in the earth the only heaven fit for man. Atheism is already helping to free man from his dependence upon punishment and reward as in the heavenly bargain-counter for the poor in spirit.

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ANARCHY.

Ever reviled, accursed, ne'er understood,
Thou art the grisly terror of our age.
"Wreck of all order," cry the multitude,
"Art thou, and war and murder's endless rage."
O, let them cry. To them that ne'er have striven
The truth that lies behind a word to find,
To them the word's right meaning was not given.
They shall continue blind among the blind.
But thou, O word, so clear, so strong, so pure,
Thou sayest all which I for goal have taken.
I give thee to the future! Thine secure
When each at least unto himself shall waken.
Comes it in sunshine? In the tempest's thrill?
I cannot tell—but it the earth shall see!
I am an Anarchist! Wherefore I will
Not rule, and also ruled I will not be!

JOHN HENRY MACKAY.

THE history of human growth and development is at the same time the history of the terrible struggle of every new idea heralding the approach of a brighter dawn. In its tenacious hold on tradition, the Old

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has never hesitated to make use of the foulest and cruelest means to stay the advent of the New, in whatever form or period the latter may have asserted itself. Nor need we retrace our steps into the distant past to realize the enormity of opposition, difficulties, and hardships placed in the path of every progressive idea. The rack, the thumbscrew, and the knout are still with us; so are the convict's garb and the social wrath, all conspiring against the spirit that is serenely marching on.

Anarchism could not hope to escape the fate of all other ideas of innovation. Indeed, as the most revolutionary and uncompromising innovator, Anarchism must needs meet with the combined ignorance and venom of the world it aims to reconstruct.

To deal even remotely with all that is being said and done against Anarchism would necessitate the writing of a whole volume. I shall therefore meet only two of the principal objections. In so doing, I shall attempt to elucidate what Anarchism really stands for.

The strange phenomenon of the opposition to Anarchism is that it brings to light the relation between so-called intelligence and ignorance. And yet this is not so very strange when we consider the relativity of all things. The ignorant mass has in its favor that it makes no pretense of knowledge or tolerance. Acting, as it always does, by mere impulse, its reasons are like those of a child. "Why?" "Because." Yet the opposition of the uneducated to Anarchism deserves the same consideration as that of the intelligent man.

What, then, are the objections? First, Anarchism is impractical, though a beautiful ideal. Second, Anarchism stands for violence and destruction, hence it must be repudiated as vile and dangerous. Both the intelligent man and the ignorant mass judge not from a thorough knowledge of the subject, but either from hearsay or false interpretation.

A practical scheme, says Oscar Wilde, is either one already in existence, or a scheme that could be carried out under the existing conditions; but it is exactly the existing conditions that one objects to, and any scheme that could accept these conditions is wrong and foolish. The true criterion of the practical, therefore, is not whether the latter can keep intact the wrong or foolish; rather is it whether the scheme has vitality enough to leave the stagnant waters of the old, and build, as well as sustain, new life. In the light of this conception, Anarchism is indeed practical. More than any other idea, it is helping to do away with the wrong and foolish; more than any other idea, it is building and sustaining new life.

The emotions of the ignorant man are continuously kept at a pitch by the most blood-curdling stories about Anarchism. Not a thing too outrageous to be employed against this philosophy and its exponents. Therefore Anarchism represents to the unthinking what the proverbial bad man does to the child,—a black monster bent on swallowing everything; in short, destruction and violence.

Destruction and violence! How is the ordinary man to know that the most violent element in society

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is ignorance; that its power of destruction is the very thing Anarchism is combating? Nor is he aware that Anarchism, whose roots, as it were, are part of nature's forces, destroys, not healthful tissue, but parasitic growths that feed on the life's essence of society. It is merely clearing the soil from weeds and sagebrush, that it may eventually bear healthy fruit.

Someone has said that it requires less mental effort to condemn than to think. The widespread mental indolence, so prevalent in society, proves this to be only too true. Rather than to go to the bottom of any given idea, to examine into its origin and meaning, most people will either condemn it altogether, or rely on some superficial or prejudicial definition of non-essentials.

Anarchism urges man to think, to investigate, to analyze every proposition; but that the brain capacity of the average reader be not taxed too much, I also shall begin with a definition, and then elaborate on the latter.

> ANARCHISM:—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

The new social order rests, of course, on the materialistic basis of life; but while all Anarchists agree that the main evil today is an economic one, they maintain that the solution of that evil can be brought about only through the consideration of *every phase* of life,—individual, as well as the collective; the internal, as well as the external phases.

A thorough perusal of the history of human development will disclose two elements in bitter conflict with each other; elements that are only now beginning to be understood, not as foreign to each other, but as closely related and truly harmonious, if only placed in proper environment: the individual and social instincts. The individual and society have waged a relentless and bloody battle for ages, each striving for supremacy, because each was blind to the value and importance of the other. The individual and social instincts,—the one a most potent factor for individual endeavor, for growth, aspiration, self-realization; the other an equally potent factor for mutual helpfulness and social well-being.

The explanation of the storm raging within the individual, and between him and his surroundings, is not far to seek. The primitive man, unable to understand his being, much less the unity of all life, felt himself absolutely dependent on blind, hidden forces ever ready to mock and taunt him. Out of that attitude grew the religious concepts of man as a mere speck of dust dependent on superior powers on high, who can only be appeased by complete surrender. All the early sagas rest on that idea, which continues to be the *Leitmotiv* of the biblical tales dealing with the relation of man to God, to the State, to society. Again and again the same motif, *man is nothing, the powers are everything.* Thus Jehovah would only endure man on condition of complete surrender. Man can have all the glories of the earth, but he must not become conscious of himself. The State, society, and moral laws all sing the same re-

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frain: Man can have all the glories of the earth, but he must not become conscious of himself.

Anarchism is the only philosophy which brings to man the consciousness of himself; which maintains that God, the State, and society are non-existent, that their promises are null and void, since they can be fulfilled only through man's subordination. Anarchism is therefore the teacher of the unity of life; not merely in nature, but in man. There is no conflict between the individual and the social instincts, any more than there is between the heart and the lungs: the one the receptacle of a precious life essence, the other the repository of the element that keeps the essence pure and strong. The individual is the heart of society, conserving the essence of social life; society is the lungs which are distributing the element to keep the life essence—that is, the individual—pure and strong.

"The one thing of value in the world," says Emerson, "is the active soul; this every man contains within him. The soul active sees absolute truth and utters truth and creates." In other words, the individual instinct is the thing of value in the world. It is the true soul that sees and creates the truth alive, out of which is to come a still greater truth, the re-born social soul.

Anarchism is the great liberator of man from the phantoms that have held him captive; it is the arbiter and pacifier of the two forces for individual and social harmony. To accomplish that unity, Anarchism has declared war on the pernicious influences which have so far prevented the harmonious blending of individual and social instincts, the individual and society.

Religion, the dominion of the human mind; Property, the dominion of human needs; and Government, the dominion of human conduct, represent the stronghold of man's enslavement and all the horrors it entails. Religion! How it dominates man's mind, how it humiliates and degrades his soul. God is everything, man is nothing, says religion. But out of that nothing God has created a kingdom so despotic, so tyrannical, so cruel, so terribly exacting that naught but gloom and tears and blood have ruled the world since gods began. Anarchism rouses man to rebellion against this black monster. Break your mental fetters, says Anarchism to man, for not until you think and judge for yourself will you get rid of the dominion of darkness, the greatest obstacle to all progress.

Property, the dominion of man's needs, the denial of the right to satisfy his needs. Time was when property claimed a divine right, when it came to man with the same refrain, even as religion, "Sacrifice! Abnegate! Submit!" The spirit of Anarchism has lifted man from his prostrate position. He now stands erect, with his face toward the light. He has learned to see the insatiable, devouring, devastating nature of property, and he is preparing to strike the monster dead.

"Property is robbery," said the great French Anarchist Proudhon. Yes, but without risk and danger to the robber. Monopolizing the accumulated efforts of man, property has robbed him of his birth-

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right, and has turned him loose a pauper and an outcast. Property has not even the time-worn excuse that man does not create enough to satisfy all needs. The A B C student of economics knows that the productivity of labor within the last few decades far exceeds normal demand. But what are normal demands to an abnormal institution? The only demand that property recognizes is its own gluttonous appetite for greater wealth, because wealth means power; the power to subdue, to crush, to exploit, the power to enslave, to outrage, to degrade. America is particularly boastful of her great power, her enormous national wealth. Poor America, of what avail is all her wealth, if the individuals comprising the nation are wretchedly poor? If they live in squalor, in filth, in crime, with hope and joy gone, a homeless, soilless army of human prey.

It is generally conceded that unless the returns of any business venture exceed the cost, bankruptcy is inevitable. But those engaged in the business of producing wealth have not yet learned even this simple lesson. Every year the cost of production in human life is growing larger (50,000 killed, 100,000 wounded in America last year); the returns to the masses, who help to create wealth, are ever getting smaller. Yet America continues to be blind to the inevitable bankruptcy of our business of production. Nor is this the only crime of the latter. Still more fatal is the crime of turning the producer into a mere particle of a machine, with less will and decision than his master of steel and iron. Man is being robbed not merely of the products of his labor, but of the power of free initiative, of originality, and the interest in, or desire for, the things he is making.

Real wealth consists in things of utility and beauty, in things that help to create strong, beautiful bodies and surroundings inspiring to live in. But if man is doomed to wind cotton around a spool, or dig coal, or build roads for thirty years of his life, there can be no talk of wealth. What he gives to the world is only gray and hideous things, reflecting a dull and hideous existence,—too weak to live, too cowardly to die. Strange to say, there are people who extol this deadening method of centralized production as the proudest achievement of our age. They fail utterly to realize that if we are to continue in machine subserviency, our slavery is more complete than was our bondage to the King. They do not want to know that centralization is not only the deathknell of liberty, but also of health and beauty, of art and science, all these being impossible in a clocklike, mechanical atmosphere.

Anarchism cannot but repudiate such a method of production: its goal is the freest possible expression of all the latent powers of the individual. Oscar Wilde defines a perfect personality as "one who develops under perfect conditions, who is not wounded, maimed, or in danger." A perfect personality, then, is only possible in a state of society where man is free to choose the mode of work, the conditions of work, and the freedom to work. One to whom the making of a table, the building of a house, or the tilling of the soil, is what the painting is to the artist and the discovery to the scientist,—the

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result of inspiration, of intense longing, and deep interest in work as a creative force. That being the ideal of Anarchism, its economic arrangements must consist of voluntary productive and distributive associations, gradually developing into free communism, as the best means of producing with the least waste of human energy. Anarchism, however, also recognizes the right of the individual, or numbers of individuals, to arrange at all times for other forms of work, in harmony with their tastes and desires.

Such free display of human energy being possible only under complete individual and social freedom, Anarchism directs its forces against the third and greatest foe of all social equality; namely, the State, organized authority, or statutory law,—the dominion of human conduct.

Just as religion has fettered the human mind, and as property, or the monopoly of things, has subdued and stifled man's needs, so has the State enslaved his spirit, dictating every phase of conduct. "All government in essence," says Emerson, "is tyranny." It matters not whether it is government by divine right or majority rule. In every instance its aim is the absolute subordination of the individual.

Referring to the American government, the greatest American Anarchist, David Thoreau, said:."Government, what is it but a tradition, though a recent one, endeavoring to transmit itself unimpaired to posterity, but each instance losing its integrity; it has not the vitality and force of a single living man. Law never made man a whit more just; and by means of their respect for it, even the well disposed are daily made agents of injustice."

Indeed, the keynote of government is injustice. With the arrogance and self-sufficiency of the King who could do no wrong, governments ordain, judge, condemn, and punish the most insignificant offenses, while maintaining themselves by the greatest of all offenses, the annihilation of individual liberty. Thus Ouida is right when she maintains that "the State only aims at instilling those qualities in its public by which its demands are obeyed, and its exchequer is filled. Its highest attainment is the reduction of mankind to clockwork. In its atmosphere all those finer and more delicate liberties, which require treatment and spacious expansion, inevitably dry up and perish. The State requires a taxpaying machine in which there is no hitch, an exchequer in which there is never a deficit, and a public, monotonous, obedient, colorless, spiritless, moving humbly like a flock of sheep along a straight high road between two walls."

Yet even a flock of sheep would resist the chicanery of the State, if it were not for the corruptive, tyrannical, and oppressive methods it employs to serve its purposes. Therefore Bakunin repudiates the State as synonymous with the surrender of the liberty of the individual or small minorities,—the destruction of social relationship, the curtailment, or complete denial even, of life itself, for its own aggrandizement. The State is the altar of political freedom and, like the religious altar, it is maintained for the purpose of human sacrifice.

In fact, there is hardly a modern thinker who

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does not agree that government, organized authority, or the State, is necessary *only* to maintain or protect property and monopoly. It has proven efficient in that function only.

Even George Bernard Shaw, who hopes for the miraculous from the State under Fabianism, nevertheless admits that "it is at present a huge machine for robbing and slave-driving of the poor by brute force." This being the case, it is hard to see why the clever prefacer wishes to uphold the State after poverty shall have ceased to exist.

Unfortunately there are still a number of people who continue in the fatal belief that government rests on natural laws, that it maintains social order and harmony, that it diminishes crime, and that it prevents the lazy man from fleecing his fellows. I shall therefore examine these contentions.

A natural law is that factor in man which asserts itself freely and spontaneously without any external force, in harmony with the requirements of nature. For instance, the demand for nutrition, for sex gratification, for light, air, and exercise, is a natural law. But its expression needs not the machinery of government, needs not the club, the gun, the handcuff, or the prison. To obey such laws, if we may call it obedience, requires only spontaneity and free opportunity. That governments do not maintain themselves through such harmonious factors is proven by the terrible array of violence, force, and coercion all governments use in order to live. Thus Blackstone is right when he says, "Human laws are invalid, because they are contrary to the laws of nature."

Unless it be the order of Warsaw after the slaughter of thousands of people, it is difficult to ascribe to governments any capacity for order or social harmony. Order derived through submission and maintained by terror is not much of a safe guaranty; yet that is the only "order" that governments have ever maintained. True social harmony grows naturally out of solidarity of interests. In a society where those who always work never have anything, while those who never work enjoy everything, solidarity of interests is non-existent; hence social harmony is but a myth. The only way organized authority meets this grave situation is by extending still greater privileges to those who have already monopolized the earth, and by still further enslaving the disinherited masses. Thus the entire arsenal of government—laws, police, soldiers, the courts, legislatures, prisons,—is strenuously engaged in "harmonizing" the most antagonistic elements in society.

The most absurd apology for authority and law is that they serve to diminish crime. Aside from the fact that the State is itself the greatest criminal, breaking every written and natural law, stealing in the form of taxes, killing in the form of war and capital punishment, it has come to an absolute standstill in coping with crime. It has failed utterly to destroy or even minimize the horrible scourge of its own creation.

Crime is naught but misdirected energy. So long as every institution of today, economic, political, social, and moral, conspires to misdirect human energy into wrong channels; so long as most people

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are out of place doing the things they hate to do, living a life they loathe to live, crime will be inevitable, and all the laws on the statutes can only increase, but never do away with, crime. What does society, as it exists today, know of the process of despair, the poverty, the horrors, the fearful struggle the human soul must pass on its way to crime and degradation. Who that knows this terrible process can fail to see the truth in these words of Peter Kropotkin:

"Those who will hold the balance between the benefits thus attributed to law and punishment and the degrading effect of the latter on humanity; those who will estimate the torrent of depravity poured abroad in human society by the informer, favored by the Judge even, and paid for in clinking cash by governments, under the pretext of aiding to unmask crime; those who will go within prison walls and there see what human beings become when deprived of liberty, when subjected to the care of brutal keepers, to coarse, cruel words, to a thousand stinging, piercing humiliations, will agree with us that the entire apparatus of prison and punishment is an abomination which ought to be brought to an end."

The deterrent influence of law on the lazy man is too absurd to merit consideration. If society were only relieved of the waste and expense of keeping a lazy class, and the equally great expense of the paraphernalia of protection this lazy class requires, the social tables would contain an abundance for all, including even the occasional lazy individual. Besides, it is well to consider that laziness results either from special privileges, or physical and mental abnormalities. Our present insane system of production fosters both, and the most astounding phenomenon is that people should want to work at all now. Anarchism aims to strip labor of its deadening, dulling aspect, of its gloom and compulsion. It aims to make work an instrument of joy, of strength, of color, of real harmony, so that the poorest sort of a man should find in work both recreation and hope.

To achieve such an arrangement of life, government, with its unjust, arbitrary, repressive measures, must be done away with. At best it has but imposed one single mode of life upon all, without regard to individual and social variations and needs. In destroying government and statutory laws, Anarchism proposes to rescue the self-respect and independence of the individual from all restraint and invasion by authority. Only in freedom can man grow to his full stature. Only in freedom will he learn to think and move, and give the very best in him. Only in freedom will he realize the true force of the social bonds which knit men together, and which are the true foundation of a normal social life.

But what about human nature? Can it be changed? And if not, will it endure under Anarchism?

Poor human nature, what horrible crimes have been committed in thy name! Every fool, from king to policeman, from the flatheaded par-

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son to the visionless dabbler in science, presumes to speak authoritatively of human nature. The greater the mental charlatan, the more definite his insistence on the wickedness and weaknesses of human nature. Yet, how can any one speak of it today, with every soul in a prison, with every heart fettered, wounded, and maimed?

John Burroughs has stated that experimental study of animals in captivity is absolutely useless. Their character, their habits, their appetites undergo a complete transformation when torn from their soil in field and forest. With human nature caged in a narrow space, whipped daily into submission, how can we speak of its potentialities?

Freedom, expansion, opportunity, and, above all, peace and repose, alone can teach us the real dominant factors of human nature and all its wonderful possibilities.

Anarchism, then, really stands for the liberation of the human mind from the dominion of religion; the liberation of the human body from the dominion of property; liberation from the shackles and restraint of government. Anarchism stands for a social order based on the free grouping of individuals for the purpose of producing real social wealth; an order that will guarantee to every human being free access to the earth and full enjoyment of the necessities of life, according to individual desires, tastes, and inclinations.

This is not a wild fancy or an aberration of the mind. It is the conclusion arrived at by hosts of intellectual men and women the world over; a conclusion resulting from the close and studious observation of the tendencies of modern society: individual liberty and economic equality, the twin forces for the birth of what is fine and true in man.

As to methods. Anarchism is not, as some may suppose, a theory of the future to be realized through divine inspiration. It is a living force in the affairs of our life, constantly creating new conditions. The methods of Anarchism therefore do not comprise an iron-clad program to be carried out under all circumstances. Methods must grow out of the economic needs of each place and clime, and of the intellectual and temperamental requirements of the individual. The serene, calm character of a Tolstoy will wish different methods for social reconstruction than the intense, overflowing personality of a Michael Bakunin or a Peter Kropotkin. Equally so it must be apparent that the economic and political needs of Russia will dictate more drastic measures than would England or America. Anarchism does not stand for military drill and uniformity; it does, however, stand for the spirit of revolt, in whatever form, against everything that hinders human growth. All Anarchists agree in that, as they also agree in their opposition to the political machinery as a means of bringing about the great social change.

"All voting," says Thoreau, "is a sort of gaming, like checkers, or backgammon, a playing with right and wrong; its obligation never exceeds that of expediency. Even voting for the right thing is doing nothing for it. A wise man will not leave

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the right to the mercy of chance, nor wish it to prevail through the power of the majority." A close examination of the machinery of politics and its achievements will bear out the logic of Thoreau.

What does the history of parliamentarism show? Nothing but failure and defeat, not even a single reform to ameliorate the economic and social stress of the people. Laws have been passed and enactments made for the improvement and protection of labor. Thus it was proven only last year that Illinois, with the most rigid laws for mine protection, had the greatest mine disasters. In States where child labor laws prevail, child exploitation is at its highest, and though with us the workers enjoy full political opportunities, capitalism has reached the most brazen zenith.

Even were the workers able to have their own representatives, for which our good Socialist politicians are clamoring, what chances are there for their honesty and good faith? One has but to bear in mind the process of politics to realize that its path of good intentions is full of pitfalls: wire-pulling, intriguing, flattering, lying, cheating; in fact, chicanery of every description, whereby the political aspirant can achieve success. Added to that is a complete demoralization of character and conviction, until nothing is left that would make one hope for anything from such a human derelict. Time and time again the people were foolish enough to trust, believe, and support with their last farthing aspiring politicians, only to find themselves betrayed and cheated.

It may be claimed that men of integrity would not become corrupt in the political grinding mill. Perhaps not; but such men would be absolutely helpless to exert the slightest influence in behalf of labor, as indeed has been shown in numerous instances. The State is the economic master of its servants. Good men, if such there be, would either remain true to their political faith and lose their economic support, or they would cling to their economic master and be utterly unable to do the slightest good. The political arena leaves one no alternative, one must either be a dunce or a rogue.

The political superstition is still holding sway over the hearts and minds of the masses, but the true lovers of liberty will have no more to do with it. Instead, they believe with Stirner that man has as much liberty as he is willing to take. Anarchism therefore stands for direct action, the open defiance of, and resistance to, all laws and restrictions, economic, social, and moral. But defiance and resistance are illegal. Therein lies the salvation of man. Everything illegal necessitates integrity, self-reliance, and courage. In short, it calls for free, independent spirits, for "men who are men, and who have a bone in their backs which you cannot pass your hand through."

Universal suffrage itself owes its existence to direct action. If not for the spirit of rebellion, of the defiance on the part of the American revolutionary fathers, their posterity would still wear the King's coat. If not for the direct action of a John

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Brown and his comrades, America would still trade in the flesh of the black man. True, the trade in white flesh is still going on; but that, too, will have to be abolished by direct action. Trade-unionism, the economic arena of the modern gladiator, owes its existence to direct action. It is but recently that law and government have attempted to crush the trade-union movement, and condemned the exponents of man's right to organize to prison as conspirators. Had they sought to assert their cause through begging, pleading, and compromise, trade-unionism would today be a negligible quantity. In France, in Spain, in Italy, in Russia, nay even in England (witness the growing rebellion of English labor unions), direct, revolutionary, economic action has become so strong a force in the battle for industrial liberty as to make the world realize the tremendous importance of labor's power. The General Strike, the supreme expression of the economic consciousness of the workers, was ridiculed in America but a short time ago. Today every great strike, in order to win, must realize the importance of the solidaric general protest.

Direct action, having proven effective along economic lines, is equally potent in the environment of the individual. There a hundred forces encroach upon his being, and only persistent resistance to them will finally set him free. Direct action against the authority in the shop, direct action against the authority of the law, direct action against the invasive, meddlesome authority of our moral code, is the logical, consistent method of Anarchism.

Will it not lead to a revolution? Indeed, it will. No real social change has ever come about without a revolution. People are either not familiar with their history, or they have not yet learned that revolution is but thought carried into action.

Anarchism, the great leaven of thought, is today permeating every phase of human endeavor. Science, art, literature, the drama, the effort for economic betterment, in fact every individual and social opposition to the existing disorder of things, is illumined by the spiritual light of Anarchism. It is the philosophy of the sovereignty of the individual. It is the theory of social harmony. It is the great, surging, living truth that is reconstructing the world, and that will usher in the Dawn.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF ATHEISM

By Emma Goldman.

TO give an adequate exposition of the Philosophy of Atheism, it would be necessary to go into the historical changes of the belief in a Deity, from its earliest beginning to the present day. But that is not within the scope of the present paper. However, it is not out of place to mention, in passing, that the concept God, Supernatural Power, Spirit, Deity, or in whatever other term the essence of Theism may have found expression, has become more indefinite and obscure in the course of time and progress. In other words, the God idea is growing more impersonal and nebulous in proportion as the human mind is learning to understand natural phenomena and in the degree that science progressively correlates human and social events.

God, today, no longer represents the same forces as in the beginning of His existence; neither does He direct human destiny with the same iron hand as of yore. Rather does the God idea express a sort of spiritualistic stimulus to satisfy the fads and fancies of every shade of human weakness. In the course of human development the God idea has been forced to adapt itself to every phase of human affairs, which is perfectly consistent with the origin of the idea itself.

The conception of gods originated in fear and curiosity. Primitive man, unable to understand the phenomena of nature and harassed by them, saw in every terrifying manifestation some sinister force expressly directed against him; and as ignorance and fear are the parents of all superstition, the troubled fancy of primitive man wove the God idea.

Very aptly, the world-renowned atheist and anarchist, Michael Bakunin, says in his great work "God and the State": "All religions, with their gods, their demi-gods, and their prophets, their messiahs and their saints, were created by the prejudiced fancy of men who had not attained the full development and full possession of their faculties. Consequently, the religious heaven is nothing but the mirage in which man, exalted by ignorance and faith, discovered his own image, but enlarged and reversed—that is divinised. The history of religions, of

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the birth, grandeur, and the decline of the gods who had succeeded one another in human belief, is nothing, therefore, but the development of the collective intelligence and conscience of mankind. As fast as they discovered, in the course of their historically-progressive advance, either in themselves or in external nature, a quality, or even any great defect whatever, they attributed them to their gods, after having exaggerated and enlarged them beyond measure, after the manner of children, by an act of their religious fancy. * * * With all due respect, then, to the metaphysicians and religious idealists, philosophers, politicians or poets: the idea of God implies the abdication of human reason and justice; it is the most decisive negation of human liberty, and necessarily ends in the enslavement of mankind, both in theory and practice."

Thus the God idea revived, readjusted, and enlarged or narrowed, according to the necessity of the time, has dominated humanity and will continue to do so until man will raise his head to the sunlit day, unafraid and with an awakened will to himself. In proportion as man learns to realize himself and mold his own destiny theism becomes superfluous. How far man will be able to find his relation to his fellows will depend entirely upon how much he can outgrow his dependence upon God.

Already there are indications that theism, which is the theory of speculation, is being replaced by Atheism, the science of demonstration; the one hangs in the metaphysical clouds of the Beyond, while the other has its roots firmly in the soil. It is the earth, not heaven, which man must rescue if he is truly to be saved.

The decline of theism is a most interesting spectacle, especially as manifested in the anxiety of the theists, whatever their particular brand. They realize, much to their distress, that the masses are growing daily more atheistic, more anti-religious; that they are quite willing to leave the Great Beyond and its heavenly domain to the angels and sparrows; because more and more the masses are becoming engrossed in the problems of their immediate existence.

How to bring the masses back to the God idea, the spirit, the First Cause, etc.—that is the most pressing question to all theists. Metaphysical as all these questions seem to be, they yet have a very marked physical

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background. Inasmuch as religion, "Divine Truth," rewards and punishments are the trade-marks of the largest, the most corrupt and pernicious, the most powerful and lucrative industry in the world, not excepting the industry of manufacturing guns and munitions. It is the industry of befogging the human mind and stifling the human heart. Necessity knows no law; hence the majority of theists are compelled to take up every subject, even if it has no bearing upon a deity or revelation or the Great Beyond. Perhaps they sense the fact that humanity is growing weary of the hundred and one brands of God.

How to raise this dead level of theistic belief is really a matter of life and death for all denominations. Therefore their tolerance; but it is a tolerance not of understanding, but of weakness. Perhaps that explains the efforts fostered in all religious publications to combine variegated religious philosophies and conflicting theistic theories into one denominational trust. More and more, the various concepts "of the only true God, the only pure spirit, the only true religion" are tolerantly glossed over in the frantic effort to establish a common ground to rescue the modern mass from the "pernicious" influence of atheistic ideas.

It is characteristic of theistic "tolerance" that no one really cares what the people believe in, just so they believe or pretend to believe. To accomplish this end, the crudest and vulgarest methods are being used. Religious endeavor meetings and revivals with Billy Sunday as their champion—methods which must outrage every refined sense, and which in their effect upon the ignorant and curious often tend to create a mild state of insanity not infrequently coupled with eroto-mania. All these frantic efforts find approval and support from the earthly powers; from the Russian despot to the American President; from Rockefeller and Wanamaker down to the pettiest business man. They know that capital invested in Billy Sunday, the Y. M. C. A., Christian Science, and various other religious institutions will return enormous profits from the subdued, tamed, and dull masses.

Consciously or unconsciously, most theists see in gods and devils, heaven and hell, reward and punishment, a whip to lash the people into obedience, meekness and contentment. The truth is that theism would have lost

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its footing long before this but for the combined support of Mammon and power. How thoroughly bankrupt it really is, is being demonstrated in the trenches and battlefields of Europe today.

Have not all theists painted their Deity as the god of love and goodness? Yet after thousands of years of such preachments the gods remain deaf to the agony of the human race. Confucius cares not for the poverty, squalor and misery of the people of China. Buddha remains undisturbed in his philosophical indifference to the famine and starvation of the outraged Hindoos; Jahve continues deaf to the bitter cry of Israel; while Jesus refuses to rise from the dead against his Christians who are butchering each other.

The burden of all song and praise, "unto the Highest" has been that God stands for justice and mercy. Yet injustice among men is ever on the increase; the outrages committed against the masses in this country alone would seem enough to overflow the very heavens. But where are the gods to make an end to all these horors, these wrongs, this inhumanity to man? No, not the gods, but MAN must rise in his mighty wrath. He, deceived by all the deities, betrayed by their emissaries, he, himself, must undertake to usher in justice upon the earth.

The philosophy of Atheism expresses the expansion and growth of the human mind. The philosophy of theism, if we can call it philosophy, is static and fixed. Even the mere attempt to pierce these mysteries represents, from the theistic point of view, non-belief in the all embracing omnipotence, and even a denial of the wisdom of the divine powers outside of man. Fortunately, however, the human mind never was, and never can be, bound by fixities. Hence it is forging ahead in its restless march towards knowledge and life. The human mind is realizing "that the universe is not the result of a creative fiat by some divine intelligence, out of nothing, producing a masterpiece chaotic in perfect operation," but that it is the product of chaotic forces operating through aeons of time, of clashes and cataclysms, of repulsion and attraction crystalizing through the principle of selection into what the theists call, "the universe guided into order and beauty." As Joseph McCabe well

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points out in his "Existence of God": "a law of nature is not a formula drawn up by a legislator, but a mere summary of the observed facts—a 'bundle of facts.' Things do not act in a particular way because there is a law, but we state the 'law' because they act in that way."

The philosophy of Atheism represents a concept of life without any metaphysical Beyond or Divine Regulator. It is the concept of an actual, real world with its liberating, expanding and beautifying possibilities, as against an unreal world, which, with its spirits, oracles, and mean contentment has kept humanity in helpless degradation.

It may seem a wild paradox, and yet it is pathetically true, that this real, visible world and our life should have been so long under the influence of metaphysical speculation, rather than of physical demonstrable forces. Under the lash of the theistic idea, this earth has served no other purpose than as a temporary station to test man's capacity for immolation to the will of God. But the moment man attempted to ascertain the nature of that will, he was told that it was utterly futile for "finite human intelligence" to get beyond the all-powerful infinite will. Under the terrific weight of this omnipotence, man has been bowed into the dust,—a will-less creature, broken and swarting in the dark. The triumph of the philosophy of Atheism is to free man from the nightmare of gods; it means the dissolution of the phantoms of the beyond. Again and again the light of reason has dispelled the theistic nightmare, but poverty, misery and fear have recreated the phantoms—though whether old or new, whatever their external form, they differed little in their essence. Atheism, on the other hand, in its philosophic aspect refuses allegiance not merely to a definite concept of God, but it refuses all servitude to the God idea, and opposes the theistic princple as such. Gods in their individual function are not half as pernicious as the principle of theism which represents the belief in a supernatural, or even omnipotent, power to rule the earth and man upon it. It is the absolutism of theism, its pernicious influence upon humanity, its paralyzing effect upon thought and action, which Atheism is fighting with all its power.

The philosophy of Atheism has its root in the earth,

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in this life; its aim is the emancipation of the human race from all God-heads, be they Judaic, Christian, Mohammedan, Budhistic, Brahministic, or what not. Mankind has been punished long and heavily for having created its gods; nothing but pain and persecution have been man's lot since gods began. There is but one way out of this blunder: Man must break his fetters which have chained him to the gates of heaven and hell, so that he can begin to fashion out of his reawakened and illumined consciousness a new world upon earth.

Only after the triumph of the Atheistic philosophy in the minds and hearts of man will freedom and beauty be realized. Beauty as a gift from heaven has proved useless. It will, however, become the essence and impetus of life when man learns to see in the earth the only heaven fit for man. Atheism is already helping to free man from his dependence upon punishment and reward as the heavenly bargain-counter for the poor in spirit.

Do not all theists insist that there can be no morality, no justice, honesty or fidelity without the belief in a Divine Power? Based upon fear and hope, such morality has always been a vile product, imbued partly with self-righteousness, partly with hypocrisy. As to truth, justice, and fidelity, who have been their brave exponents and daring proclaimers? Nearly always the godless ones: the Atheists; they lived, fought, and died for them. They knew that justice, truth, and fidelity are not conditioned in heaven, but that they are related to and interwoven with the tremendous changes going on in the social and material life of the human race; not fixed and eternal, but fluctuating, even as life itself. To what heights the philosophy of Atheism may yet attain, no one can prophesy. But this much can already be predicted: only by its regenerating fire will human relations be purged from the horrors of the past.

Thoughtful people are beginning to realize that moral precepts, imposed upon humanity through religious terror, have become stereotyped and have therefore lost all vitality. A glance at life today, at its disintegrating character, its conflicting interests with their hatreds, crimes, and greed, suffices to prove the sterility of theistic morality.

Man must get back to himself before he can learn

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his relation to his fellows. Prometheus chained to the Rock of Ages is doomed to remain the prey of the vultures of darkness. Unbind Prometheus, and you dispel the night and its horrors.

Atheism in its negation of gods is at the same time the strongest affirmation of man, and through man, the eternal yea to life, purpose, and beauty.

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THE FAILURE OF CHRISTIANITY

THE counterfeiters and poisoners of ideas, in their attempt to obscure the line between truth and falsehood, find a valuable ally in the conservatism of language.

Conceptions and words that have long ago lost their original meaning, continue through centuries to dominate mankind. Especially is this true if these conceptions have become a common-place, if they have been instilled in our beings from our infancy as great and irrefutable verities. The average mind is easily content with inherited and acquired things, or with the dicta of parents and teachers, because it is much easier to imitate than to create.

Our age has given birth to two intellectual giants, who have undertaken to transvalue the dead social and moral values of the past, especially those contained in Christianity. Friedrich Nietzsche and Max Stirner have hurled blow upon blow against the portals of Christianity, because they saw in it a pernicious slave morality, the denial of life, the destroyer of all the elements that make for strength and character. True, Nietzsche has opposed the slave-morality idea inherent in Christianity in behalf of a master morality for the privileged few. But I venture to suggest that his master idea had nothing to do with the vulgarity of station, caste, or wealth. Rather did it mean the masterful in human possibilities, the masterful in man that would help him to overcome old traditions and worn-out values, so that he may learn to become the creator of new and beautiful things.

Both Nietzsche and Stirner saw in Christianity the leveler of the human race, the breaker of man's will to dare and to do. They saw in every movement built on Christian morality and ethics attempts not at the emancipation from slavery, but for the perpetuation thereof. Hence they opposed these movements with might and main.

Whether I do or do not entirely agree with these iconoclasts, I believe, with them, that Christianity is most admirably adapted to the training of slaves, to the per-

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petuation of a slave society; in short, to the very conditions confronting us to-day. Indeed, never could society have degenerated to its present appalling stage, if not for the assistance of Christianity. The rulers of the earth have realized long ago what potent poison inheres in the Christian religion. That is the reason they foster it; that is why they leave nothing undone to instill it into the blood of the people. They know only too well that the subtleness of the Christian teachings is a more powerful protection against rebellion and discontent than the club or the gun.

No doubt I will be told that, though religion is a poison and institutionalized Christianity the greatest enemy of progress and freedom, there is some good in Christianity "itself." What about the teachings of Christ and early Christianity, I may be asked; do they not stand for the spirit of humanity, for right and justice?

It is precisely this oft-repeated contention that induced me to choose this subject, to enable me to demonstrate that the abuses of Christianity, like the abuses of government, are conditioned in the thing itself, and are not to be charged to the representatives of the creed. Christ and his teachings are the embodiment of submission, of inertia, of the denial of life; hence responsible for the things done in their name.

I am not interested in the theological Christ. Brilliant minds like Bauer, Strauss, Renan, Thomas Paine, and others refuted that myth long ago. I am even ready to admit that the theological Christ is not half so dangerous as the ethical and social Christ. In proportion as science takes the place of blind faith, theology loses its hold. But the ethical and poetical Christ-myth has so thoroughly saturated our lives, that even some of the most advanced minds find it difficult to emancipate themselves from its yoke. They have rid themselves of the letter, but have retained the spirit; yet it is the spirit which is back of all the crimes and horrors committed by orthodox Christianity. The Fathers of the Church can well afford to preach the gospel of Christ. It contains nothing dangerous to the régime of authority and wealth; it stands for self-denial and self-abnegation, for penance and regret, and is absolutely inert in the face of every indignity, every outrage imposed upon mankind.

Here I must revert to the counterfeiters of ideas and

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words. So many otherwise earnest haters of slavery and injustice confuse, in a most distressing manner, the teachings of Christ with the great struggles for social and economic emancipation. The two are irrevocably and forever opposed to each other. The one necessitates courage, daring, defiance, and strength. The other preaches the gospel of non-resistance, of slavish acquiescence in the will of others; it is the complete disregard of character and self-reliance, and therefore destructive of liberty and well-being.

Whoever sincerely aims at a radical change in society, whoever strives to free humanity from the scourge of dependence and misery, must turn his back on Christianity, on the old as well as the present form of the same.

Everywhere and always, since its very inception, Christianity has turned the earth into a vale of tears; always it has made of life a weak, diseased thing, always it has instilled fear in man, turning him into a dual being, whose life energies are spent in the struggle between body and soul. In decrying the body as something evil, the flesh as the tempter to everything that is sinful, man has mutilated his being in the vain attempt to keep his soul pure, while his body rotted away from the injuries and tortures inflicted upon it.

The Christian religion and morality extols the glory of the Hereafter, and therefore remains indifferent to the horrors of the earth. Indeed, the idea of self-denial and of all that makes for pain and sorrow, is its test of human worth, its passport to the entry into heaven.

The poor are to own heaven, and the rich will go to hell. That may account for the desperate efforts of the rich to make hay while the sun shines, to get as much out of the earth as they can: to wallow in wealth and superfluity, to tighten their iron hold on the blessed slaves, to rob them of their birthright, to degrade and outrage them every minute of the day. Who can blame the rich if they revenge themselves on the poor, for now is their time, and the merciful Christian God alone knows how ably and completely the rich are doing it.

And the poor? They cling to the promise of the Christian heaven, as the home for old age, the sanitarium for crippled bodies and weak minds. They endure and submit, they suffer and wait, until every bit of self-re-

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spect has been knocked out of them, until their bodies become emaciated and withered, and their spirit broken from the wait, the weary endless wait for the Christian heaven.

* * *

Christ made his appearance as the leader of the people, the redeemer of the Jews from Roman dominion; but the moment he began his work, he proved that he had no interest in the earth, in the pressing immediate needs of the poor and the disinherited of his time. What he preached was a sentimental mysticism, obscure and confused ideas lacking originality and vigor.

When the Jews, according to the gospels, withdrew from Jesus, when they turned him over to the cross, they may have been bitterly disappointed in him who promised them so much and gave them so little. He promised joy and bliss in another world, while the people were starving, suffering, and enduring before his very eyes.

It may also be that the sympathy of the Romans, especially of Pilate, was given Christ because they regarded him as perfectly harmless to their power and sway. The philosopher Pilate may have considered Christ's "eternal truths" as pretty anaemic and lifeless, compared with the array of strength and force they attempted to combat. The Romans, strong and unflinching as they were, must have laughed in their sleeves over the man who talked repentance and patience, instead of calling to arms against the despoilers and oppressors of his people.

The public career of Christ begins with the edict, "Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand."

Why repent, why regret, in the face of something that was supposed to bring deliverance? Had not the people suffered and endured enough; had they not earned their right to deliverance by their suffering? Take the Sermon on the Mount, for instance. What is it but a eulogy on submission to fate, to the inevitability of things?

"Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven."

Heaven must be an awfully dull place if the poor in spirit live there. How can anything creative, anything vital, useful and beautiful come from the poor in spirit? The idea conveyed in the Sermon on the Mount is the

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greatest indictment against the teachings of Christ, because it sees in the poverty of mind and body a virtue, and because it seeks to maintain this virtue by reward and punishment. Every intelligent being realizes that our worst curse is the poverty of the spirit; that it is productive of all evil and misery, of all the injustice and crimes in the world. Every one knows that nothing good ever came or can come of the poor in spirit; surely never liberty, justice, or equality.

"Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth."

What a preposterous notion! What incentive to slavery, inactivity, and parasitism! Besides, it is not true that the meek can inherit anything. Just because humanity has been meek, the earth has been stolen from it.

Meekness has been the whip, which capitalism and governments have used to force man into dependency, into his slave position. The most faithful servants of the State, of wealth, of special privilege, could not preach a more convenient gospel than did Christ, the "redeemer" of the people.

"Blessed are they that hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be filled."

But did not Christ exclude the possibility of righteousness when he said, "The poor ye have always with you"? But, then, Christ was great on dicta, no matter if they were utterly opposed to each other. This is nowhere demonstrated so strikingly as in his command, "Render to Cesar the things that are Cesar's, and to God the things that are God's."

The interpreters claim that Christ had to make these concessions to the powers of his time. If that be true, this single compromise was sufficient to prove, down to this very day, a most ruthless weapon in the hands of the oppressor, a fearful lash and relentless tax-gatherer, to the impoverishment, the enslavement and degradation of the very people for whom Christ is supposed to have died. And when we are assured that "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be filled," are we told the how? How? Christ never takes the trouble to explain that. Righteousness does not come from the stars, nor because Christ willed it so. Righteousness grows out of liberty, of social and economic opportunity and equality. But how can the

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meek, the poor in spirit, ever establish such a state of affairs?

"Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven."

The reward in heaven is the perpetual bait, a bait that has caught man in an iron net, a strait-jacket which does not let him expand or grow. All pioneers of truth have been, and still are, reviled; they have been, and still are, persecuted. But did they ask humanity to pay the price? Did they seek to bribe mankind to accept their ideas? They knew too well that he who accepts a truth because of the bribe, will soon barter it away to a higher bidder.

Good and bad, punishment and reward, sin and penance, heaven and hell, as the moving spirit of the Christ-gospel have been the stumbling-block in the world's work. It contains everything in the way of orders and commands, but entirely lacks the very things we need most.

The worker who knows the cause of his misery, who understands the make-up of our iniquitous social and industrial system can do more for himself and his kind than Christ and the followers of Christ have ever done for humanity; certainly more than meek patience, ignorance, and submission have done.

How much more ennobling, how much more beneficial is the extreme individualism of Stirner and Nietzsche than the sick-room atmosphere of the Christian faith. If they repudiate altruism as an evil, it is because of the example contained in Christianity, which set a premium on parasitism and inertia, gave birth to all manner of social disorders that are to be cured with the preachment of love and sympathy.

Proud and self-reliant characters prefer hatred to such sickening artificial love. Not because of any reward does a free spirit take his stand for a great truth, nor has such a one ever been deterred because of fear of punishment.

"Think not that I come to destroy the law or the prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill."

Precisely. Christ was a reformer, ever ready to patch up, to fulfill, to carry on the old order of things; never

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to destroy and rebuild. That may account for the fellow-feeling all reformers have for him.

Indeed, the whole history of the State, Capitalism, and the Church proves that they have perpetuated themselves because of the idea "I come not to destroy the law." This is the key to authority and oppression. Naturally so, for did not Christ praise poverty as a virtue; did he not propagate non-resistance to evil? Why should not poverty and evil continue to rule the world?

Much as I am opposed to every religion, much as I think them an imposition upon, and crime against, reason and progress, I yet feel that no other religion had done so much harm or has helped so much in the enslavement of man as the religion of Christ.

Witness Christ before his accusers. What lack of dignity, what lack of faith in himself and in his own ideas! So weak and helpless was this "Savior of Men" that he must needs the whole human family to pay for him, unto all eternity, because he "hath died for them." Redemption through the Cross is worse than damnation, because of the terrible burden it imposes upon humanity, because of the effect it has on the human soul, fettering and paralyzing it with the weight of the burden exacted through the death of Christ.

Thousands of martyrs have perished, yet few, if any, of them have proved so helpless as the great Christian God. Thousands have gone to their death with greater fortitude, with more courage, with deeper faith in their ideas than the Nazarene. Nor did they expect eternal gratitude from their fellow-men because of what they endured for them.

Compared with Socrates and Bruno, with the great martyrs of Russia, with the Chicago Anarchists, Francisco Ferrer, and unnumbered others, Christ cuts a poor figure indeed. Compared with the delicate, frail Spiridonova who underwent the most terrible tortures, the most horrible indignities, without losing faith in herself or her cause, Jesus is a veritable nonentity. They stood their ground and faced their executioners with unflinching determination, and though they, too, died for the people, they asked nothing in return for their great sacrifice.

Verily, we need redemption from the slavery, the dead-

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ening weakness, and humiliating dependency of Christian morality.

The teachings of Christ and of his followers have failed because they lacked the vitality to lift the burdens from the shoulders of the race; they have failed because the very essence of that doctrine is contrary to the spirit of life, opposed to the manifestations of nature, to the strength and beauty of passion.

Never can Christianity, under whatever mask it may appear—be it New Liberalism, Spiritualism, Christian Science, New Thought, or a thousand and one other forms of hysteria and neurasthenia—bring us relief from the terrible pressure of conditions, the weight of poverty, the horrors of our iniquitous system. Christianity is the conspiracy of ignorance against reason, of darkness against light, of submission and slavery against independence and freedom; of the denial of strength and beauty, against the affirmation of the joy and glory of life.

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Down With the Anarchists!

WE must get rid of the Anarchists! They are a menace to society. Does not Hearst say so? Do not the M. & M. and the gentlemen of the Chamber of Commerce, who have also declared war on Labor, assure us that the Anarchists are dangerous and that they are responsible for all our troubles? Does not every skinner of Labor and every grafting politician shout against the Anarchists? Isn't that enough to prove that the Anarchists are dangerous?

But why are all the money bags and their hirelings so unanimous in condemning the Anarchists? Generally they disagree on many questions and they bitterly fight each other in their business and social life. But on TWO questions they are always in accord.

What are those two questions that all the capitalists and profit mongers are always in perfect agreement on? They are these:

Smash the Labor Unions!
Hang the Anarchists!

WHY? Because the Labor Unions are cutting the bosses' profits by constantly demanding higher wages. And the Anarchists want to abolish the boss altogether.

Now, what is the matter with the Anarchists? What do you really know about them, except the lies and misrepresentations of their enemies—who are also the enemies of the workers and opposed to every advancement of Labor? If you stop to think of it, you really know nothing of the Anarchists and their teachings. Your masters and their press have taken good care that you shouldn't learn the truth about them. Why? Because as long as they can keep you busy shouting against the Anarchists, they are safe in their saddle on the backs of the people.

That's the whole secret.

What do the Anarchists really want? When you know that, you will be able to decide for yourself whether the Anarchists are your enemies or your friends.

The Anarchists say that it is not necessary to have murder and crime, poverty and corruption in the world. They say that we are cursed with these evils be-

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cause a handful of people have monopolized the earth and all the wealth of the country. But who produces that wealth? Who builds the railroads, who digs the coal, who works in the fields and factories? You can answer that question for yourself. It is the toilers who do all the work and who produce all that we have in the world.

The Anarchists say: The products of Labor should belong to the producers. The industries should be carried on to minister to the needs of the people instead of for profit, as at present. Abolishing monopoly in land and in the sources of production, and making the opportunity for production accessible to all, would do away with capitalism and introduce free and equal distribution. That, in turn, would do away with laws and government, as there would be no need for them, government serving only to conserve the institutions of today and to protect the masters in their exploitation of the people. It would abolish war and crime, because the incentive to either would be lacking. It would be a society of real freedom, without coercion or violence, based on the voluntary communal arrangement of "To each according to his needs; from each according to his ability."

That is what the Anarchists teach. Suppose they are all wrong. Are you going to prove it by hanging them? If they are wrong, the people will not accept their ideas, and therefore there can be no danger from them. But, if they are right, it would be good for us to find it out. In any case it is a question of learning what these Anarchists really want. Let the people hear them.

But how about violence? you say. Don't the Anarchists preach and practice violence and murder?

They don't. On the contrary, the Anarchists hold life as the most sacred thing. That's why they want to change the present order of things where everyone's hand is against his brother, and where war, wholesale slaughter in the pursuit of the dollar, bloodshed in the field, factory and workshop is the order of the day. The poverty, misery and bitter industrial warfare, the crimes, suicides and murder committed every day of the year in this country will convince any man of intelligence that in present society we have plenty of Law, but mighty little order or peace.

Anarchism means OPPOSITION to violence, by whomever committed, even if it be by the government. The government has no more right to murder than the individual. Anarchism is therefore opposition to violence as well as to government forcibly imposed on man.

The Anarchists value human life. In fact, no one values it more. Why, then, are the Anarchists always blamed for every act of violence? Because your rulers and exploiters want to keep you prejudiced against the Anarchists, so you will

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never find out what the Anarchists really want, and the masters will remain safe in their monopoly of life.

Now, what are facts about violence? Crimes of every kind happen every day. Are the Anarchists responsible for them? Or is it not rather misery and desperation that drive people to commit such acts? Does a millionaire go out on the street and knock you down with a gaspipe to rob you of a few dollars? O, no. He builds a factory and robs his workers in a way that is much safer, more profitable and within the law.

Who, then, commits acts of violence? The desperate man, of course. He to whom no other resort seems open. Violence is committed by all kinds of people. Such violence is mostly for the purpose of theft or robbery. But there are also cases where it is done for social reasons. Such impersonal acts of violence have, from time immemorial, been the reply of goaded and desperate classes, and goaded and desperate individuals, to wrongs from their fellow-men, which they felt to be intolerable. Such acts are the violent RECOIL from violence, whether aggressive or repressive; they are the last desperate struggle of outraged and exasperated human nature for breathing space and life. And their CAUSE LIES NOT IN ANY SPECIAL CONVICTION, BUT IN HUMAN NATURE ITSELF. The whole course of history, political and social, is strewn with evidence of this fact. To go no further, take the Revolutionists of Russia, the Fenians and Sinn Feiners of Ireland, the Republicans of Italy. Were those people Anarchists? No. Did they all hold the same political opinions? No. But all were driven by desperate circumstances into this terrible form of revolt.

Anarchists, as well as others, have sometimes committed acts of violence. Do you hold the Republican Party responsible for every act committed by a Republican? Or the Democratic Party, or the Presbyterian or Methodist Church responsible for acts of individual members? It would be stupid to do so.

Under miserable conditions of life, any vision of the possibility of better things makes the present misery more intolerable, and spurs those who suffer to the most energetic struggles to improve their lot, and if these struggles only immediately result in sharper misery, the outcome is sheer desperation. In our present society, for instance, an exploited wage worker, who catches a glimpse of what work and life might and ought to be, finds the toilsome routine and the squalor of his existence almost intolerable; and even when he has the resolution and courage to continue steadily working his best, and waiting until new ideas have so permeated society as to pave the way for better times, the mere fact that he has such ideas and tries to spread them brings him into difficulties with his employers. How many thousands of rebel workers, of Socialists, of Industrialists and Syndicalists, but above all of Anarchists, have lost work and even the chance of work, solely on the ground of their opinions? It is only the specially gifted

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craftsman who, if he be a zealous propagandist, can hope to retain permanent employment. And what happens to a man with his brain working actively with a ferment of new ideas, with a vision before his eyes of a new hope dawning for toiling and agonizing men, with the knowledge that his suffering and that of his fellows in misery is not caused by the cruelty of fate, but by the injustice of other human beings—what happens to such a man when he sees those dear to him starving, when he himself is starved? Some natures in such a plight, and those by no means the least social or the least sensitive, will become violent, and will even feel that their violence is social and not anti-social, that in striking when and how they can, they are striking, not for themselves, but for human nature, outraged and despoiled in their persons and in those of their fellow sufferers. And are we, who ourselves are not in this horrible predicament, to stand by and coldly condemn these piteous victims of the Furies and Fates? Are we to decry as miscreants these human beings who act with heroic self-devotion, often sacrificing their lives in protest, where less social and less energetic natures would lie down and grovel in abject submission to injustice and wrong? Are we to join the ignorant and brutal outcry which stigmatizes such men as monsters of wickedness, gratuitously running amuck in a harmonious and innocently peaceful society? NO! We hate murder with a hatred that may seem absurdly exaggerated to apologists for war, industrial slaughter and Ludlow massacres, to callous acquiescers in governmental and plutocratic violence, but we decline in such cases of homicide as those of which we are treating, to be guilty of the cruel injustice of flinging the whole responsibility of the deed upon the immediate perpetrator. The guilt of these homicides lies upon every man and woman who, intentionally or by cold indifference, helps to keep up social conditions that drive human beings to despair. The man who flings his whole life into the attempt, often at the cost of his own life, to protest against the wrongs of his fellow-men, is a saint compared to the active and passive upholders of cruelty and injustice, even if his protest destroy other lives besides his own. Let him who is without sin in society cast the first stone at such a one.

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Per { EMMA GOLDMAN
ALEXANDER BERKMAN

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EMMA GOLDMAN'S Lectures in the East

in NEW YORK CITY.
At the Harlem Masonic Temple,
310 Lenox Avenue, Bet. 125th and 126th Sts.
SUBJECTS.
Sunday, January 9th, 8 P. M.
"Preparedness. A Conspiracy Between the Munition Manufacturers and Washington."
Sunday, January 16th, 8 P. M.
"The Right of the Child Not To Be Born."
Sunday, January 23rd, 8 P. M.
"The Message of Anarchism."
Sunday, January 30th, 8 P. M.
"The Philosophy of Atheism."

in PHILADELPHIA
At the North Broad Street Drawing Rooms
715 North Broad St. (near Fairmount Ave.)
SUBJECTS.
Tuesday, January 11th, 8 P. M.
"Victims of Morality."
Tuesday, January 18th, 8 P. M.
"The Message of Anarchism."
Tuesday, January 25th, 8 P. M.
"Misconceptions of Free Love."
Tuesday, February 1st, 8 P. M.
"The Philosophy of Atheism."

in WASHINGTON, D. C.
First Lecture at Perpetual Building Association Hall
11th and E St., N. W.
DRAMA COURSE:
Wednesday, January 19th—
The Scandinavian Drama.
The other five will take place as follows:
At the Arcade Hall, 14th St. and Park Road, N. W.
Wednesday, January 26th—
The German Drama.
Wednesday, February 2nd—
The French Drama.
Wednesday, February 9th—
The English Drama.

in PITTSBURGH, PA.
Conservatory of Music, 128 Dithridge St.
Thursday, January 20th—
The Scandinavian Drama
Thursday, January 27th—
The German Drama
Thursday, February 3rd—
The French Drama.
Thursday, February 10th—
The English Drama.

Complete circulars of all meetings to be had at MOTHER EARTH Office. Friends in each city can help much by distributing cards.

MOTHER EARTH

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Published Every 15th of the Month

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Vol. X JANUARY, 1916 No. 11

DONALD VOSE: THE ACCURSED

By EMMA GOLDMAN

EIGHTEEN years ago I made my second lecture tour to the Pacific Coast. While in Oregon I was invited to Scio, Oregon, a small hamlet. The comrade who arranged the meeting and with whom I stayed while in Scio was Gertie Vose.

I had heard of Gertie through the pages of *Fire Brand and Free Society*, from a number of friends, and a few letters exchanged with her. As a result I was eager to meet the woman who, in those days, was one of the few unusual American characters in the radical movement. I found Gertie to be even more than I had expected,—a fighter, a defiant, strong personality, a tender hostess and a devoted mother. She had with her at the time her six year old son, Donald Vose. Another child, a girl, lived with her father, a Mr. Meserve, from whom Gertie had separated.

The stress and travail of life interrupted a correspondence which was a great inspiration for a number of years after my visit. But I knew Gertie Vose had taken up land in the Home Colony at Lake Bay, Washington, and that her son was with her; that she continued to be the fighter when the occasion demanded. Between 1808 and 1907 I did not get to the Coast and when I finally revisited the Home Colony about six years ago, Gertie Vose was away and so was her son.

In May, 1914, while in Los Angeles, I was informed from MOTHER EARTH office that Donald Vose, the son of

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Gertie Vose, had come to our quarters with a letter from his mother begging that we befriend her boy, since he had no one else in New York. MOTHER EARTH was then installed in a large house and as we rented out rooms, it was perfectly natural that our Comrade Berkman, in my absence, should have taken Donald Vose into the house. But even if we had lived in small quarters, we should have been willing to share them with a child of Gertie Vose; she who had been my friend for years; she who had been one of the greatest supporters to Berkman in his terrible prison days. How could we refuse her child?

In August of 1914, while in Seattle, I went over to the Home Colony and there was again entertained by Gertie Vose. We talked of the old days and old friends. There I learned how cruelly hard life had been with Gertie; how it had whipped her body, but her spirit was the same, though more mellowed by disappointment, by pain and sorrow. Her one great joy, however, was that her boy had finally gotten into the right atmosphere, that now he would become a man active in the movement. She told me of the glowing reports he was writing about Berk (as he called Berkman), the unemployed and anti-military activities in New York at the time and how interested Donald had become. Poor Gertie Vose! Like the last ray of the dying sun, clinging to the horizon, so Gertie,—old, worn, bruised, beaten,—clung to her son in the hope that he would fulfil her aspiration for humanity. How tragically blind motherhood is; how alien to the soul of its own creation!

I returned to New York, September 15th, 1914. I found confusion, entanglements and burdens in MOTHER EARTH. To save the situation the house had to be given up and our whole life reorganized. The stress and strain of the situation absorbed me completely. I forgot even that the son of Gertie Vose was living in the house. I reproached myself for such neglect of him. One evening I went to his room and there for the first time in eighteen years saw the boy I had met as a child of six. My first impression of Donald Vose was not agreeable; perhaps because of his high pitched, thin voice and shifting eyes. But he was Gertie's son, out of work, wretchedly clad, unhealthy in appearance. I stifled my aversion

and told him that as I was about to give up the house, he might go to the little farm on the Hudson belonging to a friend of ours which I had been permitted to use for a number of years. (This farm, like a ghost, is traveling the country as E. G.'s estate.)

He said that as a matter of fact he had planned to leave for the Home Colony earlier in the summer, but at that time he was waiting for Berkman, who had contemplated a Western trip and was prevented from doing so through the Anti-Military and unemployed agitation. Later Donald Vose lost his job as a chauffeur and was now expecting money to take him West. The main thing, however, which delayed his departure from New York, Donald said, was the message given to him by some one in Washington for M. A. Schmidt, the delivery of which was imperative.

Fate works inexorably. The last Saturday in September Matthew A. Schmidt called at the house to meet a few friends, Lincoln Steffens and Hutchins Hapgood, Alexander Berkman and Eleanor Fitzgerald made up the party of that afternoon. Matthew Schmidt was about to leave when Doald Vose returned to his room. With him was Terry Carlin. I told Schmidt that Donald Vose had a letter for him from a friend in Washington, whereupon Schmidt asked to see Donald and also Carlin, whom he had known in California. The meeting of the three men took place in the presence of the other guests and lasted not more than ten minutes. The conversation was general. Schmidt departed and nothing more was thought of his meeting with Vose.

A few days later we moved to 20 East 125th Street. Donald and Carlin went to the farm. I saw Donald Vose after that only when he would call for mail, as my time and energy were taken up with a new course of lectures and the daily grind of the readjustment to our new and hard mode of life. The third week in October I left on a lecture tour which brought me back to New York the 24th of December, 1914. From that time on persistent rumors came to me about Donald Vose spending a great deal of money on drink though he was not working. Yet he continued to look shabby and would often sit for a long time in the office "to warm up," as he stated. He did not even have an overcoat. When I

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asked him why he did not get warm clothing, he replied: "I am waiting for my check from Washington." Yet during all that time Donald Vose was dissipating with nearly everyone who was willing to carouse with him.

The situation become altogether too suspicious. I wrote to friends in Washington and after a long delay received a reply that no one was sending Donald money. A week later he left for the Coast. Shortly after that Matthew A. Schmidt and David Caplan were arrested. At once we realized that Donald Vose was the Judas Iscariot. Still so appalling is the thought of suspecting anyone of such a dastardly act, that even after the arrest, I hated myself for harboring such suspicions against the child of Gertie Vose.

Soon positive proofs came from the Coast. It was Donald Vose who coldbloodedly, deliberately betrayed the two men. They who had been his friends; David Caplan who had shared his hearth, his bread, his all with him for two weeks; had betrayed Matthew A. Schmidt, who had befriended him in New York. The thing was altogether too awful. It was the most terrible blow in my public life of twenty-five years. Terrible because of the mother of that cur; terrible because he had grown up in a radical atmosphere, above all terrible that he had been under my roof and that he had met one of his innocent victims in my house.

It is of little consolation that it was utterly impossible to suspect a child of Gertie Vose, recommended by her and kindly spoken of by many people on the coast. For to do such a thing means to suspect one's own shadow. Nor could I console myself with the fact that if Wm. J. Burns had not found Donald, some other despicable tool would have lured our comrades into the net. All that cannot lessen the horror that was mine all year. At least I wanted it known through MOTHER EARTH that Donald Vose met M. A. Schmidt in my house and that it was Donald Vose who had sold him as well as David Caplan.

I shall not now describe my torture, agony, and disgust since the arrest of our comrades. Gladly would I give ten years of my life if Donald Vose had never stepped over my threshhold. But what did his victims do; Matthew A. Schmidt and David Caplan? They who

have been described as murderers; Schmidt who was convicted before he was tried! They begged me, yes, insisted, even as late as last month, that MOTHER EARTH should not expose Donald Vose. They had broken bread with him and they would not brand him for life as the sneak-thief who had stolen into their hearts and then turned them over, sold them for a few peaces of silver.

Thus my hands were tied and MOTHER EARTH was gagged. But now that the spy himself has spoken, that he has brazenly taken the stand and face to face with Matthew A. Schmidt has testified in open court that since May, 1914, he was in the employ of W. J. Burns, that he was sent by the latter to New York to trail Schmidt, that he was coached to pose as a radical and that under false pretense he obtained his mother's letter of introduction to Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman. I must acquaint the readers of MOTHER EARTH with the fact that Donald Vose is the liar, traitor, spy who has deceived everyone, myself included, and has used everybody's credulity as a shield to cover his dastardly crime.

Donald Vose you are a liar, traitor, spy. You have lied away the liberty and life of our comrades. Yet not they but you will suffer the penalty. You will roam the earth accursed, shunned and hated; a burden unto yourself, with the shadow of M. A. Schmidt and David Caplan ever at your heels unto the last.

And you Gertie Vose, unfortunate mother of your ill-begotten son—? My heart goes out to you Gertie Vose. I know you are not to blame. What will you do? Will you excuse the inexcusable? Will you gloss over the heinous? Or will you be like the heroic figure in Gorky's Mother? Will you save the people from your traitor son? Be brave Gertie Vose, be brave!

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Trial Postponed for Two Weeks / Emma Goldman.— p. 365 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 10, no. 11 (Jan. 1916).

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ing the information, but solely for advocating birth control. There are three indictments, based on twelve articles, eleven of which are for *printing the words*—"prevention of conception." To the elect of federal officialdom these words themselves are considered lewd, lascivious and obscene. In none of these articles is any information given—simply discussions of the subject, addressed to the working women of this country.

Many "radical" advisers have assured me that the wisest course to follow in fighting the case would be to plead "guilty" to this "obscenity" charge, and to throw myself upon the mercy of the court, which would mean, according to those familiar with the administration of "justice," a light sentence or a light fine.

It is unfortunate that so many radicals and so-called revolutionists have failed to understand that my object in this work has been to remove, or to try to remove, the term "prevention of conception" from this section of the penal code, where it has been labelled by our wise legislators as filthy, vile and obscene, and to obtain deserved currency for this valuable idea and practice.

The problem of staying out of jail or being sent to jail is merely incidental in this fight. It is discouraging to find that advanced revolutionists of this country are frantically trying to save agitators from jail sentences thereby losing sight of the real and crucial issues of the fight. If we could depend upon a strong and consistently revolutionary support in such battles, instead of weakened efforts to effect a compromise with the courts, there would be much greater stimulation for individuals to enter revolutionary activity.

To evade the issue in this case, as I have been advised, would mean to leave matters as they have been since 1872. But it is time for the people of this country to find out if the United States mails are to be available for their use, as they, in their adult intelligence may desire, or is it possible for the United States post office to constitute itself an institution for the promulgation of stupidity and ignorant tyranny.

The first step in the birth control movement or any other propaganda requiring a free press is to open the mails to the people of this country, regardless of class. Nothing can be accomplished without the free and open discussion of any subject.

These indictments have had the effect of opening the discussion of birth control in magazines and papers of the most conservative nature, whose editors would have been horrified at the subject previous to my arrest.

When my case is called in the Federal courts* I shall enter a plea of "not guilty," in order to separate the idea of prevention of conception and birth control from the sphere of pornography, from the gutter of slime and filth where the lily-livered legislators have placed it, under the direction of the late unlamented Anthony Comstock, and in which the forces of reaction are still attempting to hold it.

* * *

* Trial postponed for two weeks.

From the article by Margaret Sanger, our readers will know she is among us, and that is determined to make her fight in her usual brave way. But what our readers do not know is that Margaret Sanger has gone through untold hardships the last year, and that very recently she received a staggering blow through the death of her much loved daughter, Peggy.

To face trial under such conditions requires more than ordinary strength and Margaret Sanger just now is anything but physically strong. The one thing to sustain her in this crucial moment is the moral and material support of all rebels. I therefore appeal to everyone who reads MOTHER EARTH to write to Margaret Sanger, care of E. Byrne, 26 Post Ave., New York City. Send as large a contribution as you can spare and more, for the fight will be hard and bitter. Monies already collected: E. G. Birth Control Meeting, Chicago, $40; St. Louis, $20; Indianapolis, $10; Akron, $6.50; Youngstown, $13.60; Cleveland, $21; Contribution D. Kiefer, $10; per Kiefer, $5; Van Valkenburgh, $2.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

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SALUTE MOTHER EARTH!

The year just past was certainly a most eventful one. A sketch of the happenings of significance to the revolutionary movement and to MOTHER EARTH would prove very interesting.

That is what I had intended as my New Year's greeting to you, but many calls on my time have delayed my writing till I am too late, I am afraid, for the January issue.

Perhaps it may be left for another day; or may be some one more historically minded than myself has already reviewed for MOTHER EARTH the important events of 1915.

For the present, therefore, just this brief greeting to our little fighter and its faithful friends. The new year is bringing its old-new great struggles. May we all face

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Says Government Is Not Necessary; Raps War / Emma Goldman.— 26 cm. *In* Public Ledger [Philadelphia]. —(Jan. 10, 1916).

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PHILADELPHIA, MONDAY,

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EMMA GOLDMAN SAYS GOVERNMENT IS NOT NECESSARY; RAPS WAR

Conflict in Europe, Anarchist Leader Asserts, Is Result of Clique Against the People

THINKS WORLD IS BETTER

By M'LISS

When you meet the innocuous gaze of her mild, blue-gray eye and note the calm, non-assertive manner with which she extends her hand in greeting, it seems impossible to believe that this plump, motherly little person is Emma Goldman, firebrand orator and arch-agitator of the anarchists of America, the woman who was held in $20,000 bail for alleged complicity in the assassination of President McKinley, and who seems proud rather than ashamed of the fact.

Only the fiery glint in her red-gold hair gives any indication of the fiery thoughts that occupy the head it covers—thoughts ranging from the immorality of the present institution of marriage to the criminality of organized government—but it is when Miss Goldman starts in to expound her views that you understand why arrests for incitement to riot are as common in her life as falling leaves in the month of October.

Like all geniuses, Miss Goldman is a paradox. Seated in the parlor of the Hotel Walton, without any thought of her inconsistency, she deplored this morning the present bloody conflict in Europe and in the same breath advocated a violent revolution as the last means of overthrowing the government and bringing about that unruled Elysium which is the anarchists' dream. And, despite her lack of logic and despite my lack of sympathy with her views, it was impossible not to feel the power of this woman's eloquence and personality, impossible not to sense the contagion of her ardor.

VIEWS ON ORGANIZED VIOLENCE.

"When you have organized violence on top," she said emphatically, "you must expect organized violence on the bottom, and, although I should like to see the Government go down as the result of an intellectual revolution, still I would sanction a violent revolution, if no other means could be found.

"Government is not necessary to the happiness of people. In fact, it is opposed to it. Witness the war in Europe today—the result of the greed of the clique that have set themselves against the people. Tomorrow night I shall speak on "Preparedness, the Road to Universal Slaughter," and I hope my words will have some effect in staying this impulse on the part of America."

Waving the red flag of her approval over the act of Czolgosz, but denying her

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when Miss Goldman starts in to expound her views that you understand why arrests for incitement to riot are as common in her life as falling leaves in the month of October.

Like all geniuses, Miss Goldman is a paradox. Seated in the parlor of the Hotel Walton, without any thought of her inconsistency, she deplored this morning the present bloody conflict in Europe and in the same breath advocated a violent revolution as the last means of overthrowing the government and bringing about that unruled Elysium which is the anarchists' dream. And, despite her lack of logic and despite my lack of sympathy with her views, it was impossible not to feel the power of this woman's eloquence and personality; impossible not to sense the contagion of her ardor.

VIEWS ON ORGANIZED VIOLENCE.

"When you have organized violence on top," she said emphatically, "you must expect organized violence on the bottom, and, although I should like to see the Government go down as the result of an intellectual revolution, still I would sanction a violent revolution, if no other means could be found.

"Government is not necessary to the happiness of people. In fact, it is opposed to it. Witness the war in Europe today—the result of the greed of the clique that have set themselves against the people. Tomorrow night I shall speak on "Preparedness, the Road to Universal Slaughter," and I hope my words will have some effect in staying this impulse on the part of America."

Waving the red flag of her approval over the act of Czolgocs, but denying her connection with the deed, Emma Goldman declared that America had arrived at the pinnacle of imperialism at that time, and that McKinley, because of his attitude on the Spanish-American War, had brought his fate on himself.

"I was arrested," she said smiling, "as I have been arrested many times—although I have only served a term once—it is nothing being arrested. They could prove nothing. Czolgosz had been to see me twice, it is true, but I knew nothing of the shooting. However, he was, of course, justified. The situation to labor was intolerable at that time.

"The world is getting better," she continued, "I am no longer arrested every time I want to open my mouth. It is not that I have changed my opinions any—in fact, I am even more radical—it is only that the world is changing. Free speech is becoming more and more possible. Formerly only my kind—anarchists—made a stand for it. Now, even the college professors are fighting for their rights."

At this moment Dr. Ben L. Reitman, the anarchist lady's manager, looking like a cross between Captain Kidd and Svengali, appeared on the scene, and Miss Goldman having obligingly talked to me before her matutinal meal, I assembled my chaotic thoughts and with some little disappointment at not having seen a bomb or fuse, took a tame departure. Miss Goldman will speak three times in Philadelphia this week, on "Preparedness," "Birth Control" and "Nietzsche."

'DAD, WE'RE MARRIED,' WORD FROM 4 ELOPERS

Son and Daughter of W. O. Stead Go to Elkton for Dou-

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Women Hear Miss Goldman / Emma Goldman. – 23 cm. *In* The New York Times. –(Jan. 13, 1916).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

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WOMEN HEAR MISS GOLDMAN

Anarchist Assails Society In a Talk to Brooklyn Club.

Interested in what Emma Goldman, the Anarchist leader, had to say about the doctrines of anarchy, many women prominent in Brooklyn were present yesterday afternoon at the regular monthly meeting of the Civitas Club at 114 Pierrepont Street. Miss Goldman scored society and the wealthy. In the course of her address she said:

"Society, as it exists today, is rotten to the core. It is disintegrated in every phase of life and cannot be patched up. Society is dragged down not merely by conditions which I, as an anarchist, describe, but because of the wrongs which exist within its organization."

Miss Goldman assailed the millionaire as the most pitiful figure in society because his efforts to accumulate his wealth "has cost him his soul." She ridiculed the proposed so-called military policy of this Government, asserting that it would eventually be more brutal than that of Russia.

The speaker declared that anarchy had made great strides in this country. She referred to a period when it was "hounded to death," a later period when anarchy was "ridiculed," and the present period when the public press was maintaining "a conspiracy of silence," which, she asserted, indicated the growing sentiment in this country in favor of the doctrines of anarchy.

Following her address she was questioned by some of the women. In a reply to one question Miss Goldman said "the forefathers of you ladies knew better what liberty was when they got rid of the English in this country than some of the country's officials at the present time."

William P. Prentice Left $20,000.

The will of William P. Prentice, disposing of an estate in real and personal property in excess of $20,000, was filed for probate yesterday. The instrument bequeaths the residuary estate to the widow, Mrs. Florence Kelly Prentice of 9 West Sixteenth Street.

Ezra P. Prentice, former Chairman of the Republican County Committee, a son, receives $500 in cash, all of his father's law books at the residence, and his membership in the New York Law Institute. Robert K. of 160 West Sixty-fourth Street, a son, receives the law books in the testator's office. Professor William K. Prentice of Princeton, receives all his father's books on the classics, while a fourth son, Paul S., receives $250 in cash and certain personal effects.

Street, called on a neighbor on Tuesday night and asked her to take charge of a handbag for her. She said she was a trained nurse and had to go out and wanted to leave the bag in safe keeping. She had done it before, but something aroused the suspicions of the neighbor and she called in a policeman.

He opened the bag and discovered, it was said yesterday, about $75 in counterfeit half dollars, dated 1912 and 1913, and some coin molds and metal.

Detectives waited all night till Mrs. Wolf came for the bag, and then they trailed her to her home, where they arrested her and her husband on the charge of having spurious coins in their possession. Both Herman Wolf and his wife denied that they knew anything about the coins.

Weather in Cotton and Grain States.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 12.—Forecast:

N. Car.—Rain Thur., colder in w.; much colder at night and Fri., with a cold wave. Fair Fri.; strong s. w. winds, shifting to n. w.

S. Car.—Rain Thur. or Thur. night, Fri., fair; much colder Thur. night and Fri., with a cold wave; strong s. and s. w. winds, becoming n. w. Fri.

Ga.—Rain Thurs., colder in n. and w., with a cold wave at night. Fri., fair, colder; cold wave in n. and c.; fresh to strong s. w. winds, becoming n. w. Fri.

Fla.—Rain Thur., except fair in s.; colder in n. w.; cold wave at night in n., with temperature below freezing. Fri., fair and much colder, except rain in s.; moderate s. and s. w. winds, except strong over n., shifting to n. w.

Ala.—Fair Thur., preceded by rain in s.; much colder, with a cold wave. Fri., fair, continued cold; strong n. w. to n. winds.

Miss.—Fair Thur., with a cold wave; temperature below freezing to the coast. Fri., fair, continued cold; fresh to strong n. winds.

Tenn.—Fair Thurs., preceded by rain or snow in e.; much colder, with a severe cold wave reaching e. Thurs. night. Fri. fair, colder in e.; strong n. winds.

Ky.—Fair Thurs., preceded by snow in cen. and e.; much colder, with a severe cold wave and strong n. w. to n. winds. Fri. fair, continued cold.

Ohio—Snow and much colder Thurs., with a severe cold wave at night and Fri.; fair Fri.; w. to n. w. gales.

Ind.—Fair and much colder Thurs., with a severe cold wave. Fri. fair, continued cold; n. w. to n. gales.

Lower Mich.—Snow, much colder, Thurs., with a severe cold wave; Fri. fair, continued cold; n. w. to n. gales.

Upper Mich.—Snow, with much colder Thurs., with a cold wave.; Fri. fair and continued cold; n. w. to n. gales.

Ill.—Fair Thur., with severe cold and strong w. to n. w. winds. Fri., fair and continued cold.

Mo.—Fair Thur., colder in extreme e. Fri., fair; not quite so cold.

Wis.—Fair and much colder Thurs., with w. to n. w. gales; cold wave in extreme e. Fri., fair and continued cold, with diminishing winds.

Minn.—Fair Thurs., much colder, with n. w. gales in extreme e., diminishing at night. Fri., fair and continued cold.

Iowa—Fair Thurs., colder in e. and cen.; Fri. fair and warmer.

N. Dak.—Fair and warmer Thurs. and probably Fri.

S. Dak., Neb.—Fair Thurs. and probably Fri.; warmer Fri., and in w. Thurs.

Kan.—Fair Thurs. and probably Fri.; warmer Fri. in w. and cen.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Birthday Greetings! / Emma Goldman. — p. 3 ; 22 cm. *In* The Blast [San Francisco]. —(Jan. 15, 1916).

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[illegible] much longer remain the home of Peter's Rock. Gradually, but surely, the favor of the Vatican has been growing less and less in Unified Italy; and war or no war, the time is not far distant when a new home will have to be found for this remnant of the Inquisition. The one last place under the sun where the rule of the priest will be absolute and profitable is with the Hapsburgs. Some day in the early future the Pope and his minions will wearily wend their way to the Austrian graveyard.

Should Austria by any chance be bartered away by the Kaiser, or conquered and divided by the Allies, that day would be a sorry one for the Church of Rome. It is really a delicate position. If Austria loses, the House of Hapsburg will see the end of its bloody reign. If Italy loses, woe betide the fate of the Vice-Regent's headquarters. None but clever politicians could successfully weather such exasperating circumstances as those now being faced by the Mother Church of Christendom.

German Catholics curse the ground of Atheistic France. British Protestants behold the Kaiser as the Devil incarnate; while to the German Lutherans he is a wingless angel. The Catholic element of England professes outraged anguish at the sacking of Belgium, blind to the record of its own British lust that for over seven hundred years has dyed the soil of Ireland crimson with its native blood. The wisdom of the Pope in closing his eyes to the wanton massacres of Christians by the Turks now taking place, is comparable only to the unoffending attitude assumed by that gentleman at Belgium's ruin at the beginning of the war. Possibly the angelic history of Leopold's Catholic soldiers in the Congo was on his mind; more likely, though, the reason for the syeophantic position of the Catholic Church, through its supreme head, has to do with the future welfare of that God Trust, instead of with any consideration for its dupes who are now engaged in blowing one another into Mary's bosom under the various flags.

The Catholic Church has nothing in common with humanity; nor does any sensible person argue that it has.

After all is said and done, there is no use giving up one's flat till another one has been rented. The temporal [illegible]

Even the Pope, who is supposed to be on better terms with Jehovah than all the other inhabitants of the world, does not care to take a definite stand.

This great conflict would really be worth while if it were assured that despotism in every form should perish. But it won't. The Catholic and Protestant rulers will take care that their harvest of victims, stolen as they are from the cradle, shall not wane. The State will permit of any degree of moral elasticity—from polygamy to promiscuity—until a new crop of kids will have grown; and the churches of all denominations will graciously fall in line and sanctify the decision of the governments that make it.

There is one worse evil than the theological evil, and that is the patriotic evil. The Catholic Church is a big obstacle in progress' path, but her power is dwindling down. The institution of the soldier is a greater evil than all the mental chains that now exist, because the Church no longer wields the power of long ago, while the State does and it uses the soldier as an implement.

It is to be hoped that the war will not only tear the foundation from under the institutions of organized superstition of every denomination, but that it will teach the survivors of this frightful butchery that all tyranny rests finally upon force; moreover, that inasmuch as they, themselves, are the persons who really possess it, the retention of it from those who use it for their own ends would simply mean that the world will be theirs for the taking.

(By Wire)

BIRTHDAY greetings! Let THE BLAST re-echo from coast to coast, inspiring strength and courage in the disinherited, and striking terror into the hearts of the craven enemy, now that one more of our brothers has fallen a victim to the insatiable Moloch.

May THE BLAST tear up the solidified ignorance and cruelty of our social structure. Blast away! To the daring belongs the future.

—Emma Goldman.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Some Civitas Members Wanted to Be "Thrilled." So Emma Goldman Was Asked to Address Them / Emma Goldman.— 28 cm. *In* Brooklyn Eagle. —(Jan. 16, 1916, Emma Goldman Scrap Book).

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*** Jan 16 1916 Brooklyn Eagle

THE

SOME CIVITAS MEMBERS WANTED TO BE "THRILLED." SO EMMA GOLDMAN WAS ASKED TO ADDRESS THEM

"Red" Leader Claims That Invitation to Appear Before This Exclusive Club Was an Exemplification of the Principles of Anarchy. Prefers to Talk to Working Class—Wealthy Women Too Reluctant to Adopt New Ideas. Scores the "Uplifter."

THE [illegible] of merely wanting a thrill was [illegible] exciting for the old-fashioned woman. The modern woman [illegible] step farther [illegible] herself to the thrill." Emma Goldman.

In making this statement Miss Goldman admitted that it was applicable to the Civitas Club for it was the interest aroused by the address of the anarchist leader before this exclusive group of women a few days ago that prompted The Eagle interviewer to ask the lecturer what she thought of her audience on this occasion.

"[illegible] material for me to [illegible] interesting for [illegible]

Appearance at Civitas
Exemplification of Anarchy

"[illegible] asked

"[illegible] receive [illegible] fear of [illegible] the [illegible] but to [illegible] lost [illegible] But while [illegible] they very well [illegible] space might [illegible] that she [illegible] forbid [illegible] very [illegible] of fi[illegible] the [illegible] but [illegible] see [illegible] were saying to [illegible] How can she now [illegible] A number of [illegible] friends [illegible] what I said [illegible] me after the [illegible] same address [illegible] organization, and I said that I would.

"There are always in every club a few determined individuals who really want to understand the questions of the day. On the whole, women of today have a tendency to dabble in radicalism," Miss Goldman added.



EMMA GOLDMAN
PHOTO BY GERHARD SISTERS

You see," she continued, "the Civitas Club meeting was at home. The women asked me to come and talk to them and I find it rather difficult, under the circumstances, to discuss their reception of me."

The interviewer intimated that Miss Goldman had not been sparing of criticism in her address to the Civitas members.

"Why, that's the thrill," she exclaimed. "Not every woman can take an inventory of herself and not all have the capacity for turning themselves inside out. When you tell them the truth it makes them smart, and therein lies the thrill. I don't care how long the thrill lasts; even if they experience it for a moment it shows that they are alive."

"But don't you feel that you accomplish something more with your lectures than simply to send spasmodic thrills across the platform?" asked the interviewer.

"Certainly," came the emphatic reply. "I want you to understand that there are thrill seekers and truth seekers among women. I want to talk to those women who really understand, though I believe, of course, in reaching everyone that can be reached. And while I can't feel that I have influenced any audience as a whole, it is just the possibility of influencing the minds of those who have gone ahead of their associates that induces me to address such societies as the Civitas Club."

Questions Commonplace.

"How about the discussion of the Civitas members after your lecture?" asked the visitor.

"Commonplace," was the prompt reply. "Some wanted to know how, under an anarchistic regime, certain details of life would be regulated. Anarchists leave so much to the individual that no one can predict about details. Their questions showed that they are accustomed to a society which prescribes for them their minutest movement and tells them how to live.

"I never feel at ease anywhere except on my own platform," continued Miss Goldman, "and talking to the working class. After all, I do not believe that the wealthy class will play a dominant part in the reconstruction of society. It likes to cling to old ideas.

"But please remember that my criticisms do not refer solely to the members of the Civitas club. Women in their station of life are not only physically well fed, they are mentally well fed. They have all of the finer things of life and they are wondering what all the excitement is about. They haven't enough kinship with the masses. Suppose that during a strike some of them do go out and picket. After they are through, what? They go back to their gorgeous homes and forget all about the other fellow.

"I could have entree to any number of Civitas clubs all over the country, but I do not address them very often. I do not want to get away from my own atmosphere."

American Women Interested Merely in the New.

"But didn't you find any of 'your own atmosphere' in Brooklyn?" the interviewer wanted to know.

"Among the women in Brooklyn," was the reply, "and this is true of all American women, there is a tremendous awakening. So far, however, this has no substance. It is the 'a little here and a little there' method. They do not crystallize their ideas. American women hang on with all their might to old things, but they are merely interested in the new. Balancing between both never accomplishes anything. They are afraid to go out among the people; they do not want to leave their positions of affluence. Public opinion counts with them. Why don't they go out among the masses and live with them? You cannot serve two masters, neither socially [illegible] nor mentally. In

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Some Civitas Members Wanted to Be "Thrilled." So Emma Goldman Was Asked to Address Them / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* Brooklyn Eagle. –(Jan. 16, 1916, Emma Goldman Scrap Book).

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order to understand the people and their problems you must live among them, not assume the despicable role of the 'uplifter.' And let me say that some of your 'uplifters' are harming the labor movement. Some girls, when they go out on a strike and are arrested, simply wait for a wealthy woman to come along and bail them out."

"How about you anarchist posers who break one convention and hide behind another?" countered the interviewer.

"You will find that in every movement, especially when it is in a transitory state," defended the leader of the "Reds," adding:

"But I always come out and say what I think. One of the Civitas members accused me of delivering a lecture against suffrage. That is not true; I simply do not believe in the power of the ballot, either for man or woman. And I take exception to the statement of the suffragists that women are superior to men. Women have not as thorough a knowledge of the world as men. Suffragists claim that to give the ballot to women will purify society. Women's idea of purifying is greater restriction."

Every Child
Is an Anarchist.

Miss Goldman said that she was particularly interested in children. "Every child," she said, "is an anarchist at heart, and instead of crushing those tendencies we ought to foster them. A child does not want restriction or coercion. Train the child to cultivate that latent quality in him; let it become a conscious factor in his life," she added.

"Anarchism is making big strides," Miss Goldman continued. "The average girl refuses to conform to the uniformity of life. We see the breaking away from uniformity in every avenue of life. And uniformity is the ballast which, when once thrown overboard, will open up vistas of possibilities. Anarchy is permeating the home. The rebellion of the wife against the husband, and the child against the parent."

"Do you consider any kind of 'breaking away' or a divergence from type an indication of belief in anarchy?" asked the interviewer.

"No. Breaking away is simply rebellion. You may be breaking away from one kind of uniformity and going into another. But anarchy is gaining in force. The individual, stripped of all things which bind and curtail him, is an anarchist, who has an inermost longing for freedom of hought and active self-realization.

"Do you know what some members of your Civitas Club said to me after lecture: 'If that is anarchy then we are anarchists.'"

Is a Good Housewife
As Well as Lecturer.

During the course of the interview which took place at Miss Goldman's home in Manhattan, the hostess had to excuse herself and attend to some household duties. "Radical women are not supposed to have household duties, but I have an apartment to manage," she said.

Was it because there was not the usual distance between audience and speaker to separate them or was it the homey atmosphere of Miss Goldman's apartment that made the interviewer want to pinch herself hard to realize as she noted the stout, well-nourished figure and well-modulated voice, that she wasn't a guest of the president of a ladies' auxiliary instead of the most incendiary lecturer of the Anarchist party?

Civitas Opinions
Of Miss Goldman's Talk.

Here are a few opinions from C tas members apropos of Miss G man's "Personal Interpretation Anarchy," at the meeting of last W nesday:

Mrs. Edward A. Quin—"I thou Miss Goldman's speech very remi able. But listening to her I felt thi was only an ideal of Anarchy that was talking about, and which n could occur in an actual state. made me feel very strongly the unh piness about the labor question. M over, I was very much surprised learn that she had such a mild of destruction. You know she tol that she believed in brain dynam and not in material dynamite w destroyed everything."

Mrs. Thomas L. Leeming—"Em Goldman's ideas are very interes indeed, but if carried out I fear things would be in a very bad co tion, say something like in Mexic present."

Mrs. Walter Truslow—"An exce lecture explaining Emma Goldm view. However, I do not agree her on all points."

Mrs. James P. Warbasse—"If want to know the truth about philosophy of Anarchism, and do want to be misled about the ac facts, the wise thing to do is to directly to an authority on the sub And Emma Goldman certainly a authority."

Mrs. Herbert N. Wardlaw—" Goldman gave us a very inspiring Moreover, she showed us that we most of us Anarchists. And pr conclusively, I thought, that A chism had permeated the new met of education which believes in the velopment of the individuality of child."

Mrs. George S. Frank—"I heard Emma Goldman before ways enjoy hearing her. I think many of the women present got a clear idea of philosophical Anarchy from her talk, which shows that instead of listening to misrepresentations it is always best to go to headquarters."

Mrs. Raymond P. Ingersoll—"I think that Miss Goldman gave a clear brilliant and conclusive argument in explaining her own ideas of Anarchy. But she did not take present problems into consideration at all, and offered absolutely no remedy for things as they exist today."

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] T.R. Wrong, Says Anarchist / Emma Goldman.— 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(Jan. 17, 1916).

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...mmendation, but those favoring one ...commendation were in several cases ...t those voting in favor of another. ...he more conservative members of the ...committee, as a rule, voted together. ...Taking up the question of sources of ...additional revenue, the committee ...ted that it had been informed by the ...unicipal authorities that if the cost ...city government could be kept at its ...esent level the city would have to ...ise in 1920, exclusive of the State ...rect tax, $34,554,000 over and above ...e budget requirements for that year. ...he report says:

"If to this we add New York City's ...are of the probable State direct tax ...are confronted by the staggering ...uation that within a few years New ...rk City will, if the estimates are ...rect, need an additional revenue of ...tween $40,000,000 and $50,000,000. On ...e other hand we have the unquestioned fact that real estate is in a condition of depression which has rarely been ...alled in the history of New York.

Real Estate Overburdened.

"A proposal to meet these large additional expenditures wholly by an increase in the general property tax would ...essitate so enormous an increase in ...e tax rate on real estate as to be ...th destructive and impracticable. ...ny owners of real estate are even ...w on a narrow margin, and such an ...mense increase in the tax rate as ...uld be needed to raise the additional ...venue would cause widespread ruin, ...d would in some cases be completely ...nforceable. It must be remembered ...at a property tax rate of over 2 per ...t. on full valuation is something ...ich greatly exceeds what is found in ...er parts of the United States, and ...absolutely unheard of in the remainder of the world. The additional ...venue ought not, and cannot with ...ety, in the opinion of your committee be provided from an increase in the ...neral tax rate."

Additional revenue from a more rigid ...rcement of the personal property ...x is said to be impossible. The report ...says: "This possibility is eliminated by the conviction that, under ...isting administrative methods in the ...ited States, it is wholly impracticable ...secure any substantial additional ...venue from the personal property ...x."

...e suggestion to "impose a multiplicity of taxes on all sorts of commodities, businesses, and other subjects ...gulation," was dismissed by the committee, first, because "these indirect ...xes, almost without exception, have ...en reserved in the past for the purposes of the Federal Government;" second, because each particular interest ...ught to be subjected to the tax would ...se the cry that it should not be ...ised out for special burdens and ...ould thus seriously impede the elaboration of any comprehensive measure." ...Third, because the revenue from all ...ese sources combined would, in the ...inion of the committee, "be entirely ...adequate to meet the present emer...ency."

...ilak Income Tax Best Method.

...e committee believes that the ability ...the inhabitants of New York City to ...y the expenses of the city is unlimited and the real problem is to ...d an equitable and expedient ...thod of reaching this ability. The ...most obvious solution of the problem is ...ough an income tax."

On this subject the report says: "Your committee have always been of ...opinion that, in principle, the direct ...come tax is one of the fairest of ...xes. They believe, furthermore, ...at a bill can be drawn which ...ould be passed will make the income ...x entirely workable under general ...ate law, and they agree that ...ch a tax, carefully devised, would go ...far toward solving the fiscal problem ...of New York City as well as that of ...New York State. While your committee ...do not deem it proper, in view of the ...anticipated report by the Joint Legislative Committee, to present any definite ...bill, and while they reserve the right ...to criticise or even to oppose any ...of the provisions of the project which ...may be submitted by the Joint Legisla-

Brazil, Argentina, Australia, Arabia, the Philippines, and the United States. The Columbia association was recently admitted to the international organization, Corda Fratres, with eighty association in the United States and Europe.

Speakers at the dinner were Ahmed Shukri, the Turkish toastmaster; Djelal Bey, Consul General of Turkey in the United States; Shahmir Effendi, Vice Consul General, and Talcott Williams, Director of the Columbia School of Journalism.

T. R. WRONG, SAYS ANARCHIST

Emma Goldman Asserts Child Has Right Not to be Born.

Emma Goldman, speaking on "The Child's Right Not to Be Born," in the Masonic Temple at 126th Street and Lenox Avenue, last night, said that "if every one followed the injunction of the Bible and Theodore Roosevelt to 'Be fruitful and multiply,' every tenement house would be turned into a lunatic asylum by the excessive number of children."

She said that due to lack of space in the modern apartment few parents and no apartment superintendents wanted more than one or two children in the family, and that the child unwelcome to parents should have the right not to be born into a miserable life.

"Many women want children merely as playthings, and all after the second child are unwelcome. If parents do not wish the responsibility of rearing a child it is better that they should have none."

HISTORIC PAPERS BURNED.

Washington College Building Destroyed with Its Archives.

CHESTERTOWN, Md., Jan. 16.—William Smith Hall, the main building of Washington College, was wrecked by fire early today. So rapidly did the flames spread that all the archives, including many historic documents, some of them in the handwriting of George Washington, were burned. The building cost $75,000.

William Smith Hall bore the name of the first President of Washington College, the Rev. William Smith, afterward provost of the University of Pennsylvania.

The college was named by the Legislature "in honorable and perpetual memory of his excellency, General Washington," who received from it the degree of doctor of laws.

Street; lacerations of the scalp and left knee, and contusions of the hip; attended and left for home."

HAUSMANN, HARRY, of 227 West 141st Street, contusions of the left hip; attended and went home.

MARTELL, ALEXANDER, of 549 West 126th Street, chauffeur of the car, possible internal injuries; refused medical aid and was taken home.

Miss Catherine Fitch, 21 years old, the daughter of Dr. Allen Fitch of 38 West Fifty-sixth Street, and her maid, Anna Dodge of 154 East Seventy-eighth Street, were riding in a taxicab yesterday when the machine they were in collided with another taxicab. They were taken to the Flower Hospital, where the maid was found to be suffering from lacerations of the forehead and possible concussion of the brain, while Miss Fitch's right arm and hand were cut. Miss Fitch went home after being attended. The maid remained at the hospital.

George Chadwick of 511 West 112th Street received a fracture of the leg yesterday on Rocky Hill Road, within half a mile of Hillside Avenue, Jamaica, L. I. Mr Chadwick turned out to pass another machine on a curve on a hill, when his machine turned over, pinning him underneath. His left leg caught in the spokes of the steering wheel. He was taken to St Mary's Hospital, Jamaica.

Abraham Jasper, 70 years old, a retired merchant of 845 Newark Avenue, Jersey City, crossing Lenox Avenue at 116th Street late last night, was struck by an automobile owned and operated by Carlo Calbi of 41 Maple Street, Yonkers. Calbi stopped his machine and carried his aged victim into a drug store, from which Dr. Gordon removed him to the Harlem Hospital. His contusions of the head and body were not serious.

Special to The New York Times.

PLAINFIELD, N. J., Jan. 16.—Leo Cerchiaro of South Plainfield was reported in a critical condition tonight at the Muhlenburg Hospital here from injuries received in an accident near his home last night, when he was struck by an automobile owned and driven by Walter Scott of this city. One of the wheels passed over his chest, fracturing the breastbone and puncturing his lung. Physicians at the hospital hold out little hope of his recovery.

Fifty-Pound Loaded Shell in Street.

Several small boys pushing a cylindrical object about the gutter in front of 125 Washington Street last night attracted the attention of Policeman Bredenbach. He found it was a loaded shell, 14 inches long, weighing about fifty pounds. The boys said they found it at Cortlandt and Washington Streets several hours before. Detectives were sent out to learn where the shell came from.

name of the octu... the City Director... home of Mary H...

CORNELL BO...

Freshman Arre... Robbing R...

Special to The...

ITHACA, N. ... with grand larceny... Philadelphia, 18 y... in the College of ... Cornell University ... this city.

The police alleged ... the rooming house ... 702 East Buffalo S... dred dollars' worth ... personal effects ab...

The local authori... information from t... that a young man ... description had pa... of jewelry, among ... which was identifi... C. J. Howell, his r...

Coleman pleaded ... He will have anoth... when he will be ra...

YUAN'S ARM...

60,000 Revolutio... pose China's Ru...

SAN FRANCIS... thousand revolution... feated the forces ... head of the Chinese ... action fought in t... Chuen, according ... ceived here today ... Tong King Chong, ... nest Republic Assoc...

The battle, accordi... ended with the ca... of Tsue Chow F... forces, which, the ... threatening Cheng ... Province of Sze Chu...

The losses in kill... cablegram stated, w...

Conservative Administration

Banking is one sphere of human activity where conservatism is to be desired and not decried. The success of this Company is due to the conservative, level-headed deliberations of this Directorate:

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Gag Rule at the Hebrew Institute of Chicago / Emma Goldman.– pp. 400-402 ; 19 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 10, no. 12 (Feb. 1916).

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GAG RULE AT THE HEBREW INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

By Emma Goldman.

JULY, last, Alexander Berkman, en tour in behalf of David Caplan and Matthew A. Schmidt, came to Chicago to interest the workers. He was admitted to numerous labor organizations and educational clubs; the one exception being the Hebrew Institute. It happened thus:

A group of radicals rented the Hebrew Institute for a Caplan-Schmidt meeting with Alexander Berkman and other well known radicals as speakers. The meeting was widely advertised which brought out a large crowd. But the gag rule of Jacob H. Loch and other trustees of the Hebrew Institute barred the doors.

The upshot of it was a huge meeting at the West Side Auditorium and a boycott against the Hebrew Institute. The boycott was declared by the students themselves who left in a large number and who organized the Workmen's Institute which has been running with marvelous success ever since. But that is not all. Learning of the denial of free speech, especially for such a purpose as the defense of two soldiers of the labor war as Caplan and Schmidt, every lecturer of character who has since come to Chicago has refused to speak at the Hebrew Institute. Among the latest is John Cowper Powys who is unquestionably the foremost English interpreter of literature. The following is an account of the incident sent to us by Comrade Ben Capes.

"Again the radical and intellectual center of Chicago has been stirred out of its tranquility, and again the Chicago Hebrew Institute is the topic of the day. While at this time it is being punished for their past outrage on free speech, we hope the future will deal with it most justly for its present slander.

"On January 5th, it was announced from the platform, by J. B. Lipson to an audience of 350, that Mr. John Cowper Powys, scheduled to deliver a series of Wednesday night lectures, would be conspicuous by his absence. Mr. Powys' reason for not fulfilling his engagement was that as a believer in free speech he could not lecture in a place where gag rule prevailed.

"The panic-stricken directors were very anxious to justify their side to a disappointed audience, and so chose Mr. J. B. Lipson to rescue them from the muddle. Being a lawyer, the gentleman naturally began to explain by first employing the political trick of poisoning the mind of the audience. I am very anxious to give an accurate account of his speech, for it characterizes the mean spirit of the head of that institution and of the public stupifiers that so often parade under the cloak of educationalists. After denouncing and ridiculing Mr. Powys very unfairly, he began the following words:

"'There are certain things which this institution stands for and certain things which it does not stand for. For instance, in his hall you are not permitted to insult a woman; in this hall you are not permitted to be disorderly; in this hall you are not permitted to advocate violence, these are the very things to which we are absolutely opposed.

"'A short time ago this hall was rented for a mass-meeting with a certain Alexander Berkman as one of the speakers. He was the same man who attempted to assassinate a gentleman. He is still suffering from the wounds inflicted upon him. Through the humanity of the New York State, the would-be assassin was given twenty years of imprisonment only. But he served only fourteen years and upon gaining liberty he went throughout the country advocating the murdering of policemen and advising violence. It was this kind of man to whom we had refused our hall that time. Yet a few boys and girls, who did not even know how to read and write, left the institution on that account, and started a school of their own.'

"He then proceeded to illustrate how difficult it was to reconcile all the different religious and political groups in society which were opposing one another and how the Hebrew Institute was not at all interested in the industrial struggle. He finally wound up his speech by declaring that the institute was purely educational, and stood for free speech. Of course this was quite agreeable to the board of directors of the institute. This is easily proved by the fact that a young man who could no longer endure the insidious lies and wilful misrepresentation, started to protest loudly and publicly, but was

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forcibly ousted from the hall. Not wishing to submit to the same fate, I waited for Mr. Lipson's conclusion, and then I told Mr. Lipson my opinion of his insidious lies."

The reason for these lies and this gag rule has best been explained by one of the patronesses:

"You see the young Jews are so easily inflamed towards discontent. It will never do to let a violent man like Alexander Berkman speak to them."

Thank the stars that the young Jews are easily discontented and inflamed. It is that which makes of them the mainstay of every revolutionary endeavor. It is that which has given them their enthusiasm to organize and maintain the Workmen's Institute. All hail to the young inflammable, discontented Jews of Chicago. Let us hope every radical will stay away from the gag rule of the Hebrew Institute.

STOP IT!

Over two years have elapsed since fourteen Mexican workingmen were arrested in the neighborhood of Carrizo Springs, Texas,—September 13th, 1913. They were attempting to gain their way to Mexico to fight for the economic, poltical and social freedom of the Mexican proletariat. Since then these comrades, they are Anarchists of the purest type, have been subjected to the meanest treatment at the hands of the Texas authorities. All of them, except Charles Cline,—the only American by birth in that band of revolutionists—is waiting at the San Antonio jail for a revision of his case—have been sentenced on the charge of constructive murder to terms of five to ninety-nine years.

From there the victims have been transferred to various camps at Perry Landing, Texas, except comrade Jose Angel Sorrato, who was more fortunate. He managed to escape from the penitentiary and to reach Mexico, where he is fighting in Zapata's ranks for Land and Liberty and the ideals of Anarchist communism.

The comrades sent to the Penal Camp are, to Camp No. 1: Luz Mendoza, Pedro Perales, Miguel P. Martinez; and to Camp No. 3: J. M. Rangel, J. A. Cisneros, D. R. Rosas, B. Mendoza, E. Alzalde, Jesus Gonzalez, Lino Gonzalez, and L. Vasquez.

Since their arrival they have become marked men. They are being punished on the slightest pretext. Thus, we learn that comrade Lucio R. Oritz was shot in cold blood by one of the guards because he broke some stupid rule and would not cringe before the prison authorities.

The brutal murder of our comrade was only the last step

in the harrowing treatment given Ortiz. Flogging on a number of occasions had taken place before.

Evidently Ortiz retained his dignity and selfrespect which no prison can tolerate, least of all the savage prison camps in the state of Texas. And so, Ortiz is dead and his murderer is at large boasting of his heroic act, having killed his helpless victim.

Ortiz is dead. The new victim to take his place has been chosen. Comrade Pedro Perales has now aroused the wrath of the savage guards. And after Perales, one by one, the other comrades at the mercy of the inhuman guards will no doubt pay with their lives. None of them can escape the fate of Ortiz unless you American workingmen, you fairminded newspaper men, you liberal American citizens will take some interest in the hopeless lot of these victims. Unless a campaign of publicity is organized at once. These men deserve to be saved; they have committed no crime. They did march on Mexico to help in the struggle for Land and Liberty, but even that would not have netted them such sentences, such cruelty, but for perjured testimony and the fact that they themselves were workingmen.

If our comrades did not appeal their cases it was because they knew the futility of it, especially in Texas, the state so steeped in barbarity that lynching Mexicans is considered an appetizer for breakfast. Then too, they did not want their friends to sacrifice their hard earned pennies on appeals. Our comrades went before their executioner with head erect and though they knew the gravity of their position, yet they used the precious moments in court to espouse their cause. They even read our manifesto of September, 1911, in court, having had it translated into English so that the World may learn that one group of people at least in Mexico fight for true freedom and not for mere political changes.

These men have devoted their lives to the proletariat class and to this devotion they owe their present position. Does it not appeal to you? Does it not touch your heart and your brains and make you feel and make you think that you ought to help them? Does not their martyrdom impel you to raise your voice in behalf of these brave faithful comrades? Organize, speak, write about the awful fate of our comrades. That may open their doors and give them back to the World.

ENRIQUE FLORES MAGON.

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WE are closing our first decade very much encouraged because MOTHER EARTH has more subscribers than at any other time in her career. We would have more if only all of those in arrears would renew. Five hundred outstanding subscribers are entirely too much for a magazine like MOTHER EARTH. Please renew at once and those of you who have paid

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF ATHEISM

By Emma Goldman.

TO give an adequate exposition of the Philosophy of Atheism, it would be necessary to go into the historical changes of the belief in a Deity, from its earliest beginning to the present day. But that is not within the scope of the present paper. However, it is not out of place to mention, in passing, that the concept God, Supernatural Power, Spirit, Deity, or in whatever other term the essence of Theism may have found expression, has become more indefinite and obscure in the course of time and progress. In other words, the God idea is growing more impersonal and nebulous in proportion as the human mind is learning to understand natural phenomena and in the degree that science progressively correlates human and social events.

God, today, no longer represents the same forces as in the beginning of His existence; neither does He direct human destiny with the same iron hand as of yore. Rather does the God idea express a sort of spiritualistic stimulus to satisfy the fads and fancies of every shade of human weakness. In the course of human development the God idea has been forced to adapt itself to every phase of human affairs, which is perfectly consistent with the origin of the idea itself.

The conception of gods originated in fear and curiosity. Primitive man, unable to understand the phenomena of nature and harassed by them, saw in every terrifying manifestation some sinister force expressly directed against him; and as ignorance and fear are the parents of all superstition, the troubled fancy of primitive man wove the God idea.

Very aptly, the world-renowned atheist and anarchist, Michael Bakunin, says in his great work "God and the State": "All religions, with their gods, their demi-gods, and their prophets, their messiahs and their saints, were created by the prejudiced fancy of men who had not attained the full development and full possession of their faculties. Consequently, the religious heaven is nothing but the mirage in which man, exalted by ignorance and faith, discovered his own image, but enlarged and reversed—that is divinised. The history of religions, of

the birth, grandeur, and the decline of the gods who had succeeded one another in human belief, is nothing, therefore, but the development of the collective intelligence and conscience of mankind. As fast as they discovered, in the course of their historically-progressive advance, either in themselves or in external nature, a quality, or even any great defect whatever, they attributed them to their gods, after having exaggerated and enlarged them beyond measure, after the manner of children, by an act of their religious fancy. * * * With all due respect, then, to the metaphysicians and religious idealists, philosophers, politicians or poets: the idea of God implies the abdication of human reason and justice; it is the most decisive negation of human liberty, and necessarily ends in the enslavement of mankind, both in theory and practice."

Thus the God idea revived, readjusted, and enlarged or narrowed, according to the necessity of the time, has dominated humanity and will continue to do so until man will raise his head to the sunlit day, unafraid and with an awakened will to himself. In proportion as man learns to realize himself and mold his own destiny theism becomes superfluous. How far man will be able to find his relation to his fellows will depend entirely upon how much he can outgrow his dependence upon God.

Already there are indications that theism, which is the theory of speculation, is being replaced by Atheism, the science of demonstration; the one hangs in the metaphysical clouds of the Beyond, while the other has its roots firmly in the soil. It is the earth, not heaven, which man must rescue if he is truly to be saved.

The decline of theism is a most interesting spectacle, especially as manifested in the anxiety of the theists, whatever their particular brand. They realize, much to their distress, that the masses are growing daily more atheistic, more anti-religious; that they are quite willing to leave the Great Beyond and its heavenly domain to the angels and sparrows; because more and more the masses are becoming engrossed in the problems of their immediate existence.

How to bring the masses back to the God idea, the spirit, the First Cause, etc.—that is the most pressing question to all theists. Metaphysical as all these questions seem to be, they yet have a very marked physical

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background. Inasmuch as religion, "Divine Truth," rewards and punishments are the trade-marks of the largest, the most corrupt and pernicious, the most powerful and lucrative industry in the world, not excepting the industry of manufacturing guns and munitions. It is the industry of befogging the human mind and stifling the human heart. Necessity knows no law; hence the majority of theists are compelled to take up every subject, even if it has no bearing upon a deity or revelation or the Great Beyond. Perhaps they sense the fact that humanity is growing weary of the hundred and one brands of God.

How to raise this dead level of theistic belief is really a matter of life and death for all denominations. Therefore their tolerance; but it is a tolerance not of understanding, but of weakness. Perhaps that explains the efforts fostered in all religious publications to combine variegated religious philosophies and conflicting theistic theories into one denominational trust. More and more, the various conceepts "of the only true God, the only pure spirit, the only true religion" are tolerantly glossed over in the frantic effort to establish a common ground to rescue the modern mass from the "pernicious" influence of atheistic ideas.

It is characteristic of theistic "tolerance" that no one really cares what the people believe in, just so they believe or pretend to believe. To accomplish this end, the crudest and vulgarest methods are being used. Religious endeavor meetings and revivals with Billy Sunday as their champion—methods which must outrage every refined sense, and which in their effect upon the ignorant and curious often tend to create a mild state of insanity not infrequently coupled with eroto-mania. All these frantic efforts find approval and support from the earthly powers; from the Russian despot to the American President; from Rockefeller and Wanamaker down to the pettiest business man. They know that capital invested in Billy Sunday, the Y. M. C. A., Christian Seience, and various other religious institutions will return enormous profits from the subdued, tamed, and dull masses.

Consciously or unconseiously, most theists see in gods and devils, heaven and hell, reward and punishment, a whip to lash the people into obedience, meekness and contentment. The truth is that theism would have lost

its footing long before this but for the combined support of Mammon and power. How thoroughly bankrupt it really is, is being demonstrated in the trenches and battlefields of Europe today.

Have not all theists painted their Deity as the god of love and goodness? Yet after thousands of years of such preachments the gods remain deaf to the agony of the human race. Confucius cares not for the poverty, squalor and misery of the people of China. Buddha remains undisturbed in his philosophical indifferenee to the famine and starvation of the outraged Hindoos; Jahve continues deaf to the bitter cry of Israel; while Jesus refuses to rise from the dead against his Christians who are butchering each other.

The burden of all song and praise, "unto the Highest" has been that God stands for justice and mercy. Yet injustice among men is ever on the inerease; the outrages committed against the masses in this country alone would seem enough to overflow the very heavens. But where are the gods to make an end to all these horors, these wrongs, this inhumanity to man? No, not the gods, but MAN must rise in his mighty wrath. He, deceived by all the deities, betrayed by their emissaries, he, himself, must undertake to usher in justice upon the earth.

The philosophy of Atheism expresses the expansion and growth of the human mind. The philosophy of theism, if we can call it philosophy, is static and fixed. Even the mere attempt to pierce these mysteries represents, from the theistic point of view, non-belief in the all embracing omnipotence, and even a denial of the wisdom of the divine powers outside of man. Fortunately, however, the human mind never was, and never can be, bound by fixities. Hence it is forging ahead in its restless mareh towards knowledge and life. The human mind is realizing "that the universe is not the result of a creative fiat by some divine intelligenee, out of nothing, producing a masterpiece chaotic in perfeet operation," but that it is the product of chaotic forces operating through aeons of time, of clashes and cataclysms, of repulsion and attraction crystalizing through the principle of seleetion into what the theists call, "the universe guided into order and beauty." As Joseph McCabe well

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points out in his "Existence of God": "a law of nature is not a formula drawn up by a legislator, but a mere summary of the observed facts—a 'bundle of facts.' Things do not act in a particular way because there is a law, but we state the 'law' because they act in that way."

The philosophy of Atheism represents a concept of life without any metaphysical Beyond or Divine Regulator. It is the concept of an actual, real world with its liberating, expanding and beautifying possibilities, as against an unreal world, which, with its spirits, oracles, and mean contentment has kept humanity in helpless degradation.

It may seem a wild paradox, and yet it is pathetically true, that this real, visible world and our life should have been so long under the influence of metaphysical speculation, rather than of physical demonstrable forces. Under the lash of the theistic idea, this earth has served no other purpose than as a temporary station to test man's capacity for immolation to the will of God. But the moment man attempted to ascertain the nature of that will, he was told that it was utterly futile for "finite human intelligence" to get beyond the all-powerful infinite will. Under the terrific weight of this omnipotence, man has been bowed into the dust,—a will-less creature, broken and swarting in the dark. The triumph of the philosophy of Atheism is to free man from the nightmare of gods; it means the dissolution of the phantoms of the beyond. Again and again the light of reason has dispelled the theistic nightmare, but poverty, misery and fear have recreated the phantoms—though whether old or new, whatever their external form, they differed little in their essence. Atheism, on the other hand, in its philosophic aspect refuses allegiance not merely to a definite concept of God, but it refuses all servitude to the God idea, and opposes the theistic principle as such. Gods in their individual function are not half as pernicious as the principle of theism which represents the belief in a supernatural, or even omnipotent, power to rule the earth and man upon it. It is the absolutism of theism, its pernicious influence upon humanity, its paralyzing effect upon thought and action, which Atheism is fighting with all its power.

The philosophy of Atheism has its root in the earth,

in this life; its aim is the emancipation of the human race from all God-heads, be they Judaic, Christian, Mohammedan, Budhistic, Brahministic, or what not. Mankind has been punished long and heavily for having created its gods; nothing but pain and persecution have been man's lot since gods began. There is but one way out of this blunder: Man must break his fetters which have chained him to the gates of heaven and hell, so that he can begin to fashion out of his reawakened and illumined consciousness a new world upon earth.

Only after the triumph of the Atheistic philosophy in the minds and hearts of man will freedom and beauty be realized. Beauty as a gift from heaven has proved useless. It will, however, become the essence and impetus of life when man learns to see in the earth the only heaven fit for man. Atheism is already helping to free man from his dependence upon punishment and reward as the heavenly bargain-counter for the poor in spirit.

Do not all theists insist that there can be no morality, no justice, honesty or fidelity without the belief in a Divine Power? Based upon fear and hope, such morality has always been a vile product, imbued partly with self-righteousness, partly with hypocrisy. As to truth, justice, and fidelity, who have been their brave exponents and daring proclaimers? Nearly always the godless ones: the Atheists; they lived, fought, and died for them. They knew that justice, truth, and fidelity are not conditioned in heaven, but that they are related to and interwoven with the tremendous changes going on in the social and material life of the human race; not fixed and eternal, but fluctuating, even as life itself. To what heights the philosophy of Atheism may yet attain, no one can prophesy. But this much can already be predicted: only by its regenerating fire will human relations be purged from the horrors of the past.

Thoughtful people are beginning to realize that moral precepts, imposed upon humanity through religious terror, have become stereotyped and have therefore lost all vitality. A glance at life today, at its disintegrating character, its conflicting interests with their hatreds, crimes, and greed, suffices to prove the sterility of theistic morality.

Man must get back to himself before he can learn

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his relation to his fellows. Prometheus chained to the Rock of Ages is doomed to remain the prey of the vultures of darkness. Unbind Prometheus, and you dispel the night and its horrors.

Atheism in its negation of gods is at the same time the strongest affirmation of man, and through man, the eternal yea to life, purpose, and beauty.

* * *

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The New Citizenship," Percy Mackaye; "The Family As A Social and Educational Institution," W. Goodsell, Ph. D.; MacMillan publishers. "The Nameless One," A Play, Anne C. Cheney; F. A. Stokes Co. publishers. "The Russian Problem," Paul Vinogradoff, F. B. A.; "Ideals and Realities in Russian Literature," P. Kropotkin; "Russia's Gift to the World," J. W. Mackail; Four plays translated from the French of Emile Augier by Barret H. Clark with a Preface by Brieux; "Taras Bulba," N. V. Gogol; A. A. Knopf publishers. "Socialism in America," John Macy; Doubleday Page & Co. publishers. 'Socialism and War," Louis B. Boudin; New Review Pub. Ass'n. "The Criminals," George Middleton; B. W. Huebsch publisher.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Take Notice, Friends! / Emma Goldman.— 22 cm. *In* The Blast [San Francisco]. — (Feb. 19, 1916).

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so this. "The goats are larger than we are," said the white rabbit. "Exactly," replied the grey rabbit; "let us unite in one great [illegible] foxes watched them from the shade.

—Charles Erskine Scott Wood

The Meaning of War

WHAT, speaking in quite unofficial language, is the net purport and upshot of war? To my own knowledge, for example, there dwell and toil in the British village of Dundrudge usually some five hundred souls. From these, by certain "natural enemies" of the French, there are successively selected, during the French war, say thirty able-bodied men. Dundrudge, at her own expense, has suckled and nursed them; she has, not without difficulty and sorrow, fed them up to manhood, and even trained them to crafts, so that one can weave, another build, another hammer, and the weakest can stand under thirty stone avoirdupois. Nevertheless, amid much weeping and swearing, they are selected; all dressed in red; and shipped away at the public charges, some two thousand miles, or say only to the south of Spain, and fed there till wanted.

And now to that same spot, in the south of Spain, are thirty similar French artisans, from a French Dundrudge, in like manner wending; till at length, after infinite effort, the two parties come into actual juxtaposition; and Thirty stands fronting Thirty, each with gun in his hand. Straightway the word "Fire!" is given; and they blow the souls out of one another; and in place of sixty brisk, useful craftsmen the world has sixty dead carcasses, which it must bury, and anew shed tears for.

Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the devil is, not the smallest! They lived far enough apart; were the entirest strangers; nay, in so wide a Universe, there was even, unconsciously, by Commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them. How, then? Simpleton! Their Governors had fallen out; and, instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot.

—Thomas Carlyle

Only Labor Can Abolish War

PEACE congresses will not abolish war, nor is it the sincere wish of those who patronize them that war should be abolished. They are instituted mainly by those whose millions come from the manufacture of war munitions, or from land titles to barren acres which are only validated by armies and navies.

War will be abolished when the artisans and craftsmen cease to manufacture war implements—which are made solely for the purpose of keeping in subjection those by whose toil and skill they are fabricated. Kings and rulers seldom kill each other, but they always unite to kill workingmen—they are so united now.

How much will Carnegie subscribe for an educational campaign to teach workingmen not to make war implements? Not a penny. But he will give millions, if need be, to pay for shooting down men who should strike against work on battleships and cannon and refuse to permit others to take their jobs. Such is the sincerity of those who pray and pay for peace.

Peace congresses are fads of the foolish or crafty rich.

War will not be abolished by those interested in its loot. There is no hope for man at the top of the human heap. Only as the mass grows more intelligent and intolerant of slavery will conditions become more human. Wholesale murder will only cease when workingmen refuse to manufacture its implements.

—Luke North

Take Notice, Friends!

About to go to press, we received the following wire from New York: "Arrested birth control charge. Under five hundred bond. Got postponement until twenty-eighth. Will try to get another extension. I want to prepare case thoroughly. Can you arrange protest meeting and make appeal? Will need money for publicity. Have written you at length. Send protests to City Attorney Edward Swann.—EMMA GOLDMAN."

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] Emma Goldman Is Held for Her Talk on "Birth Control" / Emma Goldman.— 28 cm. *In* New York Herald. —(Feb. 29, 1916).

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Brooklyn
...et's Eight Flames
...DR BURNING

COLONEL HOUSE
...Authorship of Story on American Politics.

[SPECIAL DESPATCH TO THE HERALD.]

CHICAGO, Ill., Monday.—The Chicago Tribune to-day prints this article from Washington:—"Washington to-day is convinced that Colonel Edward M. House, President Wilson's confidential adviser, has been revealed at last as the author of a novel, written in 1912, entitled 'Philip Dru, Administrator.'

"It became known during the day that the Texan presented an autographed copy of this work to Senator Culberson, of Texas. When a search was made for it at Senator Culberson's office, it was discovered that the volume had been borrowed by some one. At the Senator's office it was stated that the secret of authorship probably was disclosed by the person who took this volume.

"In his novel Colonel House portrays the hero, Philip Dru, at the work of entirely reconstructing the American system of government. Philip Dru feels sorry for the wrongs the people have suffered at the hands of the interests. He starts out to right them, but he does not take the people into his confidence during the fighting. Rather he works out theories for the correction of all existing evils and then immediately creates government machinery to put those theories into practice. Dru feels that the English system of government is much better than the American and wherever possible he adopts English methods.

"Members of Congress chortled with glee to-day when they heard of the opportunity presented to them to look into the mind of Colonel House.

"With the preparedness programme now before Congress, members of the House and Senate to-day were eager to get Colonel House's views on the development of the army and the navy.

"They turned to the novel which is attributed to his pen and found that the hero, Philip Dru, had some thoughts which up to to-day never entered the minds of either military or naval experts of the government.

"When confronted with a great international crisis Dru suddenly came to the realization that the United States navy was not equal to the task which it might be called upon to perform in case of war. So he set his mind to the work of evolving a navy equal to all tasks.' Colonel House

EMMA GOLDMAN IS
...HELD FOR HER TALK
...Arrest Supporters in Harlem Court.

Backed by perhaps the most distinguished supporters who ever espoused any of her multitudinous causes, Emma Goldman pleaded in the Harlem Court yesterday her right to "shout the doctrine of birth control from the housetops" despite the State law that no one shall do anything to interfere with the bearing of children.

Among those who were surprised [illegible] Miss Goldman was held in $500 bail [illegible] trial in the Court of Special Sessions was Mrs. J. Sergeant Cram, Mrs. Forbes M[illegible] gan, Leonard Abbott and Walton [illegible] interested in the movement to prevent births of those who will be of [illegible] or may be a burden to humanity.

Magistrate Simms' court room was crowded and hundreds were turned away. Outside several sandwich men [illegible] up and down advertising a meeting to discuss birth control in Carnegie Hall [illegible] morrow evening. Besides Miss Goldman the speakers announced include Margaret Sanger, the federal indictment against whom for using the mails to preach birth control was dismissed recently; Bolton Hall, John Read, Theodore Schroeder, Dr. A. L. Goldwater and Dr. William J. Robinson. Detectives also will be there to see if arrests may be made in the official effort to suppress birth control information.

Miss Goldman in Defence.

Miss Goldman made her own [illegible] defence for herself at the hearing before Magistrate Simms. Two detectives testified that they had taken stenographic notes of the address, in German, at the Star Casino, Lexington avenue and 107th street, on February 3, and they read what she had said. There was a great craning of necks.

Miss Goldman admitted she had made the remarks attributed to her, but contended the section under which she was arrested, No. 1,142, was unconstitutional and that the Legislature meant through it to suppress "quack vendors of nostrums."

"That section of the penal law was not aimed at the worldwide movement known as birth control, which is sponsored by eminent men the world over," said Miss Goldman. "In Holland and Scandinavia this movement has been carried to such success that it has obtained the support of the governments.

"Birth control is a movement which represents the spiritual awakening of women throughout the world. In England [illegible] eminent psychologists and men of letters as Havelock Ellis, Dr. Drysdale, Bernard Shaw, Edward Carpenter and H. G. [illegible] advocate the free and frank discussion of birth control, so that fewer and better children may be born."

There will be no gag rule at Carnegie Hall to-morrow night, it was said, and Mrs. Sanger, Miss Goldman and the others will be invited to speak as they please, as though there was no such thing as section No. 1,142 of the Penal Code.

While Magistrate Simms was holding court he received from the Slagle Tax

...while Funch, Edye & Co. are her import agents.

SEE PLOT BEHIND PITTSBURG FIRE

[SPECIAL DESPATCH TO THE HERALD.]

PITTSBURG, Pa., Monday.—The Pierce department mills of the Hubbard & Co. works were destroyed to-day, entailing a loss of $150,000. A month ago it was announced that the Hubbard company had received several large orders for shovels for the French government, and the manager of the mill, C. L. Pierce, said to-night everything indicated that the fire was the work of German sympathisers.

The watchman had made his rounds a few moments before a fierce blaze suddenly started, and it seemed as if the flames sprang from several different places at the same time. He was compelled to jump from a window on the second floor to save his life. J. W. Hubbard, president of the company, left here for New York a few hours before the fire occurred.

WOMEN NO LONGER SLAVES, SAYS COURT

"We Have Emerged from Dark Ages," Justice Declares in Proceedings Over Boy.

So great a change in the legal aspect of women's rights has occurred in the last sixty years that a mother's right to the custody of her children is at least "equal to that of the father," according to a decision by Justice Shearn in the Supreme Court yesterday. The Justice decided that the Rev. Dr. Burton Howard Lee, pastor of St. Mary's Episcopal Church, in Ce-

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department mills of the ... works were destroyed to-day, entailing a loss of ... A month ago it was ... that the Hayward company ... for the French ... that ... night ... The ... daily ... placed ... insured ... for ... occurred.

methods.

"Members of Congress ... glee to-day when they heard of the opportunity presented to them to look into the mind of Colonel House.

"With the preparedness programme now before Congress, members of the House and Senate to-day were eager to get Colonel House's views on the development of the army and the navy.

"They turned to the novel which is attributed to his pen and found that the hero, Philip Dru, had some thoughts which up to to-day never entered the minds of either military or naval experts of the government.

"When confronted with a great international crisis Dru suddenly came to the realization that the United States navy was not equal to the task which it might be called upon to perform in case of war. So he set his mind to the work of evolving a navy equal to all tasks," Colonel House relates that after some study he invented a battle ship which 'would render obsolete every battle ship in existence.'

"Here is Colonel House's description of the vessel:—

"'Running back from the bow for a distance of sixty feet only about four feet of the hull showed above the water line, and this part of the deck was concaved and of the smoothest, hardest steel. Then came several turreted sections upon which guns were mounted. Around these turrets ran rims of polished steel two feet in width and six inches thick. These rims began four feet from the water line and ran four feet above the level of the turret decks. The rims were so nicely adjusted with ball bearings that the smallest blow would send them spinning around, therefore a shell could not penetrate because it would glance off.'

"After reading this section several naval experts declared that no one as yet has appeared before the Naval Affairs Committee to advocate a spinning battle ship. One or two suggested that Colonel House might be invited to appear when he returns to the United States from his present mission to Europe and develop his theory a little further.

"Readers of Colonel House's novel searched it for some reference to President Wilson. Practically all searched in vain. The Colonel was so busy portraying the workings of his hero that he forgot to say much about the man he is generally credited with making President."

Broker Loses Damage Action.

WHITE PLAINS, N. Y., Monday.—A ... jury returned a verdict to Justice Tomp... defendant in the action ...

the speakers announced ... Sanger, the federal indictment against ... whom for using the mails to promote ... control was dismissed recently; Rabbi ... Hall, John ... Theodore Schroeder, ... Dr. William J. ... the ... the ... the

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The Emma Goldman Papers

To My Friends in Philadelphia / Emma Goldman.— p. 424 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 11, no. 1 (March 1916).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

yet he sat for a long moment with wrinkled brow and pursed lips, musing, while the newspaper dropped unheeded upon the desk."

The wrinkled brow of the conscientious, far seeing citizen and great detective Blaine is easily accounted for. He is evidently in grave doubt whether capital will have economic and social insight enough to hire help from Blaine's detective agency to settle the strike in an up-to-date manner, á la Ludlow.

* * *

THE following is part of a letter which we received from an English Comrade. Those of our readers who wax warm over preparedness for defense would do well to consider his words:

"The Conscription Act will take some of our comrades away, but they will not be willing tools in the lands of the military, who are now in the saddle in this country. The civil authorities are playing second fiddle—in a minor key. If the Americans wish to retain their liberties, let them fight the partisans of 'preparedness' tooth and nail. The English people have allowed their native 'Prussians' to take away the liberties which they went to war with Germany to defend. But there, if I say much more our friend the Censor may suppress this letter altogether."

* * *

Saturday, March 11th, at 8 P. M. the friends of MOTHER EARTH will gather at the Harlem Casino, 116th Street and Lenox Avenue to celebrate the eleventh anniversary of our magazine. Let everyone who can walk, ride or fly be present at the affair and rejoice with us in the life and work of MOTHER EARTH.

TO MY FRIENDS IN PHILADELPHIA.

We have lost the list of names of those who have subscribed to the drama course and not having a way of communicating with you, the course, much to our regret, had to be abandoned. Will all those who have subwrite to me at once? If enough names will come in, I shall give the drama course in April.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

DANGER FIRST

BY ROBERT MINOR

REVOLUTIONARY activity consists largely of putting oneself deliberately into danger's way as a human buffer for the protection of an idea. As the business man's ideal of conduct is "safety first," so the effective revolutionist's ideal of activity must be "danger first." Where and when the attack of Authority upon Liberty is fiercest—*there* is the place for the sincere lover of Liberty.

The Cause wanes and nearly dies at certain times in certain places, for lack of one man or woman brave enought to stand and take the blow unflinchingly. To die if necessary, by one's courage to awe the tyrant and inspire the friend. Civilizations live and perish, after all, by the deeds of men, despite the extreme to which some carry the theory of social evolution.

So the Cause needs some who possess the unearthly courage to be ready at any minute to give themselves in sacrifice.

Such is, in my opinion, the little group that has, for 10 years, published MOTHER EARTH. They have exasperated me at times, by being human instead of perfect, but when all is summed up and many spectacular fighters are found missing, having compromised, sought cover for a quieter day, leaving the field undisputed by them to Tyranny—it is little old MOTHER EARTH, or its founders, that I see in the centre of the field, ready to pay the price of courage.

I find myself dwelling on a wonderful phrase or sentence, and I ask myself where I heard it—then I remember having gotten it from MOTHER EARTH long ago. I make a cartoon built on an idea that has been in my head for years—and after it is done I recall that MOTHER EARTH put it into my brain.

MOTHER EARTH, the SOURCE! How we need her! How well chosen is her name!

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The Emma Goldman Papers

My Arrest and Preliminary Hearing / Emma Goldman.– pp. 426-430 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 11, no. 1 (March 1916).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

MY ARREST AND PRELIMINARY HEARING

By Emma Goldman

MY wellmeaning comrades and friends who were beginning to grow uneasy lest Mother Earth and her Publisher grow conservative, ought to feel appeased. The police of New York City are still with us.

I have lectured on birth control for years; many times in New York and other cities, before representative audiences. At almost every meeting plain clothes men were present taking copious notes. It was therefore no secret that I am sponsoring birth control and the necessity of imparting knowledge on this most vital question.

Friday, February 4th, I again delivered this lecture in Forward Hall, New York, when three thousand people attempted to crowd the place. As a result of this popular clamor for knowledge on birth control, another meeting was arranged for Tuesday, February 8th at the New Star Casino. Again an eager throng attended. The meeting was orderly and everything went off as peacefully and intelligently as on all other occasions when I lecture, if not interfered with by the police. Then on Friday, February 11th, just as I was about to enter the Forward Hall to deliver a lecture on Atheism, a subject which has no bearing at all upon birth control, I was arrested, taken to a filthy station house, then hustled into a patrol wagon, rushed to the Clinton Street jail, there searched in the most vulgar manner by a coarse looking matron in the presence of two detectives, a thing which would outrage the most hardened criminal. Then I was locked up in a cell until my bondsman released me on five hundred dollars bail.

Now all this was unnecessary in as much as I am too well known in the country to run away. Besides, one who has stood the brunt for an ideal for twenty-five years is not likely to run away. A summons would have been enough. But because I happen to be Emma Goldman and the exponent of Anarchism, the whole brutality of the New York police had to be employed in dealing with me, which only goes to prove that everything else in society advances except the Police Department. I confess I was credulous enough to believe that some change had taken

place since my last arrest in New York City, which was in 1906, but I discovered my mistake.

However, this is not vital, but what is of importance and that which I want to place before you is the fact that the methods of persecution on the part of the reactionary element in New York City in relation to any modern idea pertaining to birth control have evidently not ended with the death of Anthony Comstock. His successor, wanting to ingratiate himself, is leaving nothing undone to make any intelligent discussion of that vital subject possible. Unfortunately, he and the police are evidently not aware that birth control has reached such dimensions that no amount of persecution and petty chicanery can halt its sweep.

It is hardly necessary to point out that whatever may be the law on birth control, those like myself who are disseminating knowledge along that line are not doing so because of personal gain or because we consider it lewd or obscene. We do it because we know the desperate condition among the masses of workers and even professional people, when they cannot meet the demands of numerous children. It is upon that ground that I mean to make my fight when I go into court. Unless I am very much mistaken, I am sustained in my contention by the fundamental principles in America, namely, that when a law has outgrown time and necessity, it must go and the only way to get rid of the law, is to awaken the public to the fact that it has outlived its purpose and that is precisely what I have been doing and mean to do in the future.

A campaign of publicity has been started. It will have its first extensive hearing in Carnegie Hall, March 1st, where numerous physicians, lawyers, men and women of letters and propaganda will make a solid front for birth control.

Monday, February 28th my preliminary hearing took place before Judge Simms. I had no counsel. I cross-examined the witnesses and brought out that though they had not taken stenographic notes, they reeled off half of my birth control lecture. How accurate they were, I leave to the imagination of our readers.

I also was able to bring out the dense ignorance of the witnesses by the fact that though they claimed to have written down my spelling of various contracepts, every-

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The Emma Goldman Papers

My Arrest and Preliminary Hearing / Emma Goldman.– pp. 426-430 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 11, no. 1 (March 1916).

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one of them was wrong and misleading. I therefore called the attention of the Court that if men cannot even copy correctly what is spelled out for them, they certainly will not remember anything correctly, and that such testimony ought never to be permitted if there really were such a thing as Justice in Court. I then moved for a dismissal of my case on the following ground:

Statute 1142 under which I was arrested refers exclusively to those who engage in the sale, exhibit or advertisement of instruments, articles, recipes, drugs or medicines for the prevention of conception or for causing unlawful abortions. Whether these articles be offered in a printed form or whether they be given orally stating when, where, how and of whom or by what means such an instrument, article, recipe, drug or medicine can be purchased.

The testimony of the plaintiffs and their statements on the stand, nowhere shows that I have advertised, exhibited or sold any of the above articles, recipes or medicines; or that I have given information when, where, how or of whom these articles may be purchased or obtained. I therefore call to your attention that the statute manifestly is aimed at quack doctors and street fakirs who prey upon the credulous public. It is not aimed at the world-wide movement known as birth control which has as its sponsors eminent men and women of science in Europe and America, a movement which in countries like Holland and Scandinavia has been carried to a final success, being approved even by the governments of the respective countries so that men and women can at any time purchase or obtain methods of prevention.

The birth control movement is represented by modern science, sociology, economic necessity and the spiritual awakening of woman all over the world. In England the eminent psychologist, Havelock Ellis and physician, Dr. Drysdale, the men of letters Bernard Shaw, Edward Carpenter, H. G. Wells and numerous others, speak in behalf of a free and frank discussion of Birth Control and methods whereby fewer and better children can be born.

In America the Birth Control movement is sustained by the Academy of Medicine in New York with the venerable Prof. Jacobi in its lead, Dr. Robinson, Dr.

Wile and Dr. Herman M. Biggs. This world-wide movement which is not for a personal gain or for the purpose of preying upon the credulous public, but which aims to minister to a pressing need of millions of people of the working and professional middle class, cannot come under the statute 1142, which clearly is intended for entirely a different purpose.

The lecture on Birth Control which I have delivered all over the United States, including New York, always before representative audiences and in the presence of plain clothes men, never was for the purpose of exploiting any particular person or store. It is, however, to prevent such terrible social crimes as is demonstrated for instance, in the suicide of a mother of eleven children and pregnant with the twelth because she could not endure the strain and anxiety of ministering to the wants of a large brood of helpless offspring. Or in the recent tragedy quoted from Chicago where a young girl commiltted suicide because in her pregnant condition she could not face the persecution and obloquy from society. These are only two examples of thousands that have come to my notice during the twenty-five years of my public activity and which led me to take up the question of Birth Control.

Of course my case was not dismissed. I am held over for Special Sessions. What now? First, a country-wide publicity campaign. Nothing else has such power as publicity. For that, money is urgently needed. Send your contribution at once; whether small or large it will aid to arouse men and women to the necessity of a frank and free discussion on birth control. Write letters to the District Attorney, Edward Swann, New York City, and get your friends to do the same. Even District Attorneys are not immune to popular demands. Arrange meetings in your own city. Bring the birth control issue and my case to the notice of all liberal gatherings in your town. Write to your newspapers demanding that they bring news about the birth control movement.

Friends, six months after MOTHER EARTH was born there began a wave of reaction in New York City, when together with eleven others I was arrested. But thanks to the tremendous protest carried on at the time, nothing came of the arrest. As a result, I was able to devote the

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last ten years to MOTHER EARTH and other phases of propaganda. Now at the beginning of the 11th Anniversary of our magazine, I am again in the clutches of the law. That should convince even the chronic doubters that neither MOTHER EARTH nor I have lost the menacing aspect to the powers that be.

I am not afraid of prison. I have been there before. I know bad as prison is, the radicals of this country would do well to try it for a time. It would strengthen their backbone and spirit The fight I mean to make is for the right of the masses, and especially women, to decide whether or not they shall bring forth life in a system which rests on the degradation and humiliation as well as the destruction of life.

Yet more than even that, my fight is in behalf of freedom of speech and press on the great social problems of our time. It is for this I ask your material assistance and your intelligent co-operation. Laws are transitory, but life is eternal, ever changing, ever renewing. Let us fight for life and the right to bring to it Strength and Beauty.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

GREETINGS ON THE 11th ANNIVERSARY OF MOTHER EARTH

The pressure of work prevents my article. Your arrest on the eleventh anniversary is significant. It proves that time did not dampen the fire of either the magazine or its publisher. Never before did the country need the spirit and courage of you both. The times are pregnant with great struggles. The world needs uncompromising fighters. May your efforts echo thousandfold progress.

With you in comradeship,

ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

San Francisco, Cal., Feb. 25, 1916.

* * *

Four police stenographers, untold numbers of plain-clothes men and thousands of advocates of birth control filled Carnegie Hall last night, where Emma Goldman, rising like a phoenix from the ashes of her last arrest, on February 11, took up the doctrine of limitation of families where detectives made her leave off last time—**New York Tribune, March 2d, 1916.**

TWO HEROINES OF THE REVOLUTION

IT IS a great relief to turn ones eyes from the driven war-heroes to the free-spirited heroes of the Revolution. It deepens the sympathies that go out to the sufferers of all countries, it makes one more determined to keep up the spirit of universal brotherhood and the Internationale.

The heroes of the war may boast of their iron crosses, orders, and eagles. These rewards for efficient butchery can not remove the stigma from them, that they are fighting, like people in bondage and servitude, the battles of their own despots.

Behold on the other hand, the heroes of the Revolution, agitating, fighting, dying to free humanity from tyranny. The enthusiasm that makes their hearts beat quicker is their own enthusiasm, the convictions and ideals which inspire them are deeply rooted in their own personalities.

The Russian revolutionists who executed Czar Alexander II. on March 13, 1881, were such heroes. Ever to be remembered are also many of the heroes of the Paris Commune of the 18th of March, 1871, butchered by the soldiers of the provisional government of May, 1871.

The head of this government was Thiers, a typical Bourgeois, who was much more afraid of the rebellious proletariat of Paris than of Bismarck, whose armies had closed in on the French capital. To disarm the uprising in Paris, to kill off as many fighters of the Commune as possible, and then to bring about an "honourable peace" with Prussia, was his most cherished desire.

At this time several leaders of the Commune were visited by a teacher whose name was Louise Michel. She told them that she was ready to kill Thiers and that she was willing to give up her own life for that purpose. She was well known as an ardent revolutionist and enthusiastic supporter of the Internationale but the men she approached persuaded her not to carry out what she proposed.

Later Louise Michel joined the forces on the barricades, dressed like a man, fighting, shooting, doing picket duty. She was one of the communards at the cemetery Pere la Chaise, where the Commune fought it's last battle.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

David Caplan / Emma Goldman. – pp. 437-438 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 11, no. 1 (March 1916).

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without a convoy. There are spies, but I don't care, for they survey from afore (sic) and leave me alone. I feel much better, and hope to be healthy all the time, for everything is done to make me comfortable.

The weather is very cold, and some walk. I sleep well and much; I eat often and good meals. This voyage will be longer than the voyage I made in summer. We are going up the river now. We may very soon encounter ice that will impede our course, or stop it altogether. Then some other mode of moving will be found out.

My eyes are not worse. All the summer I did nothing to fatigue them, and now, too, I am always lazy, watching the river and its shores.

Pray print in your Journal that while in prison I received a big, thick, woolen shawl, and did not know from whom. Only in Yakutsk the letter from Mary Allen, written in 1914, was sent to me. Now, I am not sure of her address, and yet I wish to thank her and her excellent mother for such a beautiful and useful present and kiss her with all my heart.

I am sure there is a quantity of your and other "friends'" letters lost, but, being sure of your everlasting friendship, I feel quiet and happy.

Certainly I will inform you of my new destination the day I learn it myself. Adieu, my dearest and beloved Alice. Gregor sent money. It will be enough.

October 1-13, 1915.
Vitim, a little port on Lena.

Amidst the ices of Lena, 2,000 miles from Yakutsk and 1,400 miles from Irkutsk, waiting a practicable way to continue my travel, in a little home of my good friends, I sit before a little table to inform you, my faithful friends in America, that there is no weather, no difficulty strong enough to crumble my health to pieces, to kill me to the ground. In a month there will be a thick ice covering the waters of Lena, and by that time I hope to find a companion with whom I will reach Irkutsk quite safely. With great difficulty the mail is transported till now, but very soon there will be some weeks without any post. Therefore, I do not mention my address of today, but I ask you to send your letters to Irkutsk.

On a picture post card dated Oct. 28-Nov. 10.

No letters from you. I am sorry. The cold is great, but the mighty river does not wish to stand still, and the road is too dangerous to be sure to make it safely. There were many unhappy falls with the mail post and some travelers. So I decided to wait a better opportunity. The winter promises to be very severe, and my friends wish to retain me in Vitim till the spring; yet I fear to lose the opportunity to live in an endurable place.

* * *

Singleness of purpose and wholeheartedness made these two heroines of the Revolution endure the worst with a smile; this is the very thing to be desired for every man and woman who follows the banner of liberty.

DAVID CAPLAN

DAVID CAPLAN'S case comes up March 14th. So far absolutely nothing has been done for him in California. Is it that the Caplan-Schmidt Defense is still stunned by the shock of Mathew Schmidt's conviction? If so, they show themselves veritable children. Months before the trial, anyone capable of judgment realized that Mathew A. Schmidt would be sacrificed unless the old methods of defense were revised.

It is precisely for this reason that the more revolutionary element on the Coast pleaded in behalf of a newer, more determined, more radical procedure. The past is beyond change, but it should serve as a vital lesson that labor can hope for absolutely nothing from the enemy, so long as labor is itself weak and compromising, so long as labor will not emerge from the old, stagnant, paralyzing pool of wire pulling.

David Caplan's case comes up March 14th. Is he too, to be sacrificed, dedicated to the Moloch who has already devoured the McNamaras and our friend Mathew A. Schmidt? If labor leaders are willing he should, we of the radical wing of the labor struggle are not. At a conference held in New York City, attended by delegates representing sixty-five Jewish labor organizations, it was decided to start a determined campaign for David Caplan. A large meeting has been arranged for March 12th,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

David Caplan / Emma Goldman. – pp. 437-438 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 11, no. 1 (March 1916).

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3 P. M., two days before David Caplan's trial.

The delegates were instructed to return to their organizations and plead for material aid. The Jewish Press is to be invoked to do the same. Money is the most pressing question in the case of David Caplan, as the fund raised for a joint defense of Caplan and Schmidt is all exhausted and it is not likely that other than the radical element in and out of the labor movement will come to the rescue of David Caplan.

The readers of MOTHER EARTH are among the most willing to aid every great issue. I know they will not fail David Caplan. Send contributions by checks or money orders direct to David Caplan, County Jail, Los Angeles, or to MOTHER EARTH. Write him. You cannot realize how one in jail craves sympathy and encouragement. Arrange protest meetings for the day of his trial. Send letters and wires of protest to the Prosecuting Attorney of Los Angeles. Enough victims have been sacrificed in California. Let us save David Caplan.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

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COMING TO JESUS!

BY THEODORE WIGAND

DURING the middle of December I had an excellent opportunity to investigate Christian charity (the Salvation Army brand) and to test American liberty. Concerning this liberty I wish to say this: You can walk the Bowery on cold and rainy nights, if you have no home, or if you have no money you have the liberty to go hungry for days.

As to calling myself an investigator, I know, dear reader, it will arouse your suspicions. Ah! ha! you think, another one of those pesky "social investigators," who investigate—in exchange for a salary—the conditions of the poor. They who bring "startling facts" to light, of which the poor have known, suffered and died under since generations. The facts which the well-to-do don't care to know at all.

I can reassure you on this point, if you permit me to introduce myself.

I am an old man of 73 years. By trade I am a shoemaker, by conviction a radical. I have worked all my life as long as I could find work, but now I am an "old bum." Some people who advertise in the papers for help wink at me as soon as they detect me in the crowd of submissive job-hunters. "You are altogether too young," they will address me jokingly.

Under these conditions I became an investigator of Christian Charity by necessity.

It was the night between the 17th and 18th of December. Cold rain fell for hours and hours on the unprotected unfortunate night wanderers of New York who had no homes. I was one of them, my clothes soaked all through, my whole body shivering and chilled to the bone. Even Blackwell's Island seemed an alluring, hospitable place.

Towards morning a comrade in misery advised me, to inquire for work at the Employment Bureau of the Salvation Army. This I did, hoping against hope to find a job as kitchen helper, dish washer or something like that.

The man in charge received my request in a manner which made it very doubtful, that he had ever been introduced to Jesus. There was no job for me, he said harshly. After some more talk he told me, I could go to the "Industrial Home of the Salvation Army;" there I would be taken care of by charity. Again tramping on, tired, exhausted, I finally landed at that "Home," conducted for the benefit of the poor under the holy patronage of Jesus. It was sheer terror that had urged me on. The approaching night; was I again to live through its horrors shelterless? A shelter I must have, whatever it may look like! That was the only thing I could think or feel at the moment.

At first sight, it did not look so dreadful, the "Home." It seemed clean and a plate of soup braced me up somewhat . And the prospect of stretching oneself and of actually sleeping on a mattress! About 150 men were to sleep in the room to which I was directed.

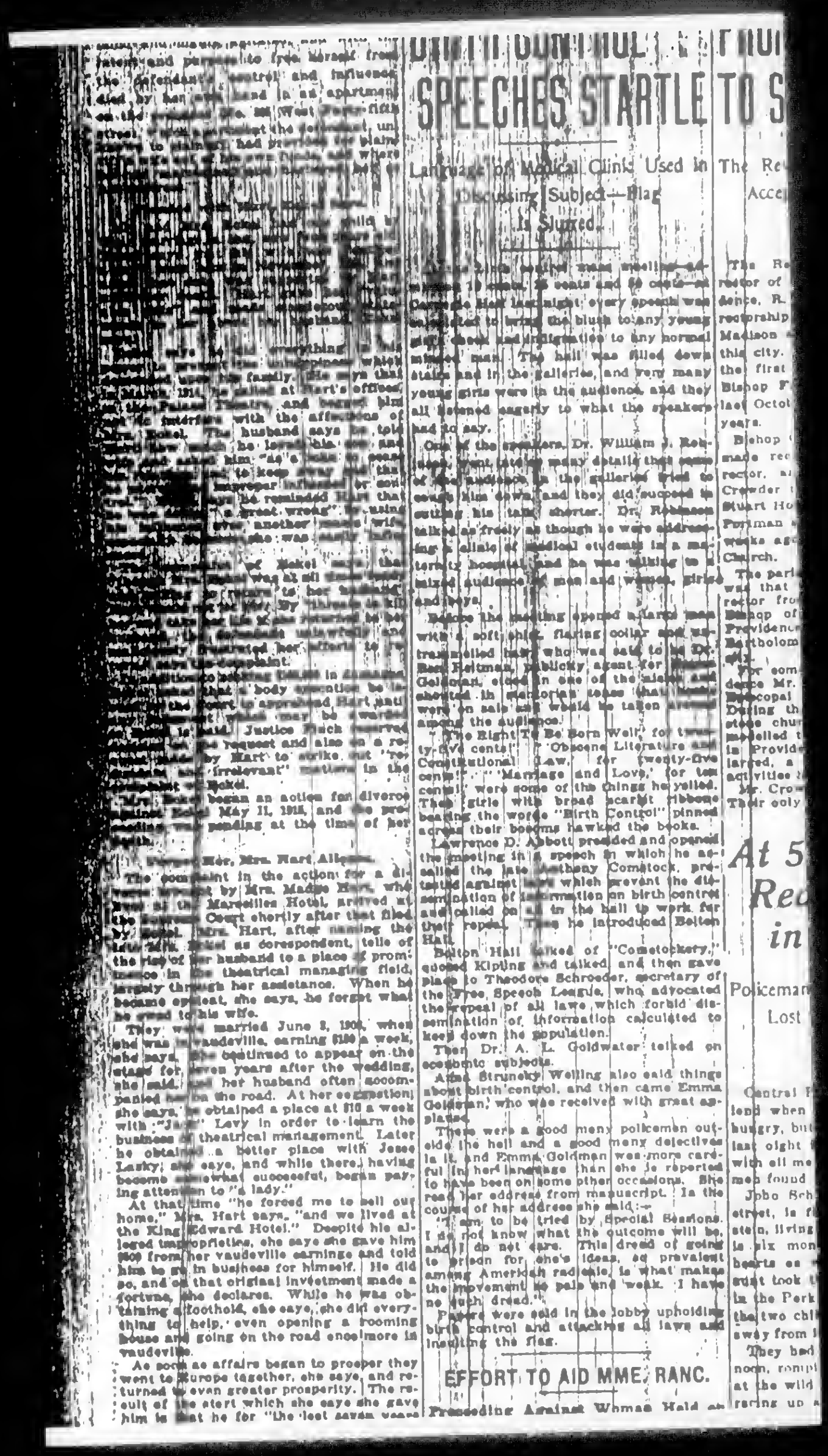
Five o'clock in the morning the bell rings. Everybody has to get up. At six breakfast, consisting of very bad "coffee," bread and hash. I found that I could stand only the bread. The hash reminded me of a remark of Heinrich Heine, the German poet, about sau-

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Birth Control Speeches Startle / Emma Goldman.— 28 cm. *In* New York Herald. —(March 2, 1916).

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SPEECHES STARTLE TO S

Language of Medical Clinic Used in Discussing Subject—Flag Is Slurred

The Re

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[illegible] packed [illegible] 25 cents and 50 cents—at Carnegie Hall last night; every speech was calculated to bring the blush to any young girl's cheek and indignation to any normal minded man. The hall was filled down stairs and in the galleries, and very many young girls were in the audience and they all listened eagerly to what the speakers had to say.

One of the speakers, Dr. William J. Robinson, went into many details that some of the audience in the galleries tried to crowd him down, and they did succeed in cutting his talk shorter. Dr. Robinson talked as freely as though he were addressing a clinic of medical students in a maternity hospital and he was talking to a mixed audience of men and women, girls and boys.

Before the meeting opened a lanky man with a soft shirt, flaring collar and unpressed suit, who was said to be Dr. Max Feitman, publicity agent for Emma Goldman, stood in one of the aisles and shouted in stentorian tones that books were on sale and would be taken around among the audience.

"The Right To Be Born Well," for twenty-five cents! "Obscene Literature and Constitutional Law," for twenty-five cents!" "Marriage and Love," for ten cents!" were some of the things he yelled. Then girls with broad scarlet ribbons bearing the words "Birth Control" pinned across their bosoms hawked the books.

Lawrence D. Abbott presided and opened the meeting in a speech in which he assailed the late Anthony Comstock, protested against laws which prevent the dissemination of information on birth control and called on all in the hall to work for their repeal. Then he introduced Bolton Hall.

Bolton Hall talked of "Comstockery," quoted Kipling and talked, and then gave place to Theodore Schroeder, secretary of the Free Speech League, who advocated the repeal of all laws which forbid dissemination of information calculated to keep down the population.

Then Dr. A. L. Goldwater talked on eugenic subjects.

Alice Stuneky Welling also said things about birth control, and then came Emma Goldman, who was received with great applause.

There were a good many policemen outside the hall and a good many detectives in it, and Emma Goldman was more careful in her language than she is reported to have been on some other occasions. She read her address from manuscript. In the course of her address she said:—

"I am to be tried by Special Sessions. I do not know what the outcome will be, and I do not care. This dread of going to prison for one's ideas, so prevalent among American radicals, is what makes the movement so pale and weak. I have no such dread."

Papers were sold in the lobby upholding birth control and attacking all laws and insulting the flag.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

An Urgent Appeal to My Friends / E[mma] G[oldman].– pp. 450-451 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 11, no. 2 (April 1916).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

AN URGENT APPEAL TO MY FRIENDS

By E. G.

IN HER contribution on the subject of Birth Control my friend Rebekha Raney takes issue with me on the efficacy of MOTHER EARTH appearing as a special Birth Control number. Since Rebekha and I believe in free speech I take the liberty to tell her that her objections are based on considerable naiveté regarding radicals and their beliefs.

Not only is there a number of M. E. readers who do not believe in Birth Control, but a great many radicals everywhere have excommunicated me from their lives because I discuss the subect and devote space in MOTHER EARTH to it.

In justice to my critics I wish to say that their objections are due largely to the fact that they look upon Birth Control only as a very small phase in a much larger social setting; namely the freedom of expression in life, labor and art which is constantly being interfered with and curtailed by the reactionary forces.

Yet I hold Birth Control to be a tremendously important phase, first because it is tabooed and the people who advocatc it are persecuted. Secondly it represents the immediate question of life and death to masses of people. That is the principle reason for the present issue of MOTHER EARTH. There is another one, my own arrest. I have no other medium of communication with the public at large except through our magazine. If our readers doubt this, the conspiracy of silence which has so far been observed by the conservative and even the so-called radical press should convince them of this fact.

Since my preliminary hearing, February 28th, hardly an illusion to my case has appeared in any of the papers. A few protest meetings have taken place, one in Seattle, Washington, on February 27th, one in San Francisco, on March 10th, and our own in Carnegie Hall on March 1st. For the rest there has been a dead silence.

That is exactly what the authorities want. But if they build upon that as a safe basis to railroad me they will find themselves woefully mistaken, as I am quite determined to give them considerable trouble. The first step is this issue of MOTHER EARTH which treats the Birth Control question from every angle; historic, scientific, social, economic and above all from the point of view of Woman, which of them all is the most decisive.

Friends, do you want to help through the medium of publicity? If so, send for bundles of MOTHER EARTH, spread the magazine in meetings, among your friends, everywhere that will arouse interest in my case.

Now for the larger work. Before I go before Special Sessions I want to make an adequate and strong defense which is subsequently to be published and circulated in an edition of 100,000 copies. Between now and the trial we must carry on a propaganda campaign through letters and circulars. Lastly and in a measure the most important, if the outcome of my trial is against me MOTHER EARTH will remain without the main source of subsistence. I must repeat once more that our magazine though much better placed than heretofore is not self supporting and would discontinue if I should stop lecturing. But I cannot permit that, not after ten terrible years of struggle. MOTHER EARTH MUST BE SECURED.

Friends, I ask not for myself but for the one thing dearest in all the world to me, my work, our work the larger and more important aspect of which Birth Control is indeed a small phase—Anarchism, the complete economic and social emancipation of man. For this I ask your support.

Send your contributions at once to The Emma Goldman Defense Committee, 20 East 125th St., N. Y. City. Write letters, arrange protest meetings, pass strong resolutions, have them signed and sent to the District Attorney, Edward Swann.

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THE HISTORICAL SIDE OF THE BIRTH CONTROL MOVEMENT

BY LEONARD D. ABBOTT

THE recent arrest of Emma Goldman for the "crime" of giving information in her lectures on the subject of birth control suggests a backward, as well as a forward, look. Behind it, as behind every significant event, stretches a long historical vista. America is repeating the experience of other countries in this matter of birth control. Here, as in Europe, the course of events has followed the same general lines. First come the writers and teachers who insist on the importance of

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman's Trial on April 5th / [Emma Goldman]. – p. 467 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 11, no. 2 (April 1916).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

so unsupported a dogma by modern specialists in sexual emotions.

Let us now proceed from this generalization to the more particular. I have not made a canvass but I venture to make a safe guess, that there never has been one member of the Legislature who can show a child for every sexual experience. Now, if that is true, probably somebody gave them some penalized information. Why then do they publicly uphold laws of which they privately enjoy the violation? A professional puritan once informed me that his organization always had the best success in getting puritanic legislation from those legislators who are the most corrupt. The psychological explanation is easy. A man with a guilty conscience seeks a cloak of "righteousness" and prefers the one that interferes the least with his graft or debauchery, and furnishes a maximum of emotional approval from the boisterous moralists for revenue. So he acquires a cheap reputation for righteousness that he does not deserve, and makes his deviations from conventional rectitude more secure against suspicion.

Let us now pass our attention over to the judges. I have not made a canvass but I assume that it is another safe guess, that not one judge can show a child for every sexual experience. If that is even approximately true may be some of our judges have been conniving at crime and enjoyed its benefits. Now why not look that fact squarely in the face and ask these gentlemen with their solemn countenance and menacing black gowns why they have the nerve to impose penalties upon others who are doing nothing worse than they themselves are guilty of? Here again we have the same interesting problem of psychology. If the judge has a grown up attitude toward his personal sex problems his own experience may give him a sympathetic understanding of the prisoner at the bar, and nothing more than a nominal penalty or suspended sentence will be imposed. If, however, the judge drags behind him, either secretly or subconsciously, a load of shame, then a defensive reaction will set in, and a severe penalty is apt to be the result. In the disproportion of the penalty to the injury for which it is inflicted, we can find a yard stick with which to measure

the intensity of the shame which the judge seeks to conceal by his "righteous wrath." (Illustrative examples were given but are here omitted.)

Now then, friends, if we could just get to the point where we have the courage to look the whole of our character squarely in the face and then have the courage to insist upon our simple, natural curiosity and desire to know the truth, I think that this law would be repealed by almost unanimous consent. I urge upon you individually, always to dare to speak what you feel and think about it and to express your sentiment by joining with some of these organizations which are devoting themselves to the modification or repeal of this law. If you will all vigorously and aggressively do that, some wholesome result will soon follow.

If politicians could seek a maximum of efficiency in spreading enlightenment instead of increasing jobs, the legislature would pass a law compelling the Board of Health, especially in cities like New York, not only to impart birth control information but to furnish free of charge to all who are married and poor the instrumentalities with which conception can be prevented. For this we need but have an intelligent regard for future generations, and the courage to apply a sensible and timely preventive of future social burdens. Sex is a matter of great importance to life, and I hope the time will soon come when sex subjects will be understood and discussed with the same freedom that we discuss any other question. When enough of us get a wholesome clean-minded grown-up attitude toward sex, puritanism will cease to be respected and our sex censorship will disappear.

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EMMA GOLDMAN'S TRIAL ON APRIL 5th

My hearing came up March 29th before Judge Moss and was adjourned until April 5th, 10 A. M., to come before Judge Garvin. I will plead my own case. I hope all my New York friends will be in court; the trial will take place in the Criminal Court Building on Center Street, in Department 6, ground floor.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

The Social Aspects of Birth Control / Emma Goldman.— pp. 468-475 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 11, no. 2 (April 1916).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF BIRTH CONTROL

By Emma Goldman

IT HAS been suggested that to create one genius nature uses all of her resources and takes a hundred years for her difficult task. If that be true, it takes nature even longer to create a great idea. After all, in creating a genius nature concentrates on one personality whereas an idea must eventually become the heritage of the race and must needs be more difficult to mould.

It is just one hundred and fifty years ago when a great man conceived a great idea, Robert Thomas Malthus, the father of Birth Control. That it should have taken so long a time for the human race to realize the greatness of that idea, is only one more proof of the sluggishness of the human mind. It is not possible to go into a detailed discussion of the merits of Malthus' contention, to wit, that the earth is not fertile or rich enough to supply the needs of an excessive race. Certainly if we will look across to the trenches and battlefields of Europe we will find that in a measure his premise was correct. But I feel confident that if Malthus would live to-day he would agree with all social students and revolutionists that if the masses of people continue to be poor and the rich grow ever richer, it is not because the earth is lacking in fertility and richness to supply the need even of an excessive race, but because the earth is monopolized in the hands of the few to the exclusion of the many.

Capitalism, which was in its baby's shoes during Malthus' time has since grown into a huge insatiable monster. It roars through its whistle and machine, "Send your children on to me, I will twist their bones; I will sap their blood, I will rob them of their bloom," for capitalism has an insatiable appetite.

And through its destructive machinery, militarism, capitalism proclaims, "Send your sons on to me, I will drill and discipline them until all humanity has been ground out of them; until they become automatons ready to shoot and kill at the behest of their masters." Capitalism cannot do without militarism and since the masses of people furnish the material to be destroyed in the trenches and on the battlefield, capitalism must have a large race.

In so called good times, capitalism swallows masses of people to throw them out again in times of "industrial depression." This superfluous human mass, which is swelling the ranks of the unemployed and which represents the greatest menace in modern times, is called by our bourgeois political economists the labor margin. They will have it that under no circumstances must the labor margin diminish, else the sacred institution known as capitalistic civilization will be undermined. And so the political economists, together with all sponsors of the capitalistic regime, are in favor of a large and excessive race and are therefore opposed to Birth Control.

Nevertheless Malthus' theory contains much more truth than fiction. In its modern aspect it rests no longer upon speculation, but on other factors which are related to and interwoven with the tremendous social changes going on everywhere.

First, there is the scientific aspect, the contention on the part of the most eminent men of science who tell us that an overworked and underfed vitality cannot reproduce healthy progeny. Beside the contention of scientists, we are confronted with the terrible fact which is now even recognized by benighted people, namely, that an indiscriminate and incessant breeding on the part of the overworked and underfed masses has resulted in an increase of defective, crippled and unfortunate children. So alarming is this fact, that it has awakened social reformers to the necessity of a mental clearing house where the cause and effect of the increase of crippled, deaf, dumb and blind children may be ascertained. Knowing as we do that reformers accept the truth when it has become apparent to the dullest in society, there need be no discussion any longer in regard to the results of indiscriminate breeding.

Secondly, there is the mental awakening of woman, that plays no small part in behalf of Birth Control. For ages she has carried her burdens. Has done her duty a thousand fold more than the soldier on the battlefield. After all, the soldier's business is to take life . For that he is paid by the State, eulogized by political charlatans and upheld by public hysteria. But woman's function is to give life, yet neither the state nor politicians nor pub-

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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lic opinion have ever made the slightest provision in return for the life woman has given.

For ages she has been on her knees before the altar of duty as imposed by God, by Capitalism, by the State, and by Morality. To-day she has awakened from her age-long sleep. She has shaken herself free from the nightmare of the past; she has turned her face towards the light and its proclaiming in a clarion voice that she will no longer be a party to the crime of bringing hapless children into the world only to be ground into dust by the wheel of capitalism and to be torn into shreds in trenches and battlefields. And who is to say her nay? After all it is woman who is risking her health and sacrificing her youth in the reproduction of the race. Surely she ought to be in a position to decide how many children she should bring into the world, whether they should be brought into the world by the man she loves and because she wants the child, or should be born in hatred and loathing.

Furthermore, it is conceded by earnest physicians that constant reproduction on the part of women has resulted in what the laity terms, "female troubles": a lucrative condition for unscrupulous medical men. But what possible reason has woman to exhaust her system in everlasting child bearing?

It is precisely for this reason that women should have the knowledge that would enable her to recuperate during a period of from three to five years between each pregnancy, which alone would give her physical and mental well-being and the opportunity to take better care of the children already in existence.

But it is not woman alone who is beginning to realize the importance of Birth Control. Men, too, especially working men, have learned to see in large families a millstone around their necks, deliberately imposed upon them by the reactionary forces in society because a large family paralyzes the brain and benumbs the muscles of the masses of working men. Nothing so binds the workers to the block as a brood of children and that is exactly what the opponents of Birth Control want. Wretched as the earnings of a man with a large family are, he cannot risk even that little, so he continues in the rut, compromises and cringes before his master, just to

earn barely enough to feed the many little mouths. He dare not join a revolutionary organization; he dare not go on strike; he dare not express an opinion. Masses of workers have awakened to the necessity of Birth Control as a means of freeing themselves from the terrible yoke and still more as a means of being able to do something for those already in existence by preventing more children from coming into the world.

Last, but not least, a change in the relation of the sexes, though not embracing very large numbers of people, is still making itself felt among a very considerable minority. In the past and to a large extent with the average man to-day. woman continues to be a mere object, a means to an end; largely a physical means and end. But there are men who want more than that from woman; who have come to realize that if every male were emancipated from the superstitions of the past nothing would yet be changed in the social structure so long as woman had not taken her place with him in the great social struggle. Slowly but surely these men have learned that if a woman wastes her substance in eternal pregnancies, confinements and diaper washing, she has little time left for anything else. Least of all has she time for the questions which absorb and stir the father of her children. Out of physical exhaustion and nervous stress she becomes the obstacle in the man's way and often his bitterest enemy. It is then for his own protection and also for his need of the companion and friend in the woman he loves that a great many men want her to be relieved from the terrible imposition of constant reproduction of life, that therefore they are in favor of Birth Control.

From whatever angle, then, the question of Birth Control may be considered, it is the most dominant issue of modern times and as such it cannot be driven back by persecution, imprisonment or a conspiracy of silence.

Those who oppose the Birth Control Movement claim to do so in behalf of motherhood. All the political charlatans prate about this wonderful motherhood, yet on closer examination we find that this motherhood has gone on for centuries past blindly and stupidly dedicating its offspring to Moloch. Besides, so long as mothers are compelled to work many hard hours in order to help

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support the creatures which they unwillingly brought into the world, the talk of motherhood is nothing else but cant. Ten per cent. of married women in the city of New York have to help make a living. Most of them earn the very lucrative salary of $280 a year. How dare anyone speak of the beauties of Motherhood in the face of such a crime?

But even the better paid mothers, what of them? Not so long ago our old and hoary Board of Education declared that mother teachers may not continue to teach. Though these antiquated gentlemen were compelled by public opinion to reconsider their decision, it is absolutely certain that if the average teacher were to become a mother every year, she would soon lose her position. This is the lot of the married mother; what about the unmarried mother? Or is anyone in doubt that there are thousands of unmarried mothers? They crowd our shops and factories and industries everywhere, not by choice but by economic necessity. In their drab and monotonous existence the only color left is probably a sexual attraction which without methods of prevention invariably leads to abortions. Thousands of women are sacrificed as a result of abortions because they are undertaken by quack doctors, ignorant midwives in secrecy and in haste. Yet the poets and the politicians sing of motherhood. A greater crime was never perpetrated upon woman.

Our moralists know about it, yet they persist in behalf of an indiscriminate breeding of children. They tell us that to limit offspring is entirely a modern tendency because the modern woman is loose in her morals and wishes to shirk responsibility. In reply to this, it is necessary to point out that the tendency to limit offspring is as old as the race. We have as the authority for this contention an eminent German physician Dr. Theilhaber who has compiled historic data to prove that the tendency was prevalent among the Hebrews, the Egyptians, the Persians and many tribes of American Indians. The fear of the child was so great that the women used the most hideous methods rather than to bring an unwanted child into the world. Dr. Theilhaber ennumerates fifty-seven methods. This data is of great importance in as much as it dispels the superstition that woman wants to become a mother of a large family.

No, it is not because woman is lacking in responsibility, but because she has too much of the latter that she demands to know how to prevent conception. Never in the history of the world has woman been so race conscious as she is to-day. Never before has she been able to see in the child, not only in her child, but every child, the unit of society, the channel through which man and woman must pass; the strongest factor in the building of a new world. It is for this reason that Birth Control rests upon such solid ground.

We are told that so long as the law on the statute books makes the discussion of preventives a crime, these preventives must not be discussed. In reply I wish to say that it is not the Birth Control Movement, but the law, which will have to go. After all, that is what laws are for, to be made and unmade. How dare they demand that life shall submit to them? Just because some ignorant bigot in his own limitation of mind and heart succeeded in passing a law at the time when men and women were in the thralls of religious and moral superstition, must we be bound by it for the rest of our lives? I readily understand why judges and jailers shall be bound by it. It means their livelihood; their function in society. But even judges sometimes progress. I call your attention to the decision given in behalf of the issue of Birth Control by Judge Gatens of Portland, Oregon. "It seems to me that the trouble with our people to-day is, that there is too much prudery. Ignorance and prudery have always been the millstones around the neck of progress. We all know that things are wrong in society; that we are suffering from many evils but we have not the nerve to get up and admit it, and when some person brings to our attention something we already know, we feign modesty and feel outraged." That certaintly is the trouble with most of our law makers and with all those who are opposed to Birth Control.

I am to be tried at Special Sessions April 5th. I do not know what the outcome will be, and furthermore, I do not care. This dread of going to prison for one's ideas so prevalent among American radicals, is what makes the movement so pale and weak. I have no such dread. My revolutionary tradition is that those who are

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The Emma Goldman Papers

The Social Aspects of Birth Control / Emma Goldman.– pp. 468-475 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 11, no. 2 (April 1916).

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not willing to go to prison for their ideas have never been considered of much value to their ideas. Besides, there are worse places than prison. But whether I have to pay for my Birth Control activities or come out free, one thing is certain, the Birth Control movement cannot be stopped nor will I be stopped from carrying on Birth Control agitation. If I refrain from discussing methods, it is not because I am afraid of a second arrest, but because for the first time in the history of America, the issue of Birth Control through oral information is clear-cut and as I want it fought out on its merits, I do not wish to give the authorities an opportunity to obscure it by something else. However, I do want to point out the utter stupidity of the law. I have at hand the testimony given by the detectives, which, according to their statement, is an exact transcription of what I spelled for them from the platform. Yet so ignorant are these men that they have not a single contracept spelled correctly now. It is perfectly within the law for the detectives to give testimony, but it is not within the law for me to read the testimony which resulted in my indictment. Can you blame me if I am an anarchist and have no use for laws? Also, I wish to point out the utter stupidity of the American court. Supposedly justice is to be meted out there. Supposedly there are to be no star chamber proceedings under democracy, yet the other day when the detectives gave their testimony, it had to be done in a whisper, close to the judge as at the confessional in a Catholic Church and under no circumstances were the ladies present permitted to hear anything that was going on. The farce of it all! And yet we are expected to respect it, to obey it, to submit to it.

I do not know how many of you are willing to do it, but I am not. I stand as one of the sponsors of a world-wide movement, a movement which aims to set woman free from the terrible yoke and bondage of enforced pregnancy; a movement which demands the right for every child to be well born; a movement which shall help free labor from its eternal dependence; a movement which shall usher into the world a new kind of motherhood. I consider this movement important and vital enough to defy all the laws upon the statute-books. I believe it will clear the way not merely for the free discussion of contracepts but for the freedom of expression in Life, Art and Labor, for the right of medical science to experiment with contracepts as it has in the treatment of tuberculosis or any other disease.

I may be arrested, I may be tried and thrown into jail, but I never will be silent; I never will acquiesce or submit to authority, nor will I make peace with a system which degrades woman to a mere incubator and which fattens on her innocent victims. I now and here declare war upon this system and shall not rest until the path has been cleared for a free motherhood and a healthy, joyous and happy childhood.

* * *

BIRTH CONTROL

BY A MOTHER OF SEVEN CHILDREN

HAVING read in a recent paper that the people agitating the question of Birth Control consisted principally of people who did not have children, I write your magazine to voice my opinion in the matter and to state first of all I am the mother of seven children. Progression should be the delight of every up-to-date mind and while it is going on from many angles there are some where it seems to have run up against a snag and one of them is the subject of Birth Control. Why this, together with sex questions, should be such tabooed subjects and spoken of in whispers is a mystery. People openly speak of their stomachs, brains, legs, heart and all the different organs of the body with perfect freedom, even in schools, but touch on the question of sex and the mysterious assumes form. Relegate them to their time, that is stage coaches and sailing vessels, and brush away the cobwebs, and stare facts in the face. Like all other subjects that at first terrified, once established and we will wonder why we did not sooner learn things of such great benefit. All honor to Judge Gatens of Portland, Oregon, when he stated that "ignorance and prudery are the millstones about the neck of progress," etc.

As I understand the subject of Birth Control, it is

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The Emma Goldman Papers

One More Plea for David Caplan / Emma Goldman.-- pp. 487-488 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. --Vol. 11, no. 2 (April 1916).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

But a detective can tell a judge all about contraception, he can explain the technique in detail to a stenographer; and yet I must not read to you what he tells that stenographer.

"I shall probably be sent to prison," Miss Goldman said, "but I shall come out again after a year and I shall continue to impart the knowledge of how men and women can prevent conception. I shall continue despite courts and police until men and women rise and refuse to allow ignorant law-makers any longer to fix for them the question whether or not they shall bear children."

And to judge from the greeting which was accorded this avowal it is evident that public opinion, the force without which law is a vapid mockery, has reached the limit of its arc and has commenced to swing the other way, toward liberty, toward enlightenment.

It was a big, grand, inspiring meeting, the first by the way, of its kind, to be held in this country on such a large scale. Only a fore-runner, too. With such a beginning the end for which these men and women are fighting cannot be so far distant nor so very difficult to reach.

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IS YOUR SUBSCRIPTION DUE?

Now friends, it is so hard to get new subscribers that we are reluctant to take anyone off our list. There are over six hundred subscriptions due. If yours is one of them, won't you please send in your renewal. If you are not sure whether it is due, send it in anyway. With a renewal of MOTHER EARTH, we will send you a copy of Frank Wedekind's great play, "The Awakening of Spring." For $1.50 we will send you Dr. Robinson's book on "The Limitation of Offspring by the Prevention of Conception" or Emma Goldman's book on "The Social Significance of the Modern Drama" and renew your subscription to MOTHER EARTH. For $2.00 we will send MOTHER EARTH to three different addresses. This will be a great help to us and an opportunity for you to spread the propaganda. Be sure and look through our advertising pages. Now is the time for you to help.

ONE MORE PLEA FOR DAVID CAPLAN

DAVID CAPLAN'S case which was to have come up for trial on March 14th, has been postponed until April third. It is to be hoped that there will be no further delay as our comrade has already been robbed of 14 months of his life.

Of course the courts in America are not concerned in the horror and agony that a man awaiting trial must endure during the weeks and months spent in jail. This is but a preliminary punishment inflicted upon a man who is considered innocent until he is proven guilty. We who have experienced such tortures or we who, from the human point of view, understand what the period of waiting represents can only hope intensely that David Caplan's trial will actually begin on April 3rd.

To hope for justice and fair play from any court is to insults one's own intelligence, to look for it in Los Angeles is to be guilty of downright idiocy. Not even for the sake of David Caplan, himself, would I deceive our readers in that respect. Too much deception has already been perpetrated upon the workers in connection with the Los Angeles labor trials.

No, there is no hope from a court presided over by the M. and M. and Harrison Grey Otis. If David Caplan is to be rescued from their blood-stained clutches, not the courts but labor and the determined stand of our comrade himself will do it, nothing else.

With the exception of the Jewish Workers of the East very little has been done by labor in behalf of David Caplan. In New York City it is the Caplan-Schmidt Defense League, consisting of delegates from 75 labor organizations, which has been most active and indefatigable. This group has held numerous meetings of which the largest will take place on Sunday, April 3rd at 2 P. M. at the New Star Casino. It has canvassed unions, collected money and has also engaged our Pittsburgh Comrade, Jake Margolis, an able lawyer and militant fighter to represent David Caplan at his trial.

Jake Margolis will bring new blood into the situation, of which the defense as so far carried on has shown a sad need. He goes to Los Angeles not for the remuneration but as one interested in David Caplan and the social aspect he represents. At least there is one assurance, our

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enemies will not have quite as free and easy a field as in the past.

The Jewish press, too, has been generous in support of David Caplan. The Jewish Daily Forward especially deserves credit because it is usually very chary when dealing with Anarchists.

So I am once more appealing to our American readers for David Caplan. He needs your help. Will you not give it to him? Write him a cheering word to County Jail, Los Angeles. Send some money either in your letter to him or to MOTHER EARTH.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

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AMERICA AND MEXICO

BY W. C. OWEN

AT THIS moment I am a fugitive from justice—a fact mentioned only to explain this article. The remainder of "Regeneration's" staff is in jail in Los Angeles, charged with having used the mails to circulate a newspaper that incited to murder and revolution. That the prosecution will not err on the side of mercy appears certain from the fact that the Magon Brothers' bail has been fixed, in each case, at $7,500.

For years I have been pointing out how suicidal is the policy of enlarging, instead of diminishing, the powers of government. All organizations resent attack and do their utmost to annihilate the attacker, precisely as does the individual. Consider only how many millions have suffered imprisonment and death for having ventured to attack the Roman Catholic Church.

In particular I have been in the habit of pointing out that government, the moment it finds the attack really dangerous, will resort to its first and most formidable weapon—its monopoly of the postal system. Through that monopoly, endorsed so foolishly by Socialists, it is able to arrest the pen of every critic, fining, imprisoning or exiling him as the case may be. What it is able to do it will do whenever its own danger seems sufficiently alarming.

The danger to the United States Government from what is going on in Mexico is very real, and the more one knows of the conditions there the more one appreciates the danger. Rightly or wrongly, our government, like all governments, exists primarily for the defense of vested interests and the maintenance of things as they are. Moral considerations are never permitted to swerve it from its program. For example, you may prove absolutely that Porfirio Diaz and his cientificos rendered millions of Mexicans homeless outcasts by confiscating their lands and selling them to speculators. That, however, will have no effect on our government which will recognize that only titles have been acquired and its business is to protect them, no matter what the cost.

It is useless to declaim against this state of things, for obviously the government which fails to live up to its program thereby confesses its impotence and invites a series of new attacks which must end, sooner or later in its downfall. Every government, therefore, does its utmost to increase its strength, that it may crush its enemies and render its own life secure.

Of late the Mexican disinherited have been forcing speculators, foreign and domestic, to disgorge, and that to an extent quite unprecedent within living memory. That they have been successful is evident when we consider that claims filed against Mexico by the foreign speculators alone are estimated $700,000,000. Every one of those speculators is calling on our government to protect his title, and what is our government to do? If it pleads inability it signs its own death warrant.

At present our Government is supporting Carranza. Why? Simply because, in exchange for that support, he has promised publicly that he will do his utmost to restore order, protect the speculators, titles and reimburse them for all losses suffered during the last five years of revolution.

Naturally we of "Regeneration" oppose Carranza, because the realization of his promises would mean the restoration of the conditions that prevailed under Diaz—conditions so unbearable that they drove the entire nation into violent revolution. On the other hand, the United States Government is now Carranza's backer and ally. It has made his enemies its own, and is as anxious to suppress them as it is Carranza himself.

Carranza has been making desperate efforts to borrow

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] Emma Goldman Before the Bar / Emma Goldman. – pp. 496-503 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 11, no. 3 (May 1916).

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EMMA GOLDMAN BEFORE THE BAR

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
against
EMMA GOLDMAN
April 20, 1916

The Court of Special Sessions in the Criminal Court Building, New York, was crowded to the doors on the afternoon when Emma Goldman appeared before Judges O'Keefe, Moss and Herbert. Hundreds were prevented from entering the court-room. All sorts and conditions of people could be noted in the crowd—working girls and boys, society women, artists, literary men, doctors, lawyers. Some of the prominent figures were Dr. Charles Andrews, Dr. William J. Robinson, William Sanger, Leonard D. Abbott, Rose and Marie Yuster, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Henri, Dr. Ben L. Reitman, Harry Weinberger, Robert Minor, George Bellows, Randall Davey, Miss Jessie Ashley, Bolton Hall, Anna Sloan, Rose Pastor Stokes and Mrs. J. Sergeant Cram.

Emma Goldman found herself face to face with the representatives of the law that she had broken. She had elected to come into court without a lawyer. With rare courage and eloquence she proceeded to plead her case. Albert B. Unger, the young lawyer who had been sent to represent the District Attorney's office, did everything he could to stop and confuse her.

A detective was put on the witness stand and testified that he had listened to her lecture on birth control at the New Star Casino, New York, on February 8th, and that she had explained methods for the prevention of conception. He went into details, which, for reasons that our readers will understand, we are unable to reproduce.

The following then transpired; and here we quote directly from the official stenographer's minutes:

JUSTICE O'KEEFE (Addressing Defendant): Now The People have rested. That is their case. Now the case goes to you. You may make such motions as you may think proper regarding the sufficiency of the evidence adduced, in the direction of a motion for an

acquittal and your discharge at this time. Such a motion as that will be proper.

MISS GOLDMAN: Your Honor, the witness said, among other things, that there were men, women and children, and he emphasized the fact that there were children of the age of three years. Is it likely that children of three years would have been harmed by anything I might say on the platform? He also said that I pointed out in the speech that seventy-five thousand people, women, are killed every year through criminal abortions, and that, rather than to compel them to drive them to that, they ought to use prevention. This seems to me to indicate that the methods of prevention which he took down were merely a sequence of the lecture that preceded them.

Now, Your Honor, you have been very good indeed in giving me my right to express myself here, and, if I may go a little further, I wish to call your attention to the fact that if there were free speech in the City of New York, or in the County, I wouldn't be here this afternoon. There is no free speech there. I hope that there will be free speech in your Court.

Your Honor, I have delivered this lecture in fifty cities in America, always before representative people, among them always Detectives. I was never molested, never interfered with anywheres. I have delivered the identical lecture in English and Yiddish in New York City seven times last year before I delivered it on the eighth of February. Always in the presence of Detectives. For in my case, Your Honor, the Police and Detectives never cease out of the land; they are always at every meeting. They took copious notes; they had the opportunity to arrest me. They never arrested me when I delivered the lecture in English; they evidently waited until I delivered the lecture in Yiddish, when it could be misconstrued, and then perform the arrest.

Now, Your Honor, before, I think, any decision can be taken, if there is justice in the Court, the thing which is back of the commission of the crime ought to be considered. At the present time for the last three weeks every night before packed houses there is a tremendous social indictment being played in the Candler Theatre, called "Justice." The Attorney for the Defense in sum-

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ming up for his Defendant, says that, "Back of every crime,—of the commission of every crime, there is palpitating life." Now, what is the palpitating life, Your Honor? That might mean,—take my crime for which I am indicted here. I will tell you what it is. The other day the Department of Health issued——

MR. UNGER: I have no desire unduly to interrupt this Defendant, but The People of the State of New York are interested in only one proposition, and that is, prosecuting for violations of the Indecency Article of the Penal Law. This address of the Defendant is not anywheres in point. I think we ought to cry a halt somewheres. We have no objection to free speech and we have no objection to any propaganda that may be spread decently and in a pure fashion.

JUSTICE HERBERT: You object to the statements of the Defendant as being incompetent, irrelevant and immaterial.

MR. UNGER: Yes, sir. I would suggest the Defendant make a formal motion to dismiss, if The Court pleases. The Court has treated her very kindly and had due regard for all her rights, and the District Attorney is likewise to preserve the rights of every Defendant who comes into this Court.

JUSTICE O'KEEFE: Of course, you have gone a little bit far afield on your motion. This statement that you now make must be construed as a motion to dismiss. Such a motion is predicated on what is before The Court up to this time. What is before The Court up to this point is the Information filed by the District Attorney and the testimony which has just been adduced.

Your attack must be directed to that Information and to that testimony just given. We have given you, of course, quite some latitude, in view of the fact that you are acting as your own Attorney. We want to give you every opportunity to protect your rights and raise every question that properly may be raised.

MISS GOLDMAN: Your Honor, I haven't any desire to go into an attack, but it seems to me—

JUSTICE O'KEEFE: When I say "attack," I mean to challenge the sufficiency. I mean attacking in a limited sense, as a motion to dismiss might be considered as attacking the sufficiency of the paper.

MISS GOLDMAN: That is exactly what I want to do, Your Honor. I want to challenge the indictment or Information, on the ground that the Information, or rather the Penal Law, the section of the Statute, 1142, refers exclusively to the sale or advertising for sale of such a thing, whereas I am trying to point out, in order to ask you for the dismissal of the indictment,—I am trying to point out that the Information is merely part of a vast movement which is backed on certain social and economic reasons. Surely this is part of a defense, and if, as the District Attorney says, there is free speech, I ought to be entitled to say some thing about it. I merely wanted to point out that according to the bulletin of the Board of Health thirty million people in the United States go through life half fed. What kind of children, does Your Honor think, do these or can these thirty million people bring into the world, if their wage is not sufficient to support themselves and many children? As a result of that, because of their meagre wage and because of the large number of children in each family, three hundred thousand children, Your Honor, are sacrificed every year, who die before the first year of their life. Such a situation then, it seems to me—

MR. UNGER: If The Court please, I regret very much that I must interrupt Miss Goldman, but this Court is not the place for a stump speech. This is not a motion directed toward the evidence in this case. If the Defendant wants to take the Stand and make those statements under oath, then there may be some reason for it, there may be some sense to it, and proper rules of evidence may be applied towards the admission or exclusion of it, but on the argument of motion it does seem to me it is highly improper and simply conducing toward notoriety and nothing else.

JUSTICE O'KEEFE: Will you try and confine yourself to the sufficiency on the motion, having in mind the section?

MISS GOLDMAN: Well, Your Honor, since I am not entitled, according to the District Attorney, to express my reasons for the birth control agitation and for the thing of which I am indicted, I merely wish to conclude that in propagating the ideas for the enlightenment of

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the human race, for the betterment of the condition of children, I am not doing it for personal gain or profit. I am doing it to bring to women the light and knowledge and opportunity to know under what conditions and by what means to bring children who are of quality to the race, instead of quantity, into the world. And therefore, since I have not committed a crime, since I am not gaining anything out of it personally, since it is not a question of dealing with quack ideas and with quack medicines, I move that the Information be dismissed; because I am not guilty of any crime in all of the tremendous movement known as Birth Control and sustained by the greatest men and women the world over. I wish that the motion be granted that the Indictment or Information against me be dismissed.

JUSTICE O'KEEFE: The motion is denied, with an Exception to the Defendant.

Now you may testify. The case is with you. You may testify in your own behalf or may call such witnesses in your own behalf as in your judgment may seem proper.

MISS GOLDMAN: What is meant by "testifying myself," Your Honor?

JUSTICE O'KEEFE: Going on the Stand and being sworn and telling your side of the case; what happened; just as the witness who had already been sworn. The witness who was sworn testified. He was sworn and he told what took place there. That is testifying.

MISS GOLDMAN: Well, I am willing to go on the Stand.

EMMA GOLDMAN, Defendant, called as a witness in her own behalf, being duly affirmed, testified as follows:—

Direct examination.

By JUSTICE O'KEEFE.

Q.—Where do you live? A.—I live at 20 East One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street, Manhattan.

Q.—You are familiar with the charge that is made against you? A.—I am.

Q.—And you have listened to the testimony that has been given by the witness, who was a Policeman, who was just on the Stand? A.—Yes.

Q.—You may make such statement in your own behalf

and by way of defense as you see fit to make. A.—Well, the first statement I wish to make is that there is a vast difference between Yiddish and German, and that I delivered the lecture in Yiddish and that the Officer does not understand Yiddish. He had demonstrated the fact that he does not understand any because he did not understand the Chairman, therefore couldn't have understood me. That is one thing. I furthermore testify that the various things which the Officer swore to are, in the first place, misleading, because they are mis-spelled, they are wrong and would not be used or advised by an intelligent person. I furthermore testify that before we came to what the Officer said, the methods of prevention, I spoke nearly an hour explaining from an educational point of view to men and women of the working class and poorly paid professional class, not, as he said before, men, women and children, but before men and women who were able to take care of themselves, I stated the reason, the purpose and the background of the movement known as Birth Control; so that if the Officer came down there with the deliberate purpose of taking down statements which he heard, it stands to reason that he would take them down as he understood them, not as they were in reality given. Furthermore, I believe that the witness does not know shorthand. How is it that he remembers everything so very well, according to his own testimony? We are not in the habit of remembering everything very clearly. The spoken word is easily forgotten. How is it that he remembers—he could read it off from his manuscript—if he does not know shorthand or knows it only poorly? Furthermore, I wish to testify, Your Honor, if I may, that the cause and reason for propagating Birth Control, is a pressing, imperative necessity. I, as a trained nurse, who have been among people everywhere, know that it is a pressing necessity and that therefore I am not isolated and alone in the propagation of Birth Control. I am backed by hundreds and thousands of men in the medical profession, in the scientific profession, artists, men of letters, women of affairs, who have all come to realize that prevention is better than cure. By that we mean that the conspiracy of silence is driving women, as the witness stated, to abortions, whereas intelligence and enlightenment would save the mothers

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and the children of the race. That is all I have to say.

Cross examination.

By MR. UNGER.

Now, Miss Goldman, to break that conspiracy of silence, do you believe it is essential and necessary to use the word ———————— and spell that out in a public gathering? A.—I believe that it is necessary to enlighten the people how to prevent conception.

Q.—Have you ever been convicted of a crime before? A.—Have I? Yes, twenty-three years ago, sir.

Q.—Of what crime? A.—I was supposed to have—

Q.—What crime were you convicted of? A.—I was supposed to have incited to riot, when no riot took place.

By JUSTICE HERBERT.

Q.—Do you deny, madam, that you said the things that the Officer says you did? A.—I deny that I said them in that way and in that manner, yes, sir.

A second detective was put on the stand, and testified that Miss Goldman spoke of different methods which she said would prevent child-birth.

Then Miss Goldman closed her defense as follows:

MISS GOLDMAN: Your Honor, I have been in the great social movement of this City for twenty-six years, as a trained nurse, as a lecturer and as a publisher. During this time I have seen conditions so appalling that the most creative artist could not adequately describe it. I am not going to take up the time of The Court or of Your Honor in going into details. I only want to call your attention to just a few such cases. I have come across a case of a woman who is married to a consumptive husband, who is the mother of eight children and is on the way with the ninth; those children are in the tuberculosis hospital. I have come across another case where the man makes Twelve Dollars a week, the woman is the mother of six children and is on the way with the seventh child. I have, myself, taken care of a case where a woman was the mother of twelve children; she died in confinement with the thirteenth, and the mainstay of the family, the oldest child, is only fourteen years old. These are but a very few cases of our economic

grinding mill, which places a premium upon poverty, and upon the laws which make a conspiracy of silence a virtue. As a result of these conditions, Your Honor, and also because of the demand and the insistence of the people themselves, the great idea to help the people to take care of themselves and bring better children into the world, is the idea which I represent before you and before the world to-day. If that is a crime, I am quite willing to be a criminal. But I call Your Honor's attention that I do not stand alone in that. I have as my illustrious colleagues the greatest men and women all over the world, including even America, and if to teach people how to bring better children into the world so that they shall not become paupers or fill the hospitals or reformatories, or end in crime, if that is considered a crime and an offense, I am willing to stand convicted. I want to call your attention, Your Honor, to the fact that Birth Control is a very important phase of human development. It is one phase in the larger social struggle; or, I would rather say, in the larger social war; not a war for military conquest, not for material supremacy, but a war for a seat at the table of life on the part of the people, the masses who create, who build the world and who have nothing in return. I look upon Birth Control as only one phase of that vast movement, and if I, through my agitation,—through my education, I should rather say,—can indicate a way towards the betterment of that human race, towards a finer quality, children who should have a joyous and glorious childhood, and women who shall have a healthy motherhood, if that is a crime, Your Honor, I am glad and proud to be a Criminal.

JUSTICE O'KEEFE: Of course, Miss Goldman, you must realize that we are not the law-making body; we are a Judicial body and must interpret the law as we find it.

The Sentence of The Court is that the Defendant pay a fine of One Hundred Dollars, and in default of the payment thereof to stand committed to the Workhouse until said fine be paid, but not exceeding Fifteen (15) days.

MISS GOLDMAN: I'll take the Workhouse, Your Honor.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Letters from Prison / Emma Goldman.— pp. 17-18 ; 26 cm. *In* The Little Review [Chicago]. —(May 1916).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Letters from Prison

EMMA GOLDMAN

Queen's County Jail,
Long Island City, New York.

April, 1916.

WHAT am I doing? I am watching human misery. There is no misery so appalling as imprisoned misery. It is so helpless, so humiliated.

Yes, I think the prisoners do love me, at least those who have been thrown in with me. It is so easy to get their love. The least bit of kindness moves them—they are so appreciative. But what can one do for them?

Do you remember that passage from Galsworthy's *Justice* in which some one says to Falder: "No one wishes you harm"? Therein lies the pathos. No one wishes these social victims harm. The Warden and Matron here are exceptionally kind. And yet the harm, the irreparable harm, is done by the very fact that human beings are locked up, robbed of their identity, their self-respect, their self-hood.

Oh, I am not sorry I was sentenced. In fact I am glad. I needed to get to these pariahs who are the butt of all the horrors. It would be well if every rebel were sent to prison for a time; it would fan his smouldering flame of hate of the things that make prisons possible. I am really glad.

. . . We are awakened at six and unlocked at seven in the morning. Then comes breakfast, of which I have so far eaten only oatmeal with what pretends to be milk. The coffee or tea I have not managed to get down. At seven-thirty we are taken out into the yard. I walk up and down like one possessed, to get the exercise. At eight-thirty we are back, and the women keep themselves busy scribbling; but my girls will not let me do that; I must talk to them. (The Warden, by the way, is reading my *Anarchism*, and the Matron my *Social Significance of the Modern Drama*). In fact, I seem to have more devotion here than on the outside. At eleven we have dinner, and at four in the afternoon supper—which I will describe to you when I come out. Then we are locked up until seven A. M.—fifteen hours, the hardest of all to bear. Do you remember the line in *The Ballad of Reading Gaol*: "Each day a year whose days grow old"? To me it is "each night a year whose nights grow long". I have always loved the night, but jailed nights are ghastly things.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Letters from Prison / Emma Goldman.– pp. 17-18 ; 26 cm. *In* The Little Review [Chicago]. –(May 1916).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The lights are on until nine P. M., and we can read and write all day—which is a god-send. Also this prison is one of the cleanest in the country.

. . . What on earth have I done that people should go into such ecstasies? No one raves because you breathe; why rave if you take a determined stand when that means the very breath of life to you? Really I feel embarrassed with all the love and devotion and adulation for so little a thing, so infinitesimal compared with the truly heroic deeds of the great souls. My only consolation is that the fight is not at an end and that I may yet be called upon to do something really great. But for the present it is hardly worth the fuss.

Today is Sunday and we were taken out to the yard for a walk. It was a glorious day, marred only by the monotony of the stripes and the spiritless slouching figures. Yet the sky excluded no one; its glorious blue spread over them all, as if there were no sorrows in all the world and man was never cruel to his kind.

The days pass quickly between the study of my fellow prisoners, my letters, and other writing. The evenings are taken up with reading. But jailed nights are so oppressive. They lie like stone upon your heart. The thoughts, the sobs, the moans that emerge like pale shadows from every human soul. It is stifling. Yet people talk of hell. There is no more threatening thing in all the world than the hell of jailed nights.

Good morning. Another crazing night has gone. . . .

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Wieder Frei [Emma free again. In German] / Emma Goldman. — 17 cm. *In* New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung. (May 5, 1916).

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NEW-YORKER STAATS-ZEITUNG
MAY 5, 1916

Emma

gebrummten fünfzehn Tage stramm abgebrummt und ist gestern früh 8 Uhr 20 aus dem Queens County [illegible] entlassen [illegible] stand einem großen Automo[illegible] Reitman, [illegible] und [illegible] Dr. Gold[illegible] Redaktion des [illegible] nahm sie von den [illegible] Abschied, die im Gefängnis zurückbleiben mußten.

Als Sachverständige — sie hat von den nigen zwanzig Jahren die Zeit im [illegible] Penitentiary verbracht — gab sie ihr Urteil über das Queens County Gefängnis ab, das sie als Mustranstalt bezeichnete. Sie lobte die Sauberkeit, die überall herrscht, die Matrone, die ihr möglichstes tut, und den Warden, der sich fein benimmt, nur die ärztliche Behandlung sei miserabel und das Essen einfach unsagbar schlecht. Die Milch sehe wie Kalkwasser aus, die Suppe wie gewöhnliches Wasser, „reichlich, aber schlecht". Der Fisch — ungenießbar, ebenso das Fleisch. Eine Mitgefangene verlor in neun Monaten 75 Pfund an Gewicht, eine andere bekam die Schwindsucht, eine dritte ist dem Verhungern nahe. Emma hat es durchgesetzt, daß die Gefangenen statt bis 4 Uhr, bis 8 Uhr auf den Korridoren sich aufhalten dürfen. Ihre Mitgefangenen haben sie vergöttert und taten alle Arbeit, z. B. Ausfegen der Zelle, für sie. Sie will die Geburtskontrolle-Propaganda [illegible] und sagte beim Abschied zur [illegible], es könne leicht sein, daß es ein [illegible] wiedersehen geben [illegible]

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Plan Birth Control Office / Emma Goldman.— 28 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(May 21, 1916).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Said to be $200,000,000.

Coney Island opened for the season last night. There were twelve bands in the big street parade, and a strong representation of the Home Defense League attracted much attention, but what gave the 1916 opening-bow of the season a truly special character is that Coney Island will face its world of visitors this year with a community conscience. The resort will be "sanitary, safe, and sane," it is asserted.

Back of this community conscience is no mere talk or wavering purpose. Back of it is a Board of Trade, and joined with it is an Industrial Bureau. Not a Chamber of Commerce Board of Trade. There are many serious cities in this land, serious and proud of their importance, which have not a Board of Directors, or a Board of Trade representative of as much wealth as Coney Island's. It is made up mostly of amusement men who in former years went to the resort in the years past with the metaphorical shoestring and who, nickel by nickel, have piled up great fortunes, the largest reaching, it is said, to $15,000,000. At the first meeting of the Board of Trade a rough list of the wealth represented was made and, according to an authorized report, it was found that $200,000,000 was represented.

Two hundred millions of investments, it was agreed at the meeting, had every right, and the duty, to be "sanitary, safe, and sane." In fact, it was the growing consciousness of this wealth that brought to the business men of Coney Island a new sense of responsibility. The Board of Trade is the organized effort to express this responsibility. Its aim is to exercise a benevolent censorship, courteous but firm, over all that goes on in the show places and business houses of the island.

Fair dealing will be insisted upon. What will be done to a house found guilty of misrepresentation to the public has not been determined, but it is said that a way will be found to reach the offender. No fleecing will be permitted, and thus does the resort, through the evolution that great investments of capital brings, turn upon one of its forbears. There was a day when nothing was so "safe" in Coney Island as fleecing. Every effort, by systematic organization, to please visitors, to make them want to come again and again, is to be made. Every complaint will be investigated—that responsive will be Coney's new community conscience.

Coney Island has had many quick successes that sprang up like mushrooms and continued to grow in substance and in returns, but none more so than the Board of Trade. It was formed only a short time ago, it now has 452 members, including practically every showman and other business man of standing in the city. Soon after the Board of Trade was organized the Industrial Bureau

meals. This delightfully palatable tonic food possesses digestive properties that have been commented upon and endorsed by high authorities, and will be found to be equally beneficial to men, women and children. Can be procured from any reliable druggist and nothing but the genuine Johann Hoff's should be accepted.

PLAN BIRTH CONTROL OFFICE

Union Square Speakers Say Headquarters Will Open Soon.

Asserting that they would take District Attorney Swann's word that he would not prosecute persons who distributed birth control information at a properly regulated meeting, Emma Goldman, Leonard D. Abbott, Bolton Hall, Miss Jessie Ashley, Mrs. Ida Rauh Eastman, and Mrs. John Sloan talked to a crowd of 500 persons in Union Square yesterday afternoon. After protests had been made against sending birth control agitators to the workhouse, pamphlets were distributed.

Miss Goldman said a headquarters for the dissemination of information on the subject would be opened soon, and that a committee of women had already chosen three tentative sites in the most congested districts of the city. She said a committee of 100 women had offered to aid in giving out the information and that they would work in small numbers so that there would still be some left to continue the work if the first few were arrested.

It was reported in some newspapers that the Union Square meeting was to be held in protest against the failure of the District Attorney to prosecute Rose Pastor Stokes for giving out the same information at a dinner in the Hotel Brevoort and at the Carnegie Hall meeting on May 3.

Miss Goldman said after the meeting that Mrs. Stokes had asked to be put upon the program, but that the committee had thought it wiser to have only the other speakers. Miss Goldman said Mrs. Stokes and other exponents of the movement thought there was discrimination in the enforcement of the law, and that it was the general opinion no one should be prosecuted for giving out the information.

Only the half dozen policemen from the East Twenty-second Street Station detailed to cover all the open air meetings for the Summer were present, Captain Saxton said, although there were detectives from Police Headquarters in the crowd. They will make the usual report to the District Attorney. Those who have attended most of the meetings of the agitators said they thought this meeting much more orderly and less objectionable than its predecessors.



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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Girls Join Fight for Circulars on Birth Control / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* New York Herald. –(May 21, 1916, fragment).

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4,000 Women Here, Advance Guard of Club Convention

Leaders Gather at the Astor and Net Work Begins Over Leadership.

EASTERN ORGANIZATIONS MUST MAKE FIGHT

Four thousand women delegates and alternates arrived yesterday to attend the biennial convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. They are the advance guard of the army of twenty thousand, the others of whom are on special trains coming from the South and West. Ten thousand will be registered representatives sent by women's clubs of every State in the Union, the District of Columbia, Alaska, the Philippines, Cuba, Isle of Pines, Japan, Canada and England, where there are club affiliations. The other ten thousand will be visitors.

The official headquarters of the club members, the Astor Hotel, was packed all day with arrivals. The Credentials and Registration committees were asked to be on hand early in order to have the political machinery going by half-past nine o'clock. Most of the committee members were there before that hour, and then they discovered that the chairman in charge of the credentials' books could not be found. This held up the work of registering for nearly an hour, and the last members could be located.

Two of the most important members of the federation arrived yesterday. One is Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, of Texas, who has been in New Jersey. She reached the hotel by automobile early in the afternoon. She joined the rest of the party at the dentist's. The other was Mrs. Ormond G. Smith, first vice president, and one of the two presidential candidates. Mrs. Smith came from Ohio, and immediately after arriving went out to do a little shopping.

Her Rival Somewhere.

The third important member of the federation, Mrs. Josiah Evans Cowles, the other presidential candidate, will arrive Monday from Los Angeles, Cal. Mrs. Smith is stopping at the Astor Hotel, where the Board has taken an entire floor, with connecting rooms, so that, if necessary, secret sessions may be held.

The official headquarters of the State organizations of two opposing candidates—Ohio and California—will be in the Biltmore Hotel. Mrs. Smith arrived with her political campaign manager, Miss Anna B. Johnson, who at one time was president of the Ohio Federation of Woman's Clubs. Mrs. Cowles' campaign manager, Mrs. P. G. Hubert, has been on the ground for some time.

The regular meetings of the convention will be held afternoon and evening in the Seventh Regiment Armory, Park avenue and Sixty-sixth street, while daily conferences will be in session in the afternoons at the Astor Hotel. During the convention, which begins May 8 and ends June 3, there will be presented one of the most interesting programmes ever arranged by a women's organization.

Monday, May 8, will, however, be [illegible] delegates with [illegible] coming with it.

The federation convention is always something of a fashion show, although some of the officials are [illegible] of clothes and usually bring [illegible] wardrobe. It is said that she [illegible] trunks with two or three [illegible] of the [illegible] out of mourning and will wear [illegible] of the time. Mrs. Eugene [illegible] dent of the New York City Federation of Women's Clubs, admitting that she had made any great sartorial preparations for the convention wardrobe consisted of three [illegible] dresses and two [illegible] William Grant Brown will [illegible] costumes and Mrs. Cowles, who is not a [illegible] officer, has prepared an attractive outfit to appear in if she is elected.

Boy Scouts to Aid.

As many of the special trains bringing delegates eastward will arrive [illegible] o'clock Monday night, the older members of the Boy Scouts have [illegible] the battalion as depots and there will meet the delegates. Another [illegible] Scouts has tendered its [illegible] escorts to theatres, concerts and other entertainments to which [illegible] delegates might like to be taken by [illegible] soldiers.

Several husbands arrived yesterday with their wives to attend the convention. Among them were Mr. and Mrs. H. N. Draper, of Havana. Mr. and Mrs. George W. Benton also joined the ranks of the married delegates, and the first thing Mr. Benton did was to [illegible] his identity after his wife had demanded hours to explain all about him and herself. Finally Mrs. Benton, duly registered at the essential booth. If Mr. Benton will apply to the lost and found department he will have his ticket returned, and will be admitted to the various meetings, which are closed to all but the properly accredited.

Twenty girls worked all day [illegible] sewing bunting for the [illegible] tions, which are to be finished by [illegible] day, if not earlier. Mrs. Elmer Black, chairman of Decorations, [illegible] yesterday that there would not be [illegible] to [illegible] a real forest of [illegible] were sent to the forests to cut down the [illegible] hundred more cedar trees and fifty [illegible] trees. The cedar trees used in the decorations are to be thirty feet tall. She also found that the flowers made almost no showing, and an order was issued for two thousand more flowering plants, which will keep two men busy night and day until Wednesday putting them in place.

One hundred American beauty roses will decorate the platform at the opening night of the Convention. Mrs. Penny[illegible] said yesterday that she had [illegible] for introducing the State [illegible] will be preceded [illegible] distinctive, [illegible] general [illegible] president will [illegible] presented to the Chairman.

The General Federation [illegible] yesterday that about

GIRLS JOIN FIGHT FOR CIRCULARS ON BIRTH CONTROL

Large Crowd Hears Emma Goldman in Union Square.

Young girls, some of them not more [illegible] fourteen years old, and [illegible] the [illegible] long [illegible] for disseminating literature on the subject. "You can only honor me if you [illegible]!" she shouted to the crowd. [illegible] birth control meeting [illegible] announced for [illegible] o'clock, and [illegible] time crowds of persons [illegible] the north side of the square. [illegible] the four young men and women [illegible] here and there about the crowd selling literature as "What a Girl Should Know," "What a Mother Should Know," "Patriotism, a Menace to Liberty," by Miss Goldman, and other literature of the sort. The headquarters of the striking cloak makers was just a stone's throw away, and many of the strikers were present.

At a quarter after two o'clock Miss Goldman arrived in an automobile. She was accompanied by Bolton Hall, a [illegible] Alfred [illegible] and Leonard [illegible] ceremonies, and introduced [illegible] the customary except the [illegible] who did not speak.

Only Two Are Heard.

Miss Goldman and Mr. Abbott were the only two who could make themselves heard above the din of traffic and the cries of those tending [illegible]. Mr. Abbott explained that the meeting was [illegible] of a series being held about the country to discuss birth control. The fight for the right to spread such knowledge [illegible] a hundred years, he said, and it was [illegible] in England, where any one can [illegible] to the Neo-Malthusians and receive information respecting birth control. The law against it here, he said, was bad [illegible] there are three ways to deal with a [illegible]," he said. "The first is to repeal [illegible] but that takes too long and the men [illegible] women can't wait; the second is to [illegible] it secretly, and the third is the [illegible] way we are doing, violating [illegible]."

The Chairman said the District Attorney [illegible] a large flask on his hands if he attempted [illegible] such to stay the movement for [illegible] a week. "There is no way to [illegible] the movement," she said. "Mr. Swann [illegible] do it by sending persons to jail. We [illegible]n't stop the movement ourselves, [illegible] if we wanted to, and of course, we [illegible]."

[illegible] the speaker took her flog at law [illegible] saying: "These plain clothes [illegible] who are in the audience represent [illegible] the law, but they don't know the law, and [illegible] to go to a collector to get even the [illegible] centers."

Demands Right for Parents.

[illegible] during [illegible] the birth control question [illegible] the speaker said women gave birth [illegible] children who became the slaves of capi-

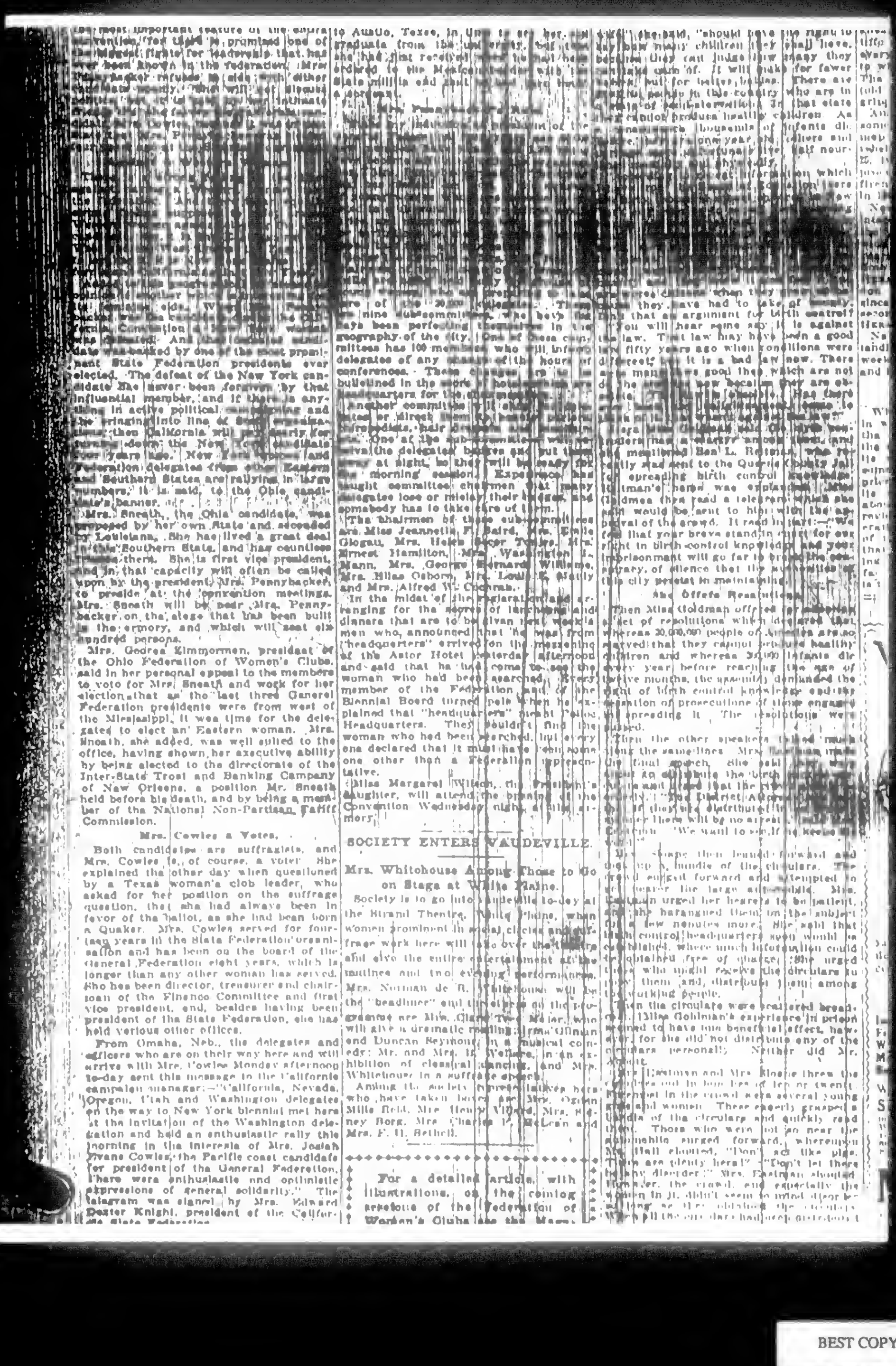
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Mrs. Sneath, the Ohio candidate, was proposed by her own State and seconded for Louisiana. She has lived a great deal in the Southern States, and has countless friends there. She is first vice president, and in that capacity will often be called upon by the president, Mrs. Pennybacker, to preside at the convention meetings. Mrs. Sneath will be near Mrs. Pennybacker on the stage that has been built in the armory, and which will seat six hundred persons.

Mrs. Godrea Kimmormen, president of the Ohio Federation of Women's Clubs, said in her personal appeal to the members to vote for Mrs. Sneath and work for her election that as the last three General Federation presidents were from west of the Mississippi, it was time for the delegates to elect an Eastern woman. Mrs. Sneath, she added, was well suited to the office, having shown her executive ability by being elected to the directorate of the Inter-State Trust and Banking Company of New Orleans, a position Mr. Sneath held before his death, and by being a member of the National Non-Partisan Tariff Commission.

Mrs. Cowles a Voter.

Both candidates are suffragists, and Mrs. Cowles is, of course, a voter. She explained the other day when questioned by a Texas woman's club leader, who asked for her position on the suffrage question, that she had always been in favor of the ballot, as she had been born a Quaker. Mrs. Cowles served for fourteen years in the State Federation organization and has been on the board of the General Federation eight years, which is longer than any other woman has served. She has been director, treasurer and chairman of the Finance Committee and first vice president, and, besides having been president of the State Federation, she has held various other offices.

From Omaha, Neb., the delegates and officers who are on their way here and will arrive with Mrs. Cowles Monday afternoon to-day sent this message to the California campaign managers:—"California, Nevada, Oregon, Utah and Washington delegates on the way to New York biennial met here at the invitation of the Washington delegation and held an enthusiastic rally this morning in the interests of Mrs. Josiah Evans Cowles, the Pacific coast candidate for president of the General Federation. There were enthusiastic and optimistic expressions of general solidarity." The telegram was signed by Mrs. Edward Dexter Knight, president of the California State Federation.

to Austin, Texas, in June to be her graduate from the university, but she had just received the order to the Mexican state militia and that [illegible] a journey.

[illegible] of the 20 [illegible] nine subcommittees who both [illegible] days been perfecting themselves in the geography of the city. One of these committees has 100 members who will inform delegates of any change within the hours of conferences. These changes are bulletined in the [illegible] headquarters for the convention. Another committee will [illegible] letter or direct [illegible] Republicans, their [illegible]. One of the subcommittees will receive the delegates' baggage and put them away at night, so they will be ready for the morning session. Experience has taught committee chairmen that many delegates lose or misplay their baggage, and somebody has to take care of them.

The chairmen of these subcommittees are Miss Jeannette F. Baird, Mrs. Emile Glogau, Mrs. Helen Dicer Tooke, Mrs. Ernest Hamilton, Mrs. Washington Hamann, Mrs. George Edmund Williams, Mrs. Miles Osborn, Mrs. Louis F. Post and Mrs. Alfred W. Cochran.

In the midst of the feverish [illegible] arranging for the scores of luncheons and dinners that are to be given next week a man who announced that he was from "headquarters" arrived on the mezzanine of the Astor Hotel yesterday afternoon and said that he had come to see the woman who had been searched. Every member of the Federation and of the Biennial Board turned pale when he explained that "headquarters" might Police Headquarters. They couldn't find the woman who had been searched, but every one declared that it must have been some one other than a Federation representative.

Miss Margaret Wilson, the President's daughter, will attend the opening of the Convention Wednesday night, it is rumored.

SOCIETY ENTERS VAUDEVILLE.

Mrs. Whitehouse Among Those to Go on Stage at White Plains.

Society is to go into vaudeville to-day at the Strand Theatre, White Plains, when women prominent in social circles and suffrage work here will take over the theatre and give the entire entertainment at the matinee and two evening performances. Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse will be the "headliner" and the others on the programme are Mrs. Clarence Mackay, who will give a dramatic reading; Irene Castle McLaughlin and Duncan Seymour in a musical comedy; Mr. and Mrs. H. Wallace, in an exhibition of classical dancing, and Mrs. Whitehouse in a suffrage speech.

Among the society [illegible] who have taken boxes are Mrs. Ogden Mills Reid, Mrs. Henry Villard, Mrs. Sidney Borg, Mrs. Charles P. McLean and Mrs. F. H. Bethell.

For a detailed article, with illustrations, on the coming [illegible] of the Federation of Women's Clubs see the Maga-

[illegible] when they [illegible] they have had to take [illegible] that an argument for birth control [illegible] You will hear some say it is against the law. That law may have been a good [illegible] fifty years ago when conditions were different, but it is a bad law now. There are many laws good then which are not [illegible] now because they are obsolete. [illegible] Has there [illegible] Mrs. Kellogg arrested [illegible] and mentioned Ben L. Reitman, who recently had sent to the Queens County Jail [illegible] spreading birth control knowledge. Goldman's speech was explained [illegible] Goldman then read a telegram which she said would be sent to him with the approval of the crowd. It read in part:—"We feel that your brave stand in favor of our right to birth-control knowledge and your imprisonment will go far to break the conspiracy of silence that the authorities of this city persist in maintaining."

Asks Offers Resolutions.

Then Miss Goldman offered for adoption a set of resolutions which declared that whereas 30,000,000 people of America are so starved that they cannot rear their healthy children and whereas 300,000 infants die every year before reaching the age of twelve months, the assembly demanded the right of birth control knowledge and the cessation of prosecutions of those engaged in spreading it. The resolutions were passed.

Then the other speakers talked much along the same lines. Mrs. [illegible] made the final speech. She said [illegible] to all [illegible] the birth control [illegible] and urged that the [illegible] speedily. "Miss Harriet Alexander [illegible] distributed [illegible] there will be no arrest [illegible] Comstock. We want to see if he keeps [illegible]."

Then [illegible] stepped forward and took up a bundle of the circulars. The crowd surged forward and attempted to [illegible] the large supply. Mrs. Reitman urged her hearers to be patient, and she harangued them on the subject for a few minutes more. She said that birth control headquarters soon would be established, where much information could be obtained free of charge. She urged those who might receive the circulars to keep them and distribute them among the working people.

When the circulars were scattered broadcast Miss Goldman's experience in prison seemed to have had a beneficial effect, however, for she did not distribute any of the circulars personally. Neither did Mr. Hunt.

Mrs. Reitman and Mrs. Rischa threw the circulars out in lots of ten or twenty. Excitement in the crowd was several young men and women. These eagerly grasped a bundle of the circulars and quickly read them. Those who were not so near the [illegible] surged forward, whereupon Mrs. Hall shouted, "Don't act like pigs. There are plenty here!" "Don't let there be any disorder!" Mrs. Reitman shouted. However, the crowd, and especially the women in it, didn't seem to mind, for be willing as they obtained the circulars [illegible] all the circulars had been distributed.

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Mrs. Breath, the Ohio candidate, was proposed by her own State and seconded by Louisiana. She has lived a great deal in this Southern State, and has countless friends there. She is first vice president, and in that capacity will often be called [illegible] Pennybacker, [illegible]

[illegible] Inter-State Trust and Banking Company of New Orleans, a position Mr. Breath held before his death, and by being a member of the National Non-Partisan Tariff Commission.

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Illinois is expected to send the largest delegation to the convention. They announced that 34 would attend. This probably will be the last of the [illegible]

somebody has to take care of them.

The chairmen of these sub-committees are Miss Jeannette P. Baird, Mrs. Emile Gilgou, Mrs. Hetta Oscar Tonjes, Mrs. Ernest Hamilton, Mrs. Washington [illegible] Manh, Mrs. George Barnard Williams, Mrs. Elias Osborn, Mrs. Louis F. Haody and Mrs. Alfred W. Curran.

[illegible]

[illegible] daily.

Miss, Katherine Whitehouse, the President's daughter, will attend the opening of the Convention Wednesday night at the ceremony.

SOCIETY ENTERS VAUDEVILLE

Mrs. Whitehouse Among Those to Go on Stage at [illegible]

Society is to go into vaudeville to-day at the Strand Theatre, [illegible] when women prominent in social circles and suffrage work here will take over the theatre and give the entire theatrical management matinee and two evening performances. Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse will be the "headliner" and the other [illegible] programme are Mrs. Clara Tree Mulford, who will give a dramatic reading from Ollivant and Duncan Seymour in a [illegible] comedy; Mr. and Mrs. H. Valleau [illegible] exhibition of classical dancing, and Mrs. Whitehouse in a suffrage speech.

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For a detailed article, with illustrations, of the coming sessions of the Federation of Women's Clubs see the Magazine Section of The Herald to-day.

would be sent to him with the approval of the crowd. It read in part:—"We feel that your brave stand in court for our right to birth control knowledge and your imprisonment will go far to break the conspiracy of silence that the authorities of this city practice in withholding

Offers Resolutions.

Miss Goldman offered a [illegible] of resolutions which declared that [illegible] people in America are [illegible] because [illegible] die, [illegible] and urged that the [illegible] distribute the birth control circulars and urged that the crowd should [illegible] "The District Attorney has said that if they are distributed in an orderly manner there will be no arrests," said Mrs. Eastman. "We want to see if he keeps his [illegible]

Miss Sloane then leaned forward and took up a bundle of the circulars. The crowd surged forward and attempted to [illegible] the large automobile. Miss Sloane urged her hearers to be patient, and [illegible] them on the subject for a few minutes more. She said that birth control headquarters soon would be established, where much information could be obtained free of charge. She urged those who might receive the circulars to study them and distribute them among the working people.

When the circulars were [illegible] Miss Goldman's experience [illegible] seemed to have benefited [illegible] for she did not distribute [illegible] circulars personally. Neither did [illegible]

Mrs. Eastman and Mrs. Sloane then [illegible] cut in bunches of [illegible] Those in the crowd were several [illegible] girls and women. These eagerly grasped a handful of the circulars and quickly read them. Those who were not so near the automobile surged forward, whereupon Miss Hall shouted, "Don't act like pigs. There are plenty here!" "Don't let there be any disorder!" Mrs. Eastman should. However, the crowd and especially the women in it, didn't seem to mind disorder so long as they obtained the circulars. When all the circulars had been distributed Miss Goldman posed for a motion picture camera. At the direction of the "movie" man the crowd waved hats and handkerchiefs and cheered, and Miss Goldman and her friends raped away in the [illegible]

PART III AND CARRIAGE NEWS [illegible] NEW

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] Emma Goldman's Defense / Emma Goldman. – p. 27 ; 34 cm. *In* The Masses [New York]. –Vol. 8, no. 8 (June 1916).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

EMMA GOLDMAN'S DEFENSE

Your Honor. My presence here is [illegible] attention receives conclusive [illegible] free speech in the city or county of New York. I hope that there is free speech [illegible] out

I have delivered the lecture which led to my arrest at least fifty times throughout the country, always in the presence of detectives. I have never been arrested. I delivered the same address in New York City seventeen times, prior to my arrest, always in the presence of detectives. Because it may please your honor, the police never chase out of the land. Yet to some reason unknown to me, I have never been molested until February 11th, nor would I have been then if free speech were a living fact and not a dead letter to the celebrated 9th of July.

Your Honor, I am charged with the crime [illegible] given notice with my co-defendant [illegible] to close [illegible] works every night before [illegible] ing social betterment as [illegible] Mueller Theatre [illegible] by [illegible] elsewhere. The [illegible] Defense [illegible] up the charge [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] this because [illegible] sistain them [illegible] [illegible] are [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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The Emma Goldman Papers

To My Friends, Old and New / Emma Goldman.— pp. 516-521 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 11, no. 4 (June 1916).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

At one point, Doctor Reitman was interrupted by hearty applause. Judge Moss threatened to clear the court-room. The crowd grew quieter, and Reitman was able to finish what he had to say.

Then Judge Moss passed sentence in the following words: "From your own admissions, Reitman, you persisted in violating the law. Your actions on the night of April 23rd were done with deliberation, premeditation and forethought, in defiance of the law. We are here to enforce the law and see that it is not violated. The sentence of the Court is that you be imprisoned in the Workhouse for sixty days."

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TO MY FRIENDS, OLD AND NEW

By Emma Goldman

I HAVE received so many letters while in jail and since then, that it is quite impossible for me to answer each one separately. So I take the only medium of communication I have, Mother Earth, to write to all of you, dear faithful friends.

I know that you are very anxious to learn how I fared in the Queen's County retreat and whether my imprisonment has "reformed" me. I shall try to give you my impressions as best I can in limited space. I said at the Carnegie Hall meeting May 5th: "I am grateful to the authorities of New York for having sent me to jail." This may have seemed a mere phrase for effect, but I meant it absolutely and earnestly. I repeat the same now. I am deeply grateful to the authorities of New York City.

First, my imprisonment has advanced our cause as nothing I could have done had I gone up and down the county for a whole year lecturing before large audiences. It has brought to the fore scores of people; people I have never known or heard of before. So instead of reaching only the few, we are now able to reach thousands of men and women to whom Birth Control information has become a necessity and who are with us in our fight to break down the conspiracy of silence.

Secondly, my imprisonment has brought me in touch with the social victims, whom society first drives into crime and then hides behind closed bars in order to appease its conscience. What are the crimes of my fellow-prisoners and those like them who fill the prisons and jails all over the United States? Ignorance and poverty. "Poverty is the greatest of all crimes," say George Bernard Shaw in "Major Barbara." Who can deny it? Only those who will not see, who prefer to remain blind among the blind.

I wish to cite a few cases to prove that it is poverty and ignorance and nothing else which make the social offender.

A woman, a mother of a twenty-months-old baby, works as chamber-maid in a hotel. She is young, she is beautiful. She is full of the joy of life. She sees other women arrayed in gorgeous clothes while she does not even make enough to buy the cheapest things. She takes a skirt from a salesman's room. For that she is given an indeterminate sentence of one month to a year.

Oh, the cruelty of the indeterminate sentence! Only a mind parched with the stale virginity of a Katherine B. Davis could have conceived of such a law, which turns the prisoner over, body and soul, to the mercy of the prison and the patrol authorities, and undermines her health and spirits with constant uncertainty and fear.

There is the criminal, who, poor in health and out of work, while at church picks up a pocket-book and is hauled by the owner of the purse before court. She is too ill and wretched to plead her own case, nor has she money to engage counsel. Sick and trembling, she stands before the dispenser of justice, who pronounces in routine fashion: "Six months workhouse." In this case the victim happens to be refined, sensitive and self-conscious. She is a woman who has always been self-supporting, who has always retained her pride and her self-respect. What does jail do to her? It crushes her absolutely and unfits her for a place in the world. What a mockery justice is!

There is a young girl of nineteen. At the age of sixteen, the most glorious and mysterious age, her "kind" mother placed her in the Bedford Reformatory because she was "unduly and wayward." How is that ignorant mother to know that the adolescent stage is the awakening of spring; the time when nature in all her recklessness and wildness seeks expression, volcano-like, rushing

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To My Friends, Old and New / Emma Goldman.— pp. 516-521 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 11, no. 4 (June 1916).

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forward. She has not been told by her mother, and who in turn does not understand her child. The young girl is placed in a reformatory. In this case the preparatory school of vice and crime. After a long stay in that hideous institution the girl is allowed to go out on parole. She is prepared for nothing else but the street, and as she is both young and beautiful, she finds willing arms to receive her from the street. Shortly after that she is again picked up and given one year in the penitentiary. When that time is up, she will probably be returned to the Bedford Reformatory, the place which originally marred her.

Then there is the case of Katherine. Only a Dickens or a Victor Hugo or a Dostoyevsky could adequately describe the pathos of this case. Katherine has been a drudge all her life. She does not have to tell you so. She looks it, every bit of her. The silent drudge who has given service all her life. For twenty-nine years Katherine dreams of New York. Ah, if she only could get to this magic city, New York! But she is a drudge and has two children to support. How will she ever realize her dream? Still, she goes on dreaming and for aught I know, it is this dream which puts color into her dreary life.

Suddenly the miracle of miracles happens. Katherine comes into a great fortune—$100 accident insurance. Fifty dollars goes to her children and with the other fifty Katherine goes to New York, equiped only with an address to someone in Yonkers. On arrival she goes to a café on the water front and is there directed to a cheap room over a saloon. On Sunday, with joy in her heart and the ecstasy of being in a magic city, Katherine goes back to the café has heer food and one or two drinks, oblivious to the men sitting about in the same place. She returns to her rooms and begins to count her great capital of $41. Suddenly the door of her room is broken open and some one steals her capital. Katherine screams and rushes after the man, when she feels herself picked up and thrown down the flight of stairs. After a long time (it must have seemed very long to Katherine) she comes to from her deadly faint and finds herself in a pool of blood with a gash in her forehead. She has forgotten her dream of twenty-nine years and even the loss of her $41 in her effort to scramble up the stairs and get into her room. There she lies for a week, with only the "kind landlady" to relieve her misery by a few cold compresses on her head and some wretched food to sustain her weakened condition.

After a week Katherine is back on her feet. A drudge is not accustomed to indulge in rest, even if deathly sick. She goes back to the streets of the magic city in a seedy state, to make her way to Yonkers. After miles of walking she gets to a vacant lot, faint with fatigue and hunger and takes a drink out of her flask to pull up sufficient strength to go further. But instead she falls asleep.

Suddenly she feels a burning pain in the sole of her foot and stares into the blurred eyes of a policeman. Katherine is arrested for vagrancy and drunkenness and given sixty days in the workhouse. That is the end of Katherine's dream of 29 years about New York. What grim and tragic material for a master brush or pen! But what does society do with Katherine? It casts her out on the dung heap called prisons. It neither has imagination nor humanity enough to grasp that Katherine's crime was only poverty, and how dare the poor have dreams?

Last, but not least, there are hundreds of drug victims who, thanks to the new law, are picked up every day, suddenly cut off from their habit, and thrust into jail for many months. There they are undernourished and indifferently left to fight out the mad craving which they have neither the strength nor vitality to overcome. When their time is up, their health is undermined; their will, never too strong, is completely broken. They cannot sustain their existence unless they have some stimulant, so they go back to their habit.

All these human pariahs find closed doors on their return to society. If they are not picked up by the police immediately, they are so within a very short time, and, again, the prison doors open and close upon them. After all, what would the authorities of New York and other cities do without these criminals? The Police Department, the Court, the District Attorney? They all thrive upon those whom poverty and ignorance drive into crime.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

To My Friends, Old and New / Emma Goldman.– pp. 516-521 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 11, no. 4 (June 1916).

Obtained from the University of Califomia, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The authorities cannot afford that crime should cease out of our midst, so they go on perpetuating our system which makes the criminal, and then hypocritically pretend that they are saving the system from the criminal.

Indeed, I am glad to have come close to this unfortunate human material. I found among them more humanity, a greater spirit of co-operation and helpfulness, than I would be likely to find among those who sit in judgment over them and send them to jail. Material which, if placed in a sane society, would do away with the terrible human waste and with all the tragedy and pain that is hidden away and barred "lest Christ should see how men their brothers maim."

Lastly, I have an additional proof, if proof were needed, that prison does not deter, that as far as the so-called common criminal is concerned, it does not cure him from the necessity of recommitting crimes. What else is he to do when he comes out with all the doors of society closed against him, without means of livelihood and without sympathy or understanding to greet him? Thus the prison is an endless circle wherein the prisoners move round and round, and all their prison experience does to them is to make them hate society more. True, they have no social background. Yet their hatred is sufficiently dangerous to undermine the ease of their tormenters.

As to the effect of prisons on criminals like myself, I do not have to tell you, dear friends, that it has only not lessened, but intensified, my devotion to our cause. The Birth Control agitation continues, now more than ever, even though a much heavier sentence was imposed upon our friend Ben Reitman than upon myself. If the authorities were foolish enough to think that they could stop it by giving me fifteen days or Reitman two months, they'll find themselves mistaken, as we have demonstrated in the marvelous meeting on Union Square, Saturday, May 20th, where a mass of humanity consisting of thousands clamored for Birth Control information. So you see, dear comrades, that I am right in my appreciation of the service rendered by the authorities of New York to the Birth Control movement.

For the devotion and assistance you have given me, I could not, even if I tried, express what I feel. I hope to be able to prove to you through my actions what it has meant to me. I am starting out on my tour for the West on the first of June with a two-days stop in Cleveland and one day in Denver. Then for Los Angeles, where I hope to be until the early part of July. Letters will reach me there, care of Burbank Hall, 542 S. Main Street.

The work will continue until a free motherhood and a glorious childhood will be established. In this way we will set humanity free and create human arrangements which shall establish healthy and beautiful conditions for a healthy, beautiful and free race.

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AN APPEAL IN BEHALF OF THE MAGONS

THE following letter has been received from Edgcumb Pinchon, Secretary of the Workers' International Defense League, of Los Angeles:

May 15, 1916.

As you have heard, Ricardo and Enrique Magon, editors of El Regeneracion (Los Angeles), have been beaten and jailed by the police. Why? Because they boldly advocate free land and free men in Mexico—to the terror of the land speculator and exploiter.

The Magons are charged, in the federal court, with "Depositing in the U. S. Mail, matter tending to incite murder, arson, and treason."

Their real offense, of course, is that instead of standing for the capitalistic looting of their country, they cautioned the peons to retain their arms until they gained full possession of their land and not to trust the promises of politicians.

Twice before the Magon brothers have suffered imprisonment for using the "constitutional right" of free press and free speech, and out of the ten years they have labored in this land of Liberty, five years have been lost in our Christian prisons.

Shall they go for a third time?

The answer rests with us who are still free.

How will we support them? How loud and strong and

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Enthusiastic Agitator of Birth Control / Emma Goldman. – 30 cm. *In* The Los Angeles Record. – (June 1, 1916).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

.GISTS PEEVED

June 17.—Suffra- unanimously don't ocratic platform's . Mrs. Carrie Chap- ident of the Nation- uffrage Assn., today 'llson for his inter-

fartin, chairman of arty, said she would shington immediate- e effort before con- definite action.

'oo Hot

uncil has registered the board of pub- arding the tempera- ouncilmen's new of- outh annex of the is said that the of- overheated that re- appreciated by "sev- g councilmen."

BUNCOER 'DES OFFICER

Rufus J. Walling- a been selling tar to an at $85 a can, rep- to be opium, escaped etective Boden this lameda and Commer- diving through the house and disappear- r.

ago Detective Boden nation that Chinese were being received a descrip- Lim believe Suing man who had been m. This morning Quong, but as he m the Chinese the window. Bo- 32 cans of the which were hid- neath the bed.

ts Are nced Guilty

Fa., June 17.— he socialist pub- ator, was found g to riot here to- on with the West- disorders of May

om and Anna Gold- d guilty on the

SHOWED VAS GERMAN

D, Cal., June 17. ha said he is a Ger- t no one believed he went to Oakland bed a tree and be- ag "Die Wacht Am ell sang there for y the neighbors. The re called and forced ene down. He is eld.

NG FINE, AYS ROOSEVELT

YORK, June 17.—Gov. of California, vice presi- candidate with Col. t on the progressive 1912, called on Roosevelt Hotel Langdon today. walked to his physi- ice today. He declared as "feeling fine."

OYS CAUSE O END OF WOE

s are causing the police Broadway tunnel no end

The door on the elec- witch box at the end of cannot be locked and l nights recently boys opening it and turning nel lights. A lock will he box today.

URE THIEF

cries for help en at 2:15 this morn- F. Murphy and ed to the aid of o had been d by Fran- n st.

EMMA GOLDMAN ENTHUSIASTIC AGITATOR OF BIRTH CONTROL



EMMA GOLDMAN, ANARCHIST, LECTURER, BIRTH CONTROL ADVOCATE.

Emma Goldman, national lecturer, student, anarchist, free-thinker, is in Los Angeles to tell women the secrets of birth control!

"No woman under 25 should be a mother," she states.

"Every woman should have the right to say whether she shall have a child or not. Motherhood should be a voluntary act; not the act of a slave.

"My subject tonight at Burbank hall will be 'The Right of a Child Not to Be Born.' The world is not ready for the child. The housing systems, the schools, society; not any of these are really ready. It is time to consider, therefore, whether it isn't more humane to give the child the right not to be born.

"Humanity is not continued in this world by quantity, but by quality. It is far better to have a few well-born children than many mutilated in mind and body as they often are now.

"The birth control issue is a tremendous one. Since the birth control campaign started Feb. 11, there have been 15,000 applications for information on the subject in New York alone.

"A short time ago the birth control committee, of which I am chairman, held a mammoth demonstration in Union park. Ten thousand people attended. Methods were discussed and pamphlets given out.

"For two weeks not a word was said by the authorities. Then, suddenly, warrants were issued for a number of those who took part at that meeting. A warrant is out for me, I understand, because I was one of the speakers. We expect to get the cases deferred till fall, however, and then there will be a great campaign.

ROSE STOKES, ADVOCATE

"Rose Pastor Stokes, wife of the millionaire, has been actively interested in this work. She has been violating both state and federal laws. But she has not been touched by the authorities. In the fall she expects to become so active that the district attorney will have to arrest her. She is doing this in the interest of the cause and women.

"The birth control committee is well organized in New York. A great many influential, wealthy women and organizations are behind it. We have organized 100 women who will distribute pamphlets on methods of birth control. As fast as one is arrested another will start. We are going to get that old, obsolete law repealed.

WILL OPEN BUREAUS

"We are going to open distributing bureaus and place a doctor and nurse in charge of each one to teach the people how to use the methods we suggest. There will not be any commercial consideration. As soon as the police close one bureau we shall open another.

"The Academy of Medicine in New York came out very strongly in favor of birth control.

"The birth control committee is not the same as the Birth Control league, though both are working for the same purpose and in harmony. Margaret Sanger is connected with the league.

"July 2, at Burbank hall, I shall speak on 'Enforced Motherhood,' and at that time will give methods for birth control.

"I know this subject is popular, for whenever birth control is announced, the hall is never big enough to seat the audience."

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Hold Up Men's Wages; Grill Attorney

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lect these men," gan on his re- e. "One of ane the ...

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] "To Teach, Pump Out" / Emma Goldman. – p. 1 ; 28 cm. *In* The Summer Session Californian [Berkeley]. – (July 28, 1916).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

SUMMER SESSION CALIFORNIAN

VOLUME THREE — UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, FRIDAY, JULY 28, 1916 — NUMBER ELEVEN

YOU'RE ON YOUR HONOR

Summer Examinations Will Not Be Policed to Detect Cheaters—Dean Hart

PROFESSORS DO NOT AGREE

Edward Gardner of Wisconsin Favorable; Louis Allard of Harvard Is Dubious

The honor system of conducting examinations will be used during the Sommer Session examinations, according to a statement by Dean Waltee Morris Hart. This means that there will be no policing of rooms during examinations, students being left entirely on their honor.

During the regular session the honor system has been used successfully for many years. Instructors often leave their classes and students are permitted recesses unaccompanied by proctors. Detected violations of the honor spirit are summarily dealt with.

Dean Hart's statement follows:

"The honor spirit is as much in force in the Summer Session as during the regular college term. The students of the Summer Session are, if anything, more to be trusted than the regular college student. They are more matuee and experienced.

"There are alwsys some people who cheat and steal; there are likly to be fewer under this system, for if a man is teusted, his desire is to live up to this trust."

Statements on the honor system by Professor Louis Allard, of Harvard, where proctors accompany students whenever they leave the examination room, and Professor Edward Gardner of the University of Wisconsin, follow:

Mr. Allard: "I do not believe entirely in the honor system. At Harvard, though the instructor does not stay in the room there are always one or more proctors. This seems necessary in large classes."

Professor Gardner: "If the students in my clases prefer examinations under the honor spirit, I am entirely willing. At the University of Wisconsin, the custom is for the classes to express their wishes, and if the majority decides on the honor system, it is in force. This method has been followed with marked success."

TO DRILL FOR MOVIES

Swimming Classes Will Show On Dry Land How They Learn the Art

Five hundred women students, according to the present plans, clad in "middies" and "bloomers," will give a demonstration of dry land swimming at half-past eleven next Saturday morning near the Hearst swimming pool before a moving picture camera, operated by the Mutual Weekly company.

Miss Loraine Cadwell, the swimming instructor for women in the Summer Session thinks that swimming is the most wholesome and beneficial form of activity that women can engage in, for it exercises

TERRYS GETTING BETER

Wounds Are Painful But Lockjaw Is Believed Averted

The wounds Mr. and Mrs. Thomas J. Terry received in the bomb explosion last Saturday are slowly but steadily healing. In the St. Francis Hospital they are dressed every day. Mr. Terry and his wife believe they have been made immune from lockjaw and other infections diseases by hypodermic injections. Mrs. Terry now suffers mostly from the wound behind her right ankle where a slug was forced in between thy two big bones there and the gash that pains Mr. Terry mostly is in his right thigh where a piece of metal, over an inch in diameter, penetrated.

LAST INFORMAL TODAY

Students May Dance Until Clock Strikes Twelve at Farewell Party

The last "informal" will be given tonight and it is believed students will need no urging to attend. Those who are in no hurry to go home may dance till twelve o'clock. Owing to the rush in winding up affairs next week there will be no social events after this week.

WATCH AND $33 TAKEN

While Beckett '15, Swims, Someone Invades Locker; His Not the Only Loss

An envelope containing a gold watch and $33 belonging to Ralph Beckett, '15, was taken from the lockers at the men's swimming pool yesterday afternoon.

Beckett was in swimming, and the attendant, who is also life guard, was out watching the bathers. Of this situation some individual took advantage.

Either because the envelope was emptied hurriedly, or because the person thought the owner might need carfare, five cents was left in the opened envelope.

The police were notified immediately. The only clew they have is that another bather saw a man acting rather suspiciously around the office, and says he can identify him.

The swimming pool loss is one of a recent number.

The janitor of North Hall hung his coat in his room on the top floor yesterday and on going to it found someone had cut the chain and carried off his watch.

The following notice was posted on the Hearst Hall bulletin board sometime after 3 p. m. yesterday:

"The person that took the gold watch from dressing room 136 was identified by another girl. If she turns this in at the "Lost and Found Department" at the Co-op, nothing further will be done."

"Losers are not always weepers and finders keepers," however, for of the lost fountain pens, books, purses, jewelry, gloves, sweaters and other apparel, many articles are turned in to Miss Ball at the Co-op and to the superintendent of the grounds.

There have been two classes of losses: simple and complex.

In many cases of simple losses, a little careful hunting is all that is necessary, as there is a host of unclaimed articles at the Co-op and at the office of the superintendent of the grounds. With the latter are listed

NO DISCIPLINE NEEDED

Teachers Find That Games Keep 700 Children Good at Playground, Daily

PLAY INSTINCTS CONSERVED

Track and Swimming Meets Set for Juveniles Today; Pageant Comes Tomorrow

"With an average attendance of 700 children daily, there has not been a single case of discipline during the summer," said J. B. Nash, director of the Summer Session playground.

Although 700 is the average attendance, there has been a maximum attendance of 840 children in one day. At least 100 mothers come daily with the very small children who play in the sand boxes, and there are about 50 mothers taking courses at the Summer School while their children are at the playground.

The interest in this phase of the child's education has developed entirely during the last five years, and 90 per cent of it, in California, during the past two years. This is the fourth year in which the course has been given at the University of California, and great improvements have been made this summer. There are the finest of appaeatus drinking-fountains, and dressing-rooms on the grounds.

The playground course is, primarily, for the 150 prospective teachers, who, after learning the theory of the games in the classrooms, have the opportunity to play and finally teach them to the mob of youngsters who swarm joyously over the Summer Session playground. Something new and wonderful to the child's mind takes place during every hour of the day, and so interesting has it all been that the children have fallen in naturally and enthusiastically with the teachers' plans, which have been suggestions—not orders.

"Courtesy," said Mr. Nash, "has been expected, and given, quite as a matter of course."

For the girls there are the singing games from 2:30 to 4, daily, folk dancing from 3:15 to 4:15, and the story hour from 3 to 4 with an average attendance of 50 children daily.

The boys have been organized into soccer and baseball leagues under the 70-lb., 85, 100, 115, 130-lb., and unlimited classes and have outside competition. A track meet at Canyon Pool will be held today and a swimming meet next week, and Saturday afternoon there is to be a pageant at the playground, under the direction of Miss Shaffee. To the great glee of the small boys Mr. Nash will be one of the Indian Braves.

Special attention this year has been given to the very small children, and after the story telling the tiny tots draw their impressions and ideas of the stories in the sand-boxes. For the warm days quieter games have been provided, and every stump and bit of shade is occupied by interested youngsters with checkee boards and dominoes.

"We are trying to get away from the idea that children need to be 'amused,'" said Mr. Nash. "We are trying to guard, even more than direct, their impulses for natural play. By encouraging creative ability, by the development of imagination through the "Santa Claus" age, the "Big In-

CO-OP SALES $12,418.21

Total Is Only $1600 Less Than for Same Period In 1915

Although there were nearly a thousand more students at the 1915 Summer Session, there is a difference of only about $1600 in the total merchandise sales of Students' Store for the corresponding periods for the two sessions. Students last year were attracted by the Exposition, and there was not so great a demand for text books and merchandise as this summer.

As a result the merchandise sales this year between June 26 and July 22 show a total of $12,418.21 as against $14,047.70 between June 21 and July 17, 1915.

COACH JOINS THE ARMY

Is at Border As 2nd Lieutenant in Indiana Militia

R. F. Vaughn of Purdue University, engaged as assistant football coach at California for next semester, is now on the Mexican border with an Indiana militia company. Graduate Manager J. A. Stroud has made no effort to find a successor as Dr. Vaughn will be released from service in time for the opening of the football season. Vaughn is a second lieutenant.

'TO TEACH, PUMP OUT'

U. of C's Method of Pumping In Is All Wrong, Says Emma Goldman

"Like all universities California attempts to educate by pumping information into the so-called student while the only proper method is to pump out, to permit development from within. All the potentialities of the child should be permitted to develop themselves: then a dominant one is sure to come to the front, said Emma Goldman, noted anarchist, speaking in Wilkins Hall, Tuesday night on "The Educational and Sexual Dwarfing of the Child."

Miss Goldman strongly opposed the Gary system and raised objection to the Montessori system of education, the Gary system is a long step toward the further enslaving of the poor by the rich, and the Montessori system aims at fitting the child to the system instead of fitting the system to the child.

"There is nothing in your whole educational system that I would conserve," said Miss Goldman. "In expressing these ideas here in Berkeley I am boarding the lion in his own den as we in the east are told that California represents the acme of American civilization and that Berkeley is the locus of Californian culture.

"But California is like any other university: it presents to youth only the predigested material that is sanctioned by and favorable to the wealthy ruling class that supports the university. Although there is nothing in my leeture which is in bad taste I should not be allowed to speak in a hall in the University of California because I am Emma Goldman, anarchist, enemy of the order of things that makes it possible for the wealthy to endow a university."

LAST WARNING

Summer Session students who have paid their regular registration fee can

ST. DENIS TOMORROW

Supported By Big Company Will Depict Ancient Greece, Egypt and India

LIGHT EFFECTS BEAUTIFUL

Gorgeous Costuming and Rich Melody Will Aid Classic Dancing at Greek Theatre

"The life and after life of the people of ancient Greece, Egypt and India," will be presented at the Greek Theatre tomorrow evening in a wordless pageant by Miss Ruth St. Denis and Mr. Ted Shawn assisted by a company of 100 and an orchestra of 40 pieces.

The land of the Nile with its luxury, culture and solemnity will be depicted. After a period of courtesy comes invasion and decay. The souls of the Egyptians will be followed in their journey across the river to the Hall of Judgement, where their places for all eternity will be given them by Osiris, the God of Egypt. In their spirits pass the object is hoped that they are permitted to join in the ceremonial dances of the dead.

The stage of the theatre will then be set to reveal the ancient Greece of the classic Greek. The second will be the visit of Persephone and her Nymphs of Symphony to the dark kingdom of Pluto.

In India, the belief is that one must work out his Karma through many lives, before he is finally admitted to Nirvana or perfect consciousness. The richness of Eastern life, the mysticism of India and its religions beliefs will be portrayed by dancing girls, market women, princesses and Brahmins. Many of the students of the Summer Session will assist in the rhumbas.

Miss St. Denis was born on a farm in New Jersey where she lived until thirteen years of age. She was taught the Del Sarte system of dancing by her mother and profited so by these lessons, that she soon danced in vaudeville in New York. Miss St. Denis then joined the Daly company and went from there to Mr. Belasco, with whom she remained for five years. During this time she conceived the idea of giving oriental dances and worked two years in preparation of the first "Radha." After a five years' stay abroad, Miss St. Denis returned to the United States and gave a series of Egyptian dances at the Amsterdam Theater in New York. She has made three transcontinental tours at the head of her own company.

Mr. Shawn took up dancing at 17 and later became so interested in the art, that he left the University of Denver to become a professional dancer. He joined Miss Denis' company in 1913 and they were married the following year.

During the summer months Miss St. Denis and Mr. Shawn conduct a school of dancing, Denishawn, at Los Angeles, to which students come from all parts of the country. The majority of dances Saturday evening will be members of Miss St. Denis' regular company and the advanced pupils of this school.

In addition to dancing, costume designing and making are taught. The costumes to be worn Saturday evening were made in this school under the personal supervision of Miss St. Denis.

FIELD MEET FOR BOYS

Playground Youngsters to Run on California Oval Friday

Summer playground track athletes will exhibit their skill Friday afternoon at 3 p. m. on California Oval. As no teams are entered the entertainment will be furnished by individual competition only. Admission will be free. The weight system will be used. For the seventy pounders a 40-yard dash and running broad jump are scheduled. A fifty yard dash, running broad jump and high jump will be held for the eighty pound entrants. A four man 200 yard relay is also on their program. A sixty yard dash, running broad jump, high jump and 200 yard run complete the list scheduled for the 100 pound young stars. The 115 pound boys will run a seventy yard dash, put the eight pound shot and broad jump. The unlimited class will appear in a hundred yard dash, pole vault and the 16 pound shot put.

Three students in Walter Christy's coaching course will give exhibitions. Graves will pole vault. Mounter will run the high and low hurdles and Kroeker will do the sprints.

ONLY FOOTBALL PAYS

Its $12,000 Profit Makes Up Deficit From Sports That Aren't Self Supporting

Football is the only sport to show a profit during 1915-16, according to a preliminary draft of Graduate Manager J. A. Stroud's report. Approximately $12,000 was netted from football, $7,000 less than the profit from the 1914 game, which was held at California and was the biggest money-maker to date.

This sum failed to cover the loss from the other student sports by $3,000. A loss of more than $15,000 resulted from baseball, track, crew, tennis, soccer, basketball, swimming, wrestling, cross-country running, boxing and fencing. Crew was the heaviest loser. The expenses were $6600 with but $1,400 income, made up largely of refunds. The $5,500 deficiency went largely into equipment, as there were no coaching expenses. Expenses for permanent equipment were: boathouse repairs, $1,000; oars and hairs, $700; shells, $1,100; and rowing machines, $600.

The track expenses rose sharply from previous years. The rise is partly due to sending the team east and partly to upkeep on the new track. The year's loss was $5000. The total outlay reached $9,800 against a $4,800 income.

The baseball deficiency was $3,300, receipts being $3,700 and expenditures totaling $6,900.

A $1,300 deficiency is shown by the minor sports: basketball, swimming, soccer, wrestling. This is 100 per cent higher than in 1914-15. The expenditures were $2,900 and the income less than $1,600.

Approximately $20,000 was netted from the sale of student cards, periodicals, and miscellaneous sources. Administration expenses are charged against this sum. A net balance of about $11,00 was left.

The $30,000 debt on the new track was paid in the fall term of 1915. Fifteen thousand was borrowed later in the year and a cash transfer of $12,500

MANY HAVE NO JOBS

Teachers Are Without Schools Because They Do Not Know "Frills of Education"

'DO NOT GENERALIZE ENOUGH'

'There Are Not 1400 In Berkeley Without Positions, However,' sayS Mrs. May Cheney

"Many teachers in Berkeley are not under contract for the coming year because they do not understand the 'frills of education,'" said Mrs. May Cheney, appointment secretary. "The Legislature put a premium on music, drawing, physical training, and nature study by requiring that these be taught throughout California in the elementary schools and in all normal schools. That these pupils may be fully prepared, normal school applicants for the high schools have been quick to respond by widening the curriculum. In many cases the number on the faculty has not been increased, calls from every part of the state include unusual and varied combinations of subjects.

"There is no truth in the report that there are 1400 teachers in Berkeley without positions. Any approximate estimate could be far from the truth because of interviews and signing of contracts. There are 850 on our lists who are not placed, but these include those who are seeking better positions, and who have been slow in reporting contracts already signed. Last year our calls equalled the applicants, numbering 1556, but the positions and the qualifications did not agree very well. Every teacher should realize that history, Latin, English, German and French are overcrowded; while Spanish, general science, cooking and agriculture are in demand; and furthermore that two majors and several minors are necessary in college training to gain the country experience that a teacher needs for city preferment."

Of the summer school workers this year 45 per cent are teachers, and listed under students are many hundreds of prospective teachers, who face this problem of specializing and generalizing outlined by the new state law. Two-thirds of the teachers on the campus are in the overcrowded field of elementary work, where any serious financial crisis immediately cuts off country openings, according to the manager of a large teachers' agency with local offices. Two factors always enter: the re-employment of married women with life certificates, and the remaining in the ranks of teachers who would otherwise marry, the average elementary teacher marries at the end of two years, while high school teachers remain in the profession three to four years.

TELLS STORY OF REDMEN

"Children's Festival" Saturday Is Based On Early California Tradition

Indians, prospectors, soldiers—such is the picturesque inheritance of California tradition that a hundred students of the Summer Session and five

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impress the District Attorney and the judges that you believe in Birth Control and that you think that our friends who are on trial are not guilty of distributing obscene literature, but they gave birth control methods to the people because they believed that it would help the human race. Send your protest in to the Judge and the District Attorney. Don't be overly courteous to them. Tell them that you are one of the working class that creates the wealth of the world, that pays them their salary and that you are going to have a voice in the matter. If we can get ten thousand indignant letters going to the District Attorney and to the Judges, Hall, Rauh, Ashley, Marmed and Kerr will be dismissed without a trial.

Now don't depend upon the other fellow to do it. This is your fight. Nobody else is going to do it for you and don't waste your time coming to MOTHER EARTH office asking for a pamphlet. You go down and see the District Attorney and tell him that you believe in Birth Control and ask him what business has he got locking up people that want to help you. If you've got any brains or influence or power, use it to protest against the persecution of the birth control propagandists.

Don't waste your time bothering about the Society for the Prevention of Vice or that little bed-bug Sumner. They are dying a slow but natural death. Twenty-five years ago it was a simple matter for Comstock to achieve a reputation by hounding honest men and women. But Sumner will never be able to do that.

Now, friends, I am glad I went to jail. I won't cry if you get there, but remember Birth Control is only a part of the fight. We live in a wonderful age and so let's get rid of the birth control problem; we can then go ahead and devote our time to doing anti-military propaganda and to building a world without jails, ignorance, poverty and laws.

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ANARCHISM—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

STRAY THOUGHTS

CALIFORNIA, golden, glorious California! How partial Mother Nature is to endow one of her little spots with so much life, beauty and splendor while leaving other spots so barren and dead. The contrast between Nevada and California, for instance. Two stretches of Nature's land, so close to each other, yet so different, so removed, so strange. Nature has dealt with the soil as she does with her human children. She often gives all to one, nothing to the other. How lavish, how stingy Nature is!

My yearly pilgrimage across the country has become a real necessity in my life. Each city holds its own charm because of the dear comrades and friends who help to give color to my work. Without them, the cities I have visited would have no meaning to me.

But California, like a great passion, is its own justification. It has its own irresistible charm. I am sure that if I knew not a single soul in California, I should still be drawn to it, should still want to go back, as one goes back to a great work of Art, for the sheer wonder of it.

I have been to California ten times in the last eight years, and several times prior to that. I thought I knew the Southern part well. As a matter of fact, I had never seen it before—not as I saw it this time, when our beautiful comrades Dr. and Mrs. Gerson and their children took me in their auto to the mountains and the canyons. It was a wondrous, awe-inspiring experience.

And again, when our whirlwind Comrade Pece drove us 90 miles to Sulphur Springs, to Charlie Sprading's unique summer resort and then back again 37 miles along the coast. The open sea on the one side, the range of mountains on the other—how insignificant the human family seemed, with its petty strife, its dull pleasures, its meaningless pursuits, in view of the mighty panorama stretched out before us.

Nature is so lavish and abundant. Why then do her children remain forever accursed? No less in California than elsewhere. Nature herself is a captive everywhere. possessed by those who have placed their blood-stained seal of private property on her brow. She may not give

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herself to all her children alike. She may not minister to their needs, soothe them in their pain. She may only stretch her arms longingly to her poor disinherited children.

And they? In the great human ant-hills, in the congested cities, in the mines and shops they have been torn from the bosom of the earth for so long, they no longer see her beauty, feel her bountifulness or hearken to her call.

Yes, California is a miracle, but her people are exploited and robbed none the less, by the land sharks, especially. The mercenaries of greed are nowhere as active as in Southern California. There they are fastened like leeches, drawing the blood and life out of the soil and the people. There are the mighty thrones of the Otises, of the Hearsts, of the Southern Pacific, that rule the State with an iron rod. There is the M & M with its bloody warfare on Labor. There are the conspirators against Mexico, incessantly at work spreading the national gangrene. There is the worm-eaten economic and political heart of the radiant, bewitching beauty of California. And there is work to do for those who can feel and think. Hence my yearly pilgrimages to California.

My good friend, Nellie Craig, is reporting the meetings in Los Angeles. I shall therefore not take up space, except to say a word about the most important meeting which she neglected to mention—the one on "Preparedness." By a strange coincidence, my Preparedness lecture fell on the 14th of June, the day of the Preparedness Parade. A better psychologic moment could not have been chosen. The hall was packed with an audience indignant over the afternoon's circus, and in just the right frame of mind for the lecture. It was a great evening. O for the means to travel through the length and breadth of the country, to have large halls, and *free* meetings on Preparedness! So much could be accomplished. Poor people in Europe always hope for the rich American Uncle to make his appearance. Being in America, I haven't even the Uncle to look forward to for a substantial "Preparedness" fund. So we must do what we can, though it is ever so little.

What is that peculiar trait in man that makes him overestimate the simplest, the most obvious human act?

Truly, I was embarrassed, hard sinner that I am, when so much was made of Comrade Alexander Berkman's and my efforts to secure bail for Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magon. Is solidarity merely a dream that people are amazed when it asserts itself? To me, solidarity is the one *raison d'etre* of life, the one great hope for the social reconstruction. Besides, the joy that was ours in rescuing our comrades from jail while their appeal is pending, far surpassed all the difficulties we had in procuring their bond.

Those who really deserve our gratitude are our good friends Mr. and Mrs. Chauncey Clarke and Mr. and Mrs. Bruns. They cheerfully gave the security, though neither of them knew the Magons, and the Bruns knew me only through MOTHER EARTH. Without them, our efforts would have failed. And then, Tom and May Forrester, our seasoned old comrades, who made it possible for the Brothers Magon to enjoy a respite on that glorious spot near Silver Lake, Ivanhoe. It was there under the stately trees, with the luminous moon lighting up the range of mountains, that Enrique and Ricardo with their wives and children, and a score of other Mexican comrades gave a banquet for me on the 6th of July. That memorable occasion should have more properly been for Ben Reitman, for on that day he was released from Queen's County Jail. But he was far away, in New York. Yet, he was with us just the same, as were all the other comrades who in and out of jail keep up the good fight. Not the least among them, comrades Mathew A. Schmidt and Dave Caplan.

Of course, I visited them both. They are full of hope and spirit, and have asked me to convey their greeting to all the comrades. My joy of getting the Magons out of the County Jail was marred only by my inability to do the same for Dave and Mat. Dave is to have a new trial, which is to take place October 16th. With renewed energy in his and Mat's behalf, who knows but that they may yet be with us. Nor must we be content with having Enrique and Ricardo free only while their appeal is pending. We must work hard to prevent their going back to prison.

Three weeks in Los Angeles, so rich of work, of com-

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radeship, of fine co-operation. No wonder we had such splendid meetings. My old-time Comrade, Alexander Berkman, had prepared the ground three weeks in advance. Nellie and Helen Craig, Kitty Caples, Conrad Garcia, Sam Stone, the Lerners, the McCulloughs and Joe Wright, the new champion literature seller, Lucy and Bob, who came at neck-breaking speed in their auto house, and other comrades, all worked faithfully, helped gladly and still had time for the lighter things of life.

And now in San Francisco, the invigorating, with one week of splendid meetings already behind me, and two weeks still ahead, and Big Ben to put his zest into the work. It is all so wonderful. I do not know just when I will be through with San Francisco, but I mean to stay as long as I possibly can. By the middle of August I will be in Portland. Those interested in my coming can communicate with Pauline Cantor Somers, 1103 East 23d St., N. After that. in Seattle. Our friends there can communicate with Minnie Rimer, 118 St. John St. Then to Butte, Mont., and to Denver for several weeks.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

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EMMA GOLDMAN HAS BEEN TO LOS ANGELES!

WHAT more shall I write? Such a flood of memories rushes past, my poor pen cannot record them! We had been rather on the anxious seat for several weeks, for fear the Birth Control battle being waged in New York, would prevent this cheerful and indomitable ex-convict from coming to us this year.

But here she was, more strong, more courageous, certainly more honored and beloved than before her principles had been put to the test, and she had been found ready to endure physical imprisonment for mental freedom and fidelity to an ideal.

As she mounted the platform with the same firm resolute step, the audience that filled Burbank Hall, applauded to the echo, and I thought how the stupidity of Society was exemplified by Courts and Judges that feel that a prison sentence could crush out an ideal, once that ideal becomes a part of the minor self, particularly if that self be an Emma Goldman.

The opening lecture was given Sunday, June 11th, the subject being "Anarchism and Human Nature—Do They Harmonize?" and she spoke with great force and freedom of expression.

The conspiracy of silence exercised by the local newspapers, prevented any adequate announcement of her coming through that medium, but Berkman, and his assistants had carried on a systematic plan of advertising by other means for two weeks previous to her arrival, so much had been accomplished along those lines and the lectures drew good audiences of most intent and eager listeners.

The four lectures on literature were remarkable intellectual treats and very broadening in their influence, but alas, for the cultural spirit of Los Angeles, they were the most poorly attended of all.

However, these audiences, though smaller, were very responsive and appreciative, and were attended by the "regulars" and the rather small, but fine new element, that developed during the earlier lectures upon the more popular subjects, and remained unflagging to the end.

The interest and inspiration is now so fine and clear, I ask myself, will we *do* anything for the betterment of the children of the Earth, or will we continue to talk, and then talk some more, as we have done in the long past.

The futility of talk and the power of action was never more impressed upon me than during the recent visit of Emma Goldman. The brothers Magon had been in jail in Los Angeles for months, because of their activity in behalf of the oppressed in Mexico. We had organized a Defense League and talked a lot about getting them out of the tragedy—these two sick men lying in prison because the necessary bail had not been or could not be raised.

Along comes Emma Goldman and says: "Why are the Magons in jail?" "Because we could not raise the money to liberate them," we reply, and Emma said, "but we *must* raise it. If I don't get the Magons out of jail before I leave, I'll feel my visit to Los Angeles has been an utter failure." Needless to say, she accomplished her purpose and on the evening of July 1st at the Social and dance given for the benefit of the defense of Caplan and the Magons, the two brave brothers were the guests of honor.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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There are some of us to whom the idea of killing is repellant. I, for one, don't like guns, knives, bayonets, dynamite, gunecotton and artillery. I hate such things because I hate the thing they are made for—killing.

We who dislike killing don't believe in it, and don't believe in getting prepared to kill—we who think that gun-toting, bomb-making, cannon-making and bloodthirstiness make the lowest ideal that man can stoop to—we are called anti-militarists. Since we do not like those things, we naturally express our dislike of the idealization of militarism. We have said frankly, honestly and openly that we do not believe in spilling blood.

But others have a love for military things, for guns, ammunition. They have been carrying on a campaign for many months, crying to the whole world: "Arm! Prepare! Be skilled in killing! Let us know how to kill better than any other people can!"

With all our hearts and heads we believe that that sort of talk is wrong, is injurious to the character of men and boys and women. We believe that it lowers the standards of every person who hears such a thing, lessens their respect for human life, human progress and decency. We believe that it nurtures all that is morbid in the human brain, all the traits that go back to the jungle from which the human race has progressed. And yet, when a cataclysm comes, when in the midst of a demonstration of the military ideal, some person uses an explosive (the very munition of war that is being idealized) thereby killing innocent sightseers and paraders who were probably forced to march by employers those very persons who have trained morbid minds to violence, will blame *us* for the occurrence!

To those of you who are in the habit of thinking, who do not blindly take whatever rot you may see in the papers for the solemn truth, we ask—do you not think it possible that the long months of ranting by "preparationists," interventionists and explosive manufacturers may have had the effect of driving an over-susceptible brain to using the very munition for which they preach?

Down With the Anarchists!

WE must get rid of the Anarchists! They are a menace to society. Does not Hearst say so? Do not the M. & M. and the gentlemen of the Chamber of Commerce, who have also declared war on Labor, assure us that the Anarchists are dangerous and that they are responsible for all our troubles? Does not every skinner of Labor and every grafting politician shout against the Anarchists? Isn't that enough to prove that the Anarchists are dangerous?

But why are all the money bags and their hirelings so unanimous in condemning the Anarchists? Generally they disagree on many questions and they bitterly fight each other in their business and social life. But on TWO questions they are always in accord.

What are those two questions that all the capitalists and profit mongers are always in perfect agreement on? They are these:

Smash the Labor Unions!
Hang the Anarchists!

WHY? Because the Labor Unions are cutting the bosses' profits by constantly demanding higher wages. And the Anarchists want to abolish the boss altogether.

Now, what is the matter with the Anarchists? What do you really know about them, except the lies and misrepresentations of their enemies—who are also the enemies of the workers and opposed to every advancement of Labor? If you stop to think of it, you really know nothing of the Anarchists and their teachings. Your masters and their press have taken good care that you shouldn't learn the truth about them. Why? Because as long as they can keep you busy shouting against the Anarchists, they are safe in their saddle on the backs of the people.

That's the whole secret.

What do the Anarchists really want? When you know that, you will be able to decide for yourself whether the Anarchists are your enemies or your friends.

The Anarchists say that it is not necessary to have murder and crime, poverty and corruption in the world. They say that we are cursed with these evils because a handful of people have monopolized the earth and all the wealth of the country. But who produces that wealth? Who builds the railroads, who digs the coal, who works in the fields and factories? You can answer that question for yourself. It is the toilers who do all the work and who produce all that we have in the world.

The Anarchists say: The products of Labor should belong to the producers. The industries should be carried on to minister to the needs of the people instead of for profit, as at present. Abolishing monopoly in land and in the sources of production, and making the opportunity for production accessible to all, would do away with capitalism and introduce free and equal distribution. That, in turn, would do away with laws and government, as there would be no need for them, government serving only to conserve the institutions of today and to protect the masters in their exploitation of the people. It would abolish war and crime, because the incentive to either would be lacking. It would be a society of real freedom, without coercion or violence, based on the voluntary communal arrangement of "To each according to his needs; from each according to his ability."

That is what the Anarchists teach. Suppose they are all wrong. Are you going to prove it by hanging them? If they are wrong, the people will not accept

A Raid and a Visit

AT LAST! A squad of detectives of the newly created bomb bureau came down upon the office of THE BLAST. A raid, b'gosh!

It happened a whole week after the bomb explosion. Why did they give us so much time to "prepare"? "For ways and tricks peculiar, etc." Stupidity alone does not exhaust the explanation. Of course the police knew that we had nothing to do with the explosion. Cool and gentle as we are, we never explode. The guardians knew there was no cause for a raid. But having spent much precious time without securing the least clue to the perpetrator of the bomb, *something* had to be done. A special police bomb bureau had been created. Well, the bureau had to show that it was on the job.

The raid on THE BLAST was therefore an afterthought. It was led by Assistant District Attorney Cunha and three other "detectives," among them Swanson, formerly the local chief of the Pinkerton agency. We say "detectives" in quotation marks; the degree of intelligence the raiders showed convinced us that they couldn't detect the trail of an elephant on a muddy cowpath. They actually asked me whether I had explosives in the house! Of course I had. I thought Cunha's face blanched perceptibly when I held out to him a .38-calibre revolver, with the remark: "It's loaded and it's liable to explode." "This isn't what we want," he said rather petulantly, giving back the gun to me. But when I returned to the room a few minutes later I noticed that he had very cautiously removed the bullets from the revolver. Safety first!

I had another kind of explosive in the house which I strongly recommended to the visitors. It was mental dynamite in the form of copies of THE BLAST, Anarchist pamphlets and books. But the raiders didn't seem to care much for that kind of awakener. After a vain search for bombs, lasting four hours, they departed,

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their ideas, and therefore there can be no danger from them. But, if they are right, it would be good for us to find it out. In any case it is a question of learning what these Anarchists really want. Let the people hear them.

But how about violence? you say. Don't the Anarchists preach and practice violence and murder?

They don't. On the contrary, the Anarchists hold life as the most sacred thing. That's why they want to change the present order of things where everyone's hand is against his brother, and where war, wholesale slaughter in the pursuit of the dollar, bloodshed in the field, factory and workshop is the order of the day. The poverty, misery and bitter industrial warfare, the crimes, suicides and murder committed every day of the year in this country will convince any man of intelligence that in present society we have plenty of Law, but mighty little order or peace.

Anarchism means OPPOSITION to violence, by whomever committed, even if it be by the government. The government has no more right to murder than the individual. Anarchism is therefore opposition to violence as well as to government forcibly imposed on man.

The Anarchists value human life. In fact, no one values it more. Why, then, are the Anarchists always blamed for every act of violence? Because your rulers and exploiters want to keep you prejudiced against the Anarchists, so you will never find out what the Anarchists really want, and the masters will remain safe in their monopoly of life.

Now, what are facts about violence? Crimes of every kind happen every day. Are the Anarchists responsible for them? Or is it not rather misery and desperation that drive people to commit such acts? Does a millionaire go out on the street and knock you down with a gaspipe to rob you of a few dollars? O, no: He builds a factory and robs his workers in a way that is much safer, more profitable and within the law.

Who, then, commits acts of violence? The desperate man, of course. He to whom no other resort seems open. Violence is committed by all kinds of people. Such violence is mostly for the purpose of theft or robbery. But there are also cases where it is done for social reasons. Such impersonal acts of violence have, from time immemorial, been the reply of goaded and desperate classes, and goaded and desperate individuals, to wrongs from their fellow-men, which they felt to be intolerable. Such acts are the violent RECOIL from violence, whether aggressive or repressive; they are the last desperate struggle of outraged and exasperated human nature for breathing space and life. And their CAUSE LIES NOT IN ANY SPECIAL CONVICTION, BUT IN HUMAN NATURE ITSELF. The whole course of history, political and social, is strewn with evidence of this fact. To go no further, take the Revolutionists of Russia, the Fenians and Sinn Feiners of Ireland, the Republicans of Italy. Were those people Anarchists? No. Did they all hold the same political opinions? No. But all were driven by desperate circumstances into this terrible form of revolt.

Anarchists, as well as others, have sometimes committed acts of violence. Do you hold the Republican Party responsible for every act committed by a Republican? Or the Democratic Party, or the Presbyterian or Methodist Church responsible for acts of individual members? It would be stupid to do so.

Under miserable conditions of life, any vision of the possibility of better things makes the present misery more intolerable, and spurs those who suffer to the most energetic struggles to improve their lot, and if these struggles only immediately result in sharper misery, the outcome is sheer desperation. In our present society, for instance, an exploited wage worker, who catches a glimpse of what work and life might and ought to be, finds the toilsome routine and the squalor of his existence almost intolerable; and even when he has the resolution and courage to continue steadily working his best, and waiting until new ideas have so permeated society as to pave the way for better times, the mere fact that he has such ideas and tries to spread them brings him into difficulties with his employers. How many thousands of rebel workers, of Socialists, of Industrialists and Syndicalists, but above all of Anarchists, have lost work and even the chance of work, solely on the ground of their opinions? It is only the specially gifted craftsman who, if he be a zealous propagandist, can hope to retain permanent employment. And what happens to a man with his brain working actively with a ferment of new ideas, with a vision before his eyes of a new hope dawning for toiling and agonizing men, with the knowledge that his suffering and that of his fellows in misery is not caused by the cruelty of fate, but by the injustice of other human beings—what happens to such a man when he sees those dear to him starving, when he himself is starved? Some natures in such a plight, and those by no means the least social or the least sensitive, will become violent, and will even feel that their violence is social and not anti-social, that in striking when and how they can, they are striking, not for themselves, but for human nature, outraged and despoiled in their persons and in those of their fellow sufferers. And

obviously dissatisfied. I knew they wouldn't be happy til they found what they were looking for, but I don't believe in coddling people.

They appropriated, however, copies of our California subscription list, shockingly surprised to find that there were so many Anarchists in the otherwise happy and peaceful Golden State.

A few days later Miss Fitzgerald and myself were "invited" by the chief to visit headquarters. There we were forced to waste five perfectly good hours in answering fool questions. I found the "superior" officials of the District Attorney's office and of the Detective Bureau of a much inferior intelligence than similar officials in other cities. Not a single one of my half dozen inquisitors, including Assistant District Attorney James Brennan, showed the faintest understanding of social problems or of modern movements. I was glad of the opportunity to explain the philosophy of Anarchism to the assembled representatives of government. "There is no reason why even they should not learn something," I thought. But I soon gave up the attempt as hopeless when Detective Swanson, considered the most intelligent of the crew, met one of my arguments with this profound parry: "It's nonsense to say the land is monopolized. If you got enough money you can buy any piece of land you want."

The keynote of their intelligence and decency was finally struck by Assistant District Attorney Brennan (an aspirant for a Senator's toga) when he repeatedly shouted at me, "Every Anarchist is a criminal. We'll hang you all, every one of you!"

The same gentleman tried to intimidate and cajole, in turn, my associate worker, Miss Fitzgerald. He very discreetly inquired whether we hang our underwear on the same clothesline, and in the next breath wondered why "such a nice sweet lady with such a good Irish name" could have anything in common with the terrible Anarchists. He thundered maledictions on my unprotected head and assured her that I am the worst criminal in the country, intimately associated with every crook.

In her calm, well-poised manner Miss Fitzgerald replied that she was proud to be connected with the Anarchists; but she has been wondering ever since what had been my association with the District Attorney's office.

But for a quick presto change artist Mr. Brennan beats the champion vaudeville performers. When we were "invited" to his office the next day, I hardly knew him. His manner had completely changed. A bully the previous day, he was now the acme of Chesterfieldianism. Will Mr. Berkman please be seated? Will Mr. Berkman be good enough to answer a question or two? etc.

I was wondering what ruse was being

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Down With the Anarchists! / Emma Goldman, *et al.* — pp. 5-7 ; 36 cm. *In* The Blast [San Francisco]. — Vol. 1, no. 17 (Aug. 15, 1916).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location; Doe Library.

are we, who ourselves are not in this horrible predicament, to stand by and coldly condemn these piteous victims of the Furies and Fates? Are we to decry as miscreants these human beings who act with heroic self-devotion, often sacrificing their lives in protest, where less social and less energetic natures would lie down and grovel in abject submission to injustice and wrong? Are we to join the ignorant and brutal outcry which stigmatizes such men as monsters of wickedness, gratuitously running amuck in a harmonious and innocently peaceful society? NO! We hate murder with a hatred that may seem absurdly exaggerated to apologists for war, industrial slaughter and Ludlow massacres, to callous acquiescers in governmental and plutocratic violence, but we decline in such cases of homicide as those of which we are treating, to be guilty of the cruel injustice of flinging the whole responsibility of the deed upon the immediate perpetrator. The guilt of these homicides lies upon every man and woman who, intentionally or by cold indifference, helps to keep up social conditions that drive human beings to despair. The man who flings his whole life into the attempt, often at the cost of his own life, to protest against the wrongs of his fellow-men, is a saint compared to the active and passive upholders of cruelty and injustice, even if his protest destroy other lives besides his own. Let him who is without sin in society cast the first stone at such a one.

THE BLAST GROUP
GROUP FREEDOM
ITALIAN ANARCHIST GROUP VOLONTA
UNION OF RUSSIAN WORKERS

Per { ALEXANDER BERKMAN
EMMA GOLDMAN

Some Direct Questions for the District Attorney

In these columns Questions will be asked and Truths will be told that no other local paper dares to breathe. These columns are open to the public.

Question 1. What has become of Mrs. William Hinckley Taylor, who led the Women's Division of the Preparedness parade? She repeatedly declared that a note of warning had been handed to her by a small swarthy man just before the explosion. Where is that note? Why is the District Attorney's office silent about it? Who wrote that note? And where is that swarthy man? He is not among those under arrest.

Question 2. Mr. Prendergast, a veteran of the Spanish War, was among those knocked down by the force of the explosion. He has informed the authorities that he saw the man who placed the suitcase on the sidewalk and that he saw the bomb explode. He was positive that it was not Billings nor anyone else under arrest. Where is Mr. Prendergast? *Why has he suddenly disappeared from his home in Oakland?* Was he spirited away because his testimony would exonerate the men chosen as victims?

Question 3. Estelle Smith, identifier in chief of the prosecution, at first claimed that she saw a tall man with a drooping mustache in company with a short stout woman wearing thick glasses. Why has she changed her mind since she has talked with the police? Why did she subsequently identify Tom Mooney and his wife as the couple she saw, considering that neither of them answers to her original description?

Question 4. What has become of the scores of plug-uglies imported to break the Longshoremen's strike? Why have they so suddenly disappeared from the city, now that the Culinary Workers' strike is on, immediately after the explosion?

Question 5. Why were Mrs. Belle Lavin and T. Ryan arrested as dynamiters, kept 18 hours without food, water or sleep, and then discharged without even being booked on the police blotter? Are prisoners being tortured to secure confessions?

Question 6. Why are absolutely false rumors circulated from headquarters that each bomb prisoner has "confessed"? Are you trying the bomb case in the newspapers, and is the evidence of the prosecution so flimsy that the public mind must be poisoned with such lies in order to secure a conviction?

Question 7. Why are radicals gratuitously insulted in your office, Mr. District Attorney? Why was a prominent labor man invited by your assistant Cunha the other evening only to be abused and physically attacked by the "superior" official, who was evidently under the influence of liquor? Have you placed the bomb "investigation" in the hands of irresponsible nummies and drunken bullies?

Question 8. Does your office represent the taxpayers, or the U. R. R. and Mr. Koster of the Law and Order Committee? Why are you so busy picking up the intelligent foreign workers and Anarchists and turning them over to the immigration authorities, only to have them locked up for a week and then released without even an apology for your blundering stupidity?

THIS is a special issue of THE BLAST in the interest of the Labor men that Big Business wants to hang in San Francisco. The case is of utmost importance. A repetition of the judicial murders of 1887 must be prevented at all cost. Labor and radical papers are welcome to reprint the matter published in THE BLAST.

concocted in that atavistic brain when Mr. Brennan naively volunteered the explanation for his changed attitude. "Mr. Berkman, I had dinner yesterday with Professor ——— of the University at Berkeley. We discussed you and your book. He thinks very highly of you."

I pitied him. But I was glad that he had decency enough not to offer to shake hands when I left. It saved him the experience of Assistant District Attorney Cunha, THE BLAST raider, whose proffered hand I had refused to touch.

On the Firing Line

COMRADES Cesare Veglio, Louis Aubert, and Julien Potter, arrested for distributing the leaflet, "Down With the Anarchists!" were quickly "tried" in Judge Sullivan's court and sentenced to 90 days in jail.

But the prosecution reckoned without the host. Friends of the arrested immediately blocked the judicial farce. An appeal was filed, bail secured, and now our good comrades are all watching proceedings from the outside instead of from behind the bars.

Our friend Jacob Lizzul, arrested for the same terrible crime, demanded a jury trial and is now also out on bail. It is well for the authorities to know that we emphatically refuse to be railroaded to prison or to be otherwise victimized.

The case of T. Sidorin, "picked up" because he is a "Rooshan," has just been decided by the immigration officials. Sidorin has been in this country over four years, and cannot be deported. But the dirty work continues. Released by the Federal authorities, he is now held on the charge of "disturbing the peace" by having in his hand a copy of our leaflet. He is out on bail.

A SIMILAR attempt to punish and terrorize the workers by hanging or imprisoning its most active and devoted friends is now being made in Minnesota in connection with the strike of the iron miners. Carlo Tresca and several other brave spirits are held on charges of murder committed by the Hessians of the Steel Trust. We will deal at greater length with the Minnesota situation, and with the other great strikes now convulsing the country, in our next issue. For the present it is appropriate to point out that the great lesson for the workers to learn is *solidarity*. Labor will have no real strength till the man with the pick is the full brother of the man at the throttle.

WE have printed 50,000 copies of the circular, "Down With the Anarchists!" It is a clear, enlightening document. Be sure to give some copies to your acquaintances and neighbors. The circular can be had free through THE BLAST. Contributions to help defray cost of printing and mailing will not be refused.

THE police and detective bureaus have assured us that they mean to kill THE BLAST. "Why, your cartoons alone are enough to incite to riot!" they told us.

But THE BLAST is *not* going to be killed. Not without a hard fight, anyhow. We have printed an extra large issue this time. If you want to help save the lives of Nolan, Mooney, Weinberg and Billings the selected victims of the enemy—then help spread the paper. Order bundle copies. Get subscribers. Talk alone will not do. Get busy. Help swell the War Fund of THE BLAST.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Dear Friend / Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman.— 28 cm. *In* Regeneracion [Los Angeles]. —(Aug. 26, 1916).

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From The Blast

We insert below a circular that has reached us from "The Blast", signed by Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman. It speaks for itself and needs no comment. THE BLAST is the only paper in that locality now, or in any locality, for that matter, that has dared to come out boldly in defense of the splendid comrades that are being dragged to the gallows by the "Law and Order" crew of San Francisco.

All those who want the facts, the naked facts, about the bomb conspiracy of the San Francisco Business Bandits cannot be without THE BLAST. The "Law and Order" gang are "Planning Another 11th of November", as THE BLAST well says; they are planning to crush the freedom of expression, the strangling of labor agitation, and The Blast, single-handed has undertaken to raise a WAR FUND of $1.000 to fight and expose the GANG, to endeavor to preserve what spark of liberty we retain, as shown by the following circular:

San Francisco, Aug. 15th, 1916.

Dear Friend:

No doubt you have read in the press about the bomb explosion that took place in San Francisco on July 22nd, during the Preparedness Parade. The reaction immediately raised the cry of "Anarchist!" and the Hearst papers and the Chamber of Commerce are now exerting every effort to "clear the city" of revolutionists and Anarchists.

"The Blast" office has been raided by the police, and the Editor and his associate worker, M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, have been repeatedly haled to "headquarters", and there subjected to vile insult and abuse by the District Attorney's staff and actually threatened with hanging.

The authorities and the self-constituted "Law and Order" Committee of the Chamber of Commerce are bent on a repetition of the 11th of November 1887, when five of the noblest and bravest men of our time—the Chicago Anarchists—were judicially murdered for their devotion to an ideal. But surely we have not labored thirty years in vain? Surely there are enough fair-minded and liberty-loving men and women in these United States to prevent the repetition of that terrible judicial crime.

The first step the enemy is planning is to kill "The Blast" and to stifle every voice of protest in this city. Never before in the history of the Coast was there such need of a fearless revolutionary paper like "The Blast". It is the only local publication that has dared to raise its voice in behalf of Ed. Nolan, Tom Mooney and his wife, Israel Weinberg and Warren Billings whom the authorities are now conspiring to hang as those responsible for the bomb, entirely innocent though they are.

Are you interested in the fate of those who have been picked as victims in bitter warfare against labor? Do you want to uphold a free press and the revolutionary propaganda? Are you in sympathy with "The Blast" and the work it is doing? Do you want to express your protest against the vicious forces of reaction that threaten to erect in San Francisco the Chicago gallows of 1887?

If so, we count on your help to prevent the strangling of "The Blast" and the driving of the Anarchists out of San Francisco. We are not afraid for ourselves, but we are eager to keep up the fight against oppression and injustice, and WE NEED YOUR ASSISTANCE TO CONTINUE THE WORK. For this purpose we have opened a War Fund of $1000 for "The Blast". A friend has already contributed $100 toward the maintenance of the paper, and Emma Goldman has donated $25. This is the critical moment. Now is the time to show on what side we are aligned. May we count on YOU?

Fraternally,

ALEXANDER BERKMAN

EMMA GOLDMAN.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Stray Thoughts / Emma Goldman.– pp. 615-622 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 11, no. 7 (Sept. 1916).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Carranza. The people saw the point and went to the mountains with their arms, all furnished by Carranza while playing the patriot.

Carranza began to lose power. He was at the mercy of Zapata in the South, Villa in the North and hemmed in on all sides by thousands of independent gorillas who had neither guard nor master, and Carranza began once more through his papers to smear honey over the people's mouths. The people went on strike and the result was the Carranza Ukase, as represented in the clipping I am sending you. This appeared in "El Pueblo," the paper from Mexico City, a semi-official paper of Carranza's.

This news will shock many American radicals who thought Carranza a good man. Much to my surprise I found many of these radicals, some of them who even call themselves anarchists, who believe in Carranza, who tell us that we ought to accept his regime and then educate the people so they may understand our ideal of communist anarchism. It is so funny to hear radicals wax warm in behalf of government. They will now see by Carranza's own order that he is as cruel a tyrant as any other tyrant. If he is able to do such a heinous thing now before he is quite secure in the government saddle, what may he not do if he becomes the paternal benevolent Government itself?

The "ignorance" of the Mexican peasants (the peon) is the best soil for our ideals, inasmuch as their minds are not spoiled by the so-called education of the capitalist civilization. The minds of the educated people are full of prejudice and atavisms, while the "ignorant" peon's mind is so pure and pliable and so close to the earth, they can grasp an idea much quicker than learned mathematicians or parlor philosophers.

We received the money you sent us and already put it into the pockets of the Express Company, as we have to patronize it or suppress our weapon, "Regeneracion." Now that the Mexican spirit is strong and bold because the people are armed, it is high time for us to come with our ideas to them. A

man in peace is conservative and therefore often a coward. He is even too lazy to think, but once forced by circumstances to pick up a rifle he becomes bold in thought and in deed; so it is time for us to go hungry if need be to give to our people mental food with our propaganda, for they are in the right state of mind to receive our ideals without flinching and to strike severe blows to the present institutions that they regard as holy in time of peace.

Our love and greetings from this little colony to you, Emma.

Fraternally and affectionately,

ENRIQUE FLORES MAGON.

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STRAY THOUGHTS

By EMMA GOLDMAN

ON THE 22nd of July, after a week's strenuous work in San Francisco, I went to visit my old comrade Alexander Berkman, and his co-worker, Eleanor Fitzgerald. We were chatting pleasantly about the past, New York, the work in MOTHER EARTH office, and various other things, when the telephone rang. Berkman went to the 'phone and we continued our conversation, but suddenly we realized in the replies of our friend that something serious had happened. We learned the truth only too soon. A bomb had been exploded during the Preparedness parade, a number of people killed and many wounded. Involuntarily, I exclaimed, "I hope we anarchists will not again be held responsible," but my hope was in vain. The very first extras which greeted me on the way to my apartment contained the usual glaring headlines, "Anarchist Bomb! All Anarchists must be driven out of town, etc., etc."

On the evening of the 22nd I spoke on Preparedness. The subject was originally announced for the 20th, but on that night an anti-preparedness mass meeting took place, addressed by a number of well-known men and women in San Francisco. Not wishing to conflict with these people, I postponed my lec-

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ture for the 22nd. I did not know at the time how fortunate it was to do so. Had I spoken on Preparedness on the night scheduled I should now be in the hands of the San Francisco authorities, held responsible for the bomb tragedy.

The Hearst rag, *The Examiner,* tried hard to involve those who spoke at the anti-preparedness meeting, but it failed. After all, it is not easy to lay blame upon the shoulders of a Banker, a Rabbi and a Suffragist; but it would not have been very difficult to hold an Anarchist responsible. What are anarchists for? Thus the kind fairies watched over me that time, but it was a narrow escape.

On the evening of the 22nd there were more detectives than people at my meeting. The atmosphere was tense, but I refused to mince matters. The tragedy of the day spoke more powerfully than all theories that Preparedness means violence and war; that it leads to universal slaughter. The sponsors of the Preparedness Parade had been notified through a series of letters weeks in advance that something violent would happen should the Preparedness Parade take place. The police and some of the papers received similar letters, yet these patriots and lovers of the people permitted the parade to go on, deliberately exposing the people of San Francisco to danger and death. The unscrupulous, cold-blooded indifference to human life on the part of those who staged the parade is only a foretaste of the criminal indifference that the spirit of military preparedness leads to.

Nothing happened at my meeting, nor at any of the other meetings, except that the presence of the detectives and the blood-curdling stories in the papers terrorized the people away. Most human beings lack courage even in peaceful times and when anything out of the ordinary happens people become too frightened even to satisfy their curiosity. From the 22nd of July until the 6th of August the meetings were attended only by the very few faithful, except the meetings in Berkeley and Oakland. They brought out large audiences. The one in Berkeley was arranged by my friends, Stella Warden Smith, Mollie Price Cook and Mr. Dansford; the other by our comrade Rosenthal.

In both cities the press, the preachers and the respectable ladies urged the police not to let me speak. In Oakland especially the good people urged, threatened and cajoled the chief of police to keep out Emma Goldman. I understand now why this man (Mr. Peterson is his name) should be a thorn in the eye of the Puritans. A chief of police who does not believe in driving women of the street into the river and who stands by Free Speech must needs be an obnoxious element.

No one can realize the torture of speaking night after night on some theoretical subject in the face of a grave actuality and under the constant surveillance of police, but there was nothing else to do than to hold out to the very end. My meetings were the only public expression against the vicious campaign of extermination begun by the police at the command of the Chamber of Commerce and through the incitement of that mad dog Billy Hearst. The Chamber of Commerce is evidently eager to go down in American history as a similar organization which began its sinister crusade against labor in 1887 and ended with the murder of the Chicago anarchists on the 11th of November that same year. Just as in those days, a fund of a hundred thousand dollars had been raised to break the spirit of the eight hour movement and to exterminate the revolutionary element of the labor movement, so in San Francisco, in the year of our Lord, 1916, the members of the Chamber of Commerce and the Law and Order League are at work now.

Several weeks previous to the Preparedness Parade, during the strike of the Longshoremen, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce issued a public ultimatum, declaring war on Organized Labor. At the mass meeting of Big Business, held under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce, the Employers threw down the gauntlet to Labor. The chairman of the meeting was Frederick J. Koster, President of the Chamber of Commerce, and Captain Robert Dollar, of the Ship Owners' Association, who expressed himself in these drastic words: "The only way to settle the strike is to send several ambulance-loads of strikers to the hospital." A Law and Order Committee of a hun-

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dred was elected, with F. J. Koster as chairman, and Captain Dollar as one of its most efficient members. A fund of $1,000,000 was pledged to fight the unions and to turn San Francisco into an Open Shop town like Los Angeles.

This is an identical repetition of what happened in Chicago in the famous Haymarket days. Just at that time the police authorities did the bidding of their masters, and today the authorities of San Francisco are falling over each other to serve those who pay them for their dirty work. They have instigated a Reign of Terror which makes one realize how little progress we have really made in this country. The anarchists must needs be the first victims; thus every anarchist in San Francisco at all known to the police became a marked man, subject to the brutality of the police. Wholesale arrests were undertaken of people whose crime consisted in having associated with anarchists, or having radical views on any subject. Within a few days after the 22nd of July a number of men and women in the labor movement were in the hands of the authorities. Of these a fellow by the name of Ryan and Kasten and Mrs. Belle Lavin, known as a very brave woman, were released, but not until they were subjected to the Third Degree, the famous American method of torturing people into confessing things they know nothing about.

Ed Nolan, one of the tenderest and bravest men on the coast; Thomas Mooney and his wife, our comrade Weinberg and W. K. Billings were kept *incommunicado* for ten days and tortured beyond endurance. They might still be, for all the corrupt labor leaders of San Francisco have done for them. As usual, it was left for the anarchists to raise a cry of protest and to collect money to start a campaign for the victims of the Yellow Press and the brutal police. Later, the Machinist Union voted its confidence in Ed Nolan and one thousand dollars for his defence. The Millmen's Union, of which Thomas Mooney is a member, and the Jitney Drivers' Union, in behalf of Weinberg, voted their confidence in the innocence of the brothers. No doubt other unions will come to the fore, but the big guns, the McCarthys and their

flunkeys, what about them? Are the workers good enough only to satisfy the greed and vanity of their leaders? Again the sinister similarity between 1887 in Chicago and 1916 in San Francisco. Then it was Powderly who played the craven part in denying the men who belonged to the various labor organizations. Do the mis-leaders of Labor mean to do the same? It almost looks like it, in view of the fact that they have done absolutely nothing in the way of a protest against the Russian methods used on the men now in jail.

On the other hand, they made haste to invite an Archbishop to address the Labor Day celebration. I suppose to clear their own skirts and to prove how respectable and God-fearing they are. The farce of it! Of course, people who deny their own kind, who remain silent when men they have known and worked with are in danger, are not likely to show common humanity to an anarchist, no matter how great the outrages perpetrated upon him.

Our friend Alexander Berkman is comparatively new in San Francisco. His position is, therefore, very trying and very grave. The police probably knew that when they raided *The Blast* office, ransacked the house for four hours in succession and dragged off everything they could lay their hands on, including the copy of the California list of MOTHER EARTH subscribers. Perhaps the police expected no protest whatever when they dragged our two friends, Berkman and Fitzie, to headquarters and sweated them for six hours, but the police found themselves baffled by the cool serenity of our brave comrades and by the announcement that there will be a fight to the finish if anything should happen to our comrades; that E. G. would put up headquarters in San Francisco to carry on the fight and publish *The Blast* against all odds.

Whether this had any effect upon the District Attorney, I do not know, but it seems that he realized the futility and stupidity of connecting *The Blast* office with the event of the 22nd of July, so for the time being our friends are not molested; but the Blast must not be permitted to die. Now, more than ever, it is absolutely needed. It is the only voice on the coast

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that will speak boldly in behalf of the men who are to be tried. It is the only medium which will prevent, if possible, the repetition of the judicial murder of 1887. I strongly urge MOTHER EARTH readers to help sustain *The Blast;* to send contributions to Alexander Berkman, 569 Dolores Street San Francisco, or to Mother Earth office.

I closed my article last month with these words: "Now, in San Francisco the invigorating, with one week of splendid meetings behind me and two weeks still ahead." Yes, two weeks still ahead, but they were terrible weeks, anxious weeks; heart-breaking weeks, and yet I am glad I held out. I am glad I was able, even in a small measure to help arouse interest in our imprisoned friends and to get together a few to begin the task of their defence. The most active among them is Robert Minor. He was in Los Angeles when the tragedy occurred on July 22nd. We knew he could do much in San Francisco. He came as soon as he was called and has since been fast at work. Thus, Nolan, the Mooneys, Billings and Weinberg will now have adequate defence. McNutt, who once defended Mooney and who is an able lawyer, has been secured. Money will be needed. Send your contribution at once to Robert Minor, care of The Blast, or Mother Earth.

Nothing must be spared to save our friends. They are absolutely innocent; even the District Attorney knows it. As a matter of fact, he has now switched off from the 22nd and is trying to involve the men for their crime of having attempted to organize the street car men. In other words, the District Attorney of San Francisco is now carrying out the mandates of the United Railway Company and the Chamber of Commerce, and what better pretext can he have to accomplish his aim than by hanging a few Labor leaders? But it must not be permitted. Surely, we have not lived in vain during the last thirty years, when a packed jury, perjured testimony and the blood-thirsty howl of the Press have done to death five great men. Let us prove that we have really progressed, that a second Black Friday shall not be.

As to the tragic act of the 22nd, who can say what

pains and suffering, what struggle and despair are back of that one solitary act? The earth has been deluged with blood; human sacrifice piled up upon one another in the European War reach on to the very heavens. The maimed and killed in the industrial conflict of this wide land are growing daily more numerous. How infinitesimal is that lone act of July 22nd compared with it all. Who is to blame? The Anarchists? Nonsense. The criminal indifference to human life. The worship of the Golden Calf. The madness for power. The degradation and humiliation of man are to blame for it. Sometimes the worm turns, and if it does it strikes out blindly and sends terror into the craven hearts of the despoilers of the earth.

Revolt! Still revolt! Revolt! . . . . .
(Not songs of loyalty alone are these,
But songs of insurrection, also;
For I am the sworn poet of every dauntless rebel the world over,
And he going with me leaves peace and routine behind him
And stakes his life, to be lost at any moment.) . .
Revolt! And the bullet for tyrants!
Did we think victory great?
So it is. But now it seems to me when it cannot be helped
That defeat is great,
And that death and dismay are great.

—Walt Whitman.

After San Francisco it was a relief to come to Portland, so quiet and peaceful, at least in appearance, for here, too, the reactionary forces are at work underneath the quiet. We had four good meetings and we met our dear friends C. E. S. Wood, Katherine Beek, "Rosie," Nunia and ever-faithful Pauline Cantor.

Seattle will be next, and the final stop will be Denver. I will open there September 10th for a course of lectures on Russian Literature and four general topics. For information, tickets and cards, write to Ellen A. Kennan, 1301 Logan Street. Mail will also reach me there.

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We have issued a manifesto, "Down with the Anarchists." It ought to receive a wide circulation. Send to *The Blast* for copies. Already the authorities in San Francisco considered the manifesto dangerous enough to arrest a number of our comrades for distributing it.

* * *

EMMA GOLDMAN—THE INVIGORATING—IN PORTLAND

By DAISY D. ROSS

UPON radical thinkers—who—like myself—are compelled for economic reasons to spend eight hours of every day in the depressingly respectable and commonplace atmosphere of a business office, hearing Miss Goldman talk has much the same effect as a glass of fine, old wine. I sit and listen—growing more and more excited and stimulated with each powerful sentence of hers, until finally, I feel that I can sit quietly no longer, but just must give expression somehow to the surge of thought and feeling she awakens. This year she seemed bigger than ever, and, as if in reaction from the inertia of last year, her audiences were better and more interested and on her opening night when she spoke on "Anarchism and Human Nature"—the hall was filled to its seating capacity. I think most people whose study of and interest in Anarchism has been induced by Miss Goldman's spoken or written word, were most eager to hear this lecture, in order to answer for themselves some of the questions that surge and crowd upon each other when one tries to imagine the transition from an enslaved to an emancipated human race. It is easy to see that the natural instinct of Man is to be free, and that therefore real Human Nature and the ideal of Anarchism strike a beautiful harmony. But the human nature we know whose outstanding trait is selfishness, based upon the primal instinct of self-preservation—how *that* human nature is to be led to accept an ideal which teaches the highest form of unselfishness—an unselfishness which does *not* include self-sacrifice—until a complete transformation, through evolution, has taken place

—that is, it seems to me one of the huge stumbling blocks to the average earnest student. It was a disappointment to me that Miss Goldman did not dwell at length upon this point in her lecture, but the points she did bring out were so stimulating, so clear, and beautiful, that one felt it was a pity the whole world could not hear and see.

The second lecture on "The Gary System" in the public schools, showed the speaker at her best. Every one knows that Emma Goldman is a well educated woman in the very biggest and best sense of that much-abused term. But I think I make a safe guess when I say that very little of her education was derived from the public schools. The audience, composed largely of teachers and educators, listened with intense interest to her exposé of the newest form of capitalistic plunder, "The Gary System," and at the close of the lecture, fairly fired their questions at her. Since the lecturer bases the success of each lecture upon the interest shown in this "open meeting" part of the evening, I am sure Miss Goldman must have felt this evening to be a great success.

The talk on "Preparedness" was not largely attended, which was a pity. I wished every man and woman in Portland, especially every *working* man and woman, might have heard her powerful denunciation of this preparation which the speaker took to be not so much a preparedness for war with a foreign foe, as for the safeguarding of the life and interests of Capitalism, in case of a social revolution, and to better meet the prevailing note of industrial interest manifesting itself everywhere amongst the exploited.

The last of her lectures on "Birth Control" was well attended. As Ben said, "Portland is already on the map as a Birth Control town," so the crowd which came was expected, as a matter of course. Possibly also, a few of those who came, expected some of the recent Margaret Sanger excitement, in the way of arrests. But if so, they were disappointed.

Portland *almost* wakes up once a year,—when Emma Goldman comes to town. At other times it seems the radical element is almost hopelessly inert and sleepy.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

A Necessary Appeal / Emma Goldman.– pp. 625-626 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 11, no. 8 (Oct. 1916).

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An Important Human Document

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OF

AN ANARCHIST

BY

ALEXANDER BERKMAN

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MOTHER EARTH
20 East 125th Street
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MOTHER EARTH

Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature
Published Every 15th of the Month

EMMA GOLDMAN, Publisher and Editor, 20 East 125th Street, New York, N. Y.

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Vol. XI OCTOBER, 1916 No. 8

A NECESSARY APPEAL

DEAR FRIEND:—Your subscription to "Mother Earth" magazine is due ..... We hope your interest is still alive and strong enough to renew your subscription. You know what a terrible struggle we are having to maintain our magazine, that it is being published at a loss, and that the loss must always be made up through my lectures.

With your renewal for a year we will give you a copy of Wedekind's great drama, "The Awakening of Spring," or my "Social Significance of the Modern Drama." The latter will necessitate 15c postage, so you will be good enough to send $1.15. For $1.50 we will renew your subscription and give you Alexander Berkman's book, "The Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist," or Voltairine de Cleyre's book, "Selected Works," post free. For $2.00 we will give you Kropotkin's timely book, "The Great French Revolution," with renewal of "Mother Earth" post free.

I intend to remain in and about New York beginning with October, and am very eager to devote myself to the editing of "Mother Earth." I intend to run a series of most important articles on timely subjects. It will be a great encouragement to me to hear from you at

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once, as it will enable us to devote more time to the magazine, instead of constantly touring the country. Please send your renewal by return mail.

Yours fraternally,
EMMA GOLDMAN.

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NIRVANA

By DYER D. LUM

TOSSED on the shoreless sea of life,
'Mid surging waves af pain and strife,
Where mountain high the billows roll,
The wearied eye discerns no land,
Discerns no outstretched helping hand,
That brings not deoth unto the soul.

All life is struggle, life is pain,
E'en life renewed is strife agoin
On other seas that give no rest;
Yet, held by Buddha's four-fold woy,
We calmly wotch the billows play,
Though tossed upon their seething crest.

Na more we plead with teorful eyes,
Or craven fears, the brazen skies,
But laugh to scorn their boasted powers;
Though dcmons curs'd ond gods divine
Against us all their arts combine,
We heed them not—the battle's ours!

Let weaklings bend the knee and fall
Prastrate in worship to the All;
The soul of mon, self-centered, free,
No gool con knaw not infinite,
Must claim o'er all a victar's right,
Then fade into Infinity.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

DIRECT ACTION—Conscious individual or collective effort to protest against, or remedy, social conditions through the systematic assertion of the economic power of the workers.

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

AT the time these lines are written the sympathetic general strike, growing out of the strike on the subway, elevated and street-car lines in New York, is pronounced to be in a developing stage. It is maintained that about half a million workers, men and women, will lay down tools, after the different organizations have voted on the subject, and that in a gigantic city like New York this cannot be accomplished in a day or two.

We earnestly hope this estimate of the situation may not prove mere talk for publicity.

Events all over the country strongly indicate that the dominating money powers have given out the order: "Down with labor organizations! To hell with the demands of the workers!" From San Francisco to New York the capitalists and their organizations act accordingly. They find it quite in keeping with "social justice" that the prices of life's necessities are sent up higher and higher by the wonderfully developed methods of modern usury, but they find it outrageous if the workers, the creators of their millions and billions, demand a modest share of the huge profits. Prosperity does not mean to them decent working conditions, decent food, clothing, housing for the people, but fortunes for the chosen few, the immensity of which former generations not even approached in dreams. In order to attain this ideal all attempts of the workers to think and act for themselves must be crushed.

That is the principle the representatives of the New York subway, elevated and street-car systems—Shonts, Hedley, etc.—stand for. Of course, they have the corrupt daily press on their side. Also with them stands the mayor, who declares that the men not the companies are to blame for the strike. Police Commissioner Woods, who sends his clubbers to protect the precious strike-breakers and to run cars in the interest of the companies, is not less eager to devote his "reform work" to the best interests of mammon.

With all that, a forceful general strike would prove a stronger weapon than all these activities of the enemies of labor combined. But it must not be dictated by paltry considerations and petty craft interests. The general strike will prove irresistible if the participating individuals

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Wadhams Decision Elates Advocates of Birth Control / Emma Goldman.— p. 6 ; 28 cm. *In* New York Herald. —(Oct. 15, 1916, fragment).

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WADHAMS DECISION ELATES ADVOCATES OF BIRTH CONTROL

Proponents Assert Time Is Coming When All Judges Will Recognize Issue.

"IT IS WONDERFUL," EMMA GOLDMAN SAYS

Man Too Ill to Work Should Not Be Allowed to Have Children, Is Court Opinion.

When Judge Wadhams, in the Court of General Sessions, suspended sentence on a woman convicted of theft and at the same time denounced the institution of society which prevents a man from working and at the same time allows him to have children, so that he is driven to steal to support them, women who have given thought to the question of birth control feel that a step was taken toward the time when such matters will be regulated in this country as they are in some of the European nations.

The case which aroused so much comment was that of Mrs. Rebecca Schnur, who pleaded guilty of stealing money to buy food for her children. Although the woman had been found guilty once before, Judge Wadhams suspended sentence. The woman's husband, being tubercular, is not permitted to work in the manufacture of children's garments, the only trade with which he is familiar.

Judge Wadhams, in making his decision said:—"I believe we live in an age of ignorance which in the future will be looked back upon aghast. It is right that the husband should not work at his trade. There is a law to prevent that. Nevertheless, he continues to produce children who have little chance under the conditions of their birth and childhood to be anything but tubercular. And there is no law against this.

Teaching as "Low Statistics."

"We not only have no birth regulations in such cases, but if information is given with respect to birth regulation people are brought in the bar of justice for it—for having violated a law. The question is, Have we the most intelligent laws on the subject that we might have and should have? These matters are regulated in European countries, particularly in Holland, much better than they are here. Some day we will look back appalled upon conditions which we now permit."

Birth control advocates and persons who have given thought to social questions but who have not openly taken the step much pleased at what Judge Wadhams said. Many thought that it would have great influence on the birth control cases which are to be tried late this month and next month, particularly that of Robert Hall, lessee of No. 70 East Sixth Street, who was arrested [illegible]

'FIGHTING PARSON' BROADENS FIGHT ON MUNICIPAL REFORM

Dr. Taylor, Quitting Pulpit at Greenwich, Will Take to Lecture Platform.

WORK THERE, THOUGH OPPOSED, A "SAMPLE"

His Efforts to Better City Met Stern Resistance, but He Won, and He Expects to Win Elsewhere.

[SPECIAL DESPATCH TO THE HERALD.]

GREENWICH, Conn., Saturday.—The resignation of the Rev. Dr. Charles F. Taylor, which is to be effective November 5, resulted from his belief that the Second Congregational Church here, one of the wealthiest in this State, is not big and broad enough for his activities as a clergyman.

Dr. Taylor, known as the "Fighting Parson," has decided views that a clergyman and his church should take a lively interest in all civic affairs, endeavor to make living conditions better and lead in all matters pertaining to the public welfare.

Upon his retirement from the pulpit he will become a platform lecturer and arrange and execute programmes for community betterment, his "sample" to show what he can do being this city.

Dr. Taylor's church [illegible] tively in sympathy with [illegible] ties. For instance, he [illegible] the town funds in [illegible] from which the town did not [illegible] an adequate return. While Dr. Taylor will not say so, it is known that a high officer of that bank, who also is a leading power in the church, opposed the pastor's activities. The latter's friends attribute his resignation to that incident, while all he will say is that his church failed to support him in his efforts to make the community better.

Battled a Bad Strike.

There can be no doubt that Dr. Taylor has made Greenwich much better for the four years he has lived here. His first act was to settle a troublesome strike. Then he caused the town to spend $60,000 for road improvements, and followed that by giving publicity to the fact that Greenwich, because of stagnant water, had hundreds of cases of malaria annually. Despite the real estate and other interests, who wanted nothing done, Dr. Taylor fought the matter until finally money was appropriated to drain the swamps, and since then there has been scarcely a case of malaria.

He organized a school for the [illegible]

The Rev. W. L. Casw Herald Sermo

"Why Go to Church?" Will Be the Subject Discussed by Clergyman

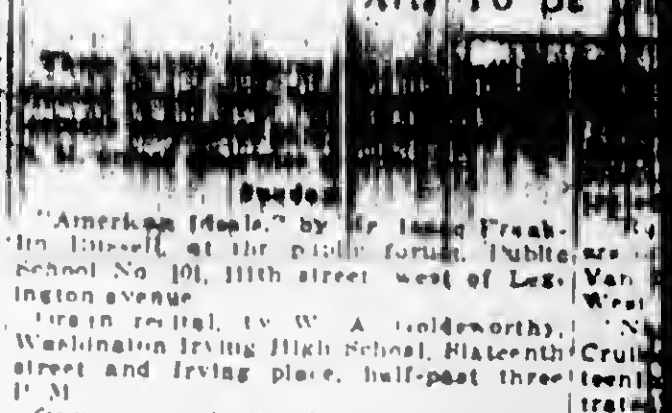
The Herald next Sunday will publish a sermon on its editorial page by the Rev. Wilbur Larremore Caswell, assistant at St. Thomas' Church, Fifth avenue and Fifty-third street. The subject of the sermon is "Why Go to Church?"

Mr. Caswell was born in Hackensack, N. J., in 1883, and educated in the public schools of Brooklyn, Columbia University and the General Theological Seminary. In 1909 he was ordained deacon by Bishop Greer and became curate of St. Mary's Church, in the Bronx. The following year he became assistant minister at St. Thomas' Church, where he was ordained to the priesthood, and has since served as assistant and as superintendent of the Sunday school.

The sermon, which appears on the editorial page of the Herald to-day, is by the Rev. Daniel Hoffman Martin, of the First Washington Presbyterian Church, at Broadway and Fifth street.

Public School [illegible] to Cover

Beginning October 15 Experts Heard in All Parts of the [illegible] Arts To Be [illegible]



"American Ideals," by Dr. [illegible] Dr. Russell, at the public forum, Public School No. 101, Fifth street, west of Lexington avenue.

Lyric recital, by W. A. Goldsworthy, Washington Irving High School, Fifteenth street and Irving place, half-past three P. M.

Organ recital, by William J. Kraft, Morris High School, 166th street and Boston road, Bronx, quarter past eight P. M.

Monday.

"Peculiar Features of our Government," by Professor William B. Guthrie, Washington Irving High School, Irving place and Sixteenth street.

"Wave-Motion and Sound," by Professor J. Loring Arnold, Public School No. 46, 126th street and St. Nicholas avenue. Illustrated.

Famous Paintings, by Henry Warren, Public School No. 96, No. 226 East Fifty-seventh street. Illustrated.

The Interest of Electric Lighting, by W. Wallace Kel, Public School No. 43, Hester, Essex and Suffolk streets. Illustrated.

Patriots and Loyalists of the American Revolution, by Professor William MacDonald, Public School No. 81, [illegible] West.

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may not seem in the best taste. It is absolutely necessary, and I am glad to see that Judge Wadhams has taken a decided stand."

Mrs. Harry Hastings, of No. 7 East Eighty-seventh street, while not caring to enter into a discussion of the problem, said:—"Judge Wadhams is known as a very sane thinker and one who has given much study to the problems of poverty. [illegible] considered the question one [illegible] dimension and think it would [illegible] out by the [illegible] refor-

has been in jail for her public utterances on the subject, said:—"I have just been on a trip across the country in the interests of that cause and read Judge Wadhams' decision as I was coming home on the train. It is wonderful.

"Birth control is an issue of [illegible] importance [illegible] it is time the judges realized it. I am surprised at Judge Wadhams' [illegible] and he is well known [illegible] and studious man, [illegible] that there is [illegible] ahead for the cause, not only because of the action of Judge Wadhams, but because of what I saw and heard on my trip.

"I am sure that the opinion of Judge Wadhams will have an influence on the cases which are now pending [illegible] and other judges will come to [illegible] the same view. The Judge Wadhams [illegible] expressed. We are only [illegible] in our [illegible] thanks [illegible]

As a Golfer He's a Good Marksman

[illegible] Hits Rabbit [illegible] Attempting to Drive Ball Over Trees Stone Dead in Two Shots.

When Alfred Prevost, of Caldwell, N. J., is attempting to get around the Essex Fells Country Club golf links in his usual 90 he admits that almost anything distracts him. A caddie who whistled once ran him up to 99. Therefore yesterday stands alone as the wildest day of golf he has yet suffered.

Just as Mr. Prevost was about to tee off a rabbit crossed the fairway and disappeared in a small clump of bushes near the second hole. Mr. Prevost topped the ball and repeated the Scotch national anthem. As he teed off again a hound came from the woods in pursuit of the rabbit and was knocked unconscious by the ball. Mr. Prevost stood tapping his toe with impatience for seven minutes. Complaining his play at the first hole, Mr. Prevost drove the ball down the fairway into the brush where the cotton tail had disappeared. When he reached the spot he found that he had killed the rabbit.

During the rest of the [illegible] Prevost took a [illegible]

[illegible] increased.

Attacking the political administration of the city when officials kept no books, Mr. Taylor headed an independent ticket and came within thirty-eight votes of being elected Warden, which corresponds to Mayor. But his campaign revolutionized the home financial methods of the city, and instead of going in debt, to-day it is laying money aside.

His [illegible] reforms [illegible] efforts [illegible] work now under way of [illegible] the harbor, providing a public beach and building a new municipal plant. [illegible] his fight against [illegible] Mind for almost [illegible] to change the

[illegible] are stalled by the side of the road. Their engines may be racing and their horns honking, but they are running neutral. All the machinery and power fails to connect with the one thing for which they should exist. The church was established to serve and save the community and transform it into the kingdom of God.

When a church can live in a community and be absolutely divorced from all practical affairs, there is something deadly wrong with the constitution of the mission and scope of the church. It has forgotten what Jesus taught and what He did and the chief meaning of His life and death.

The church must study the community scientifically and [illegible] that all its needs are met. The poor, the unemployed, returned [illegible] and ex-convict [illegible] and in all its forms, the struggle of [illegible] the problems of the world—[illegible] because of, subtle pressure which unconsciously hampering the ministry. The laity are responsible for the situation. They do not want any interference [illegible] or politics or [illegible] in the church. [illegible] the country [illegible] crying about for [illegible] leaders capable of arranging and carrying out a constructive community programme; but today, so far as I know, there is not a large church in America which stands for what I stand for and is willing and competent [illegible] with the [illegible] which [illegible] herself from [illegible] because of her [illegible] and [illegible] to the world.

Many criminals have confessed under the Third Degree and The Silent Third Degree is a revised method of extracting [illegible] from suspects. Next Sunday's HERALD describes some of its effects on famous criminal cases.

FRATERNITY HOUSE TO OPEN

Delta Kappa Epsilon Home Will Be Ready in Few Days.

The new Delta Kappa Epsilon fraternity house in West Forty-fourth street, near Fifth avenue, will be opened probably Wednesday for the benefit of those who like to live there. Early in December, when the builders have completed alterations, the formal opening will be held.

At a meeting Friday the following officers were elected: Frederick E. Jennings, president; A. [illegible] Hopkins, first vice president; [illegible] Swift, of Chicago, second vice president; Carlisle J. [illegible] secretary and [illegible] of

[illegible] City in and Modern Times," by Professor [illegible] F. Hamlin, Pilgrim Hall, Broadway and Fifty-sixth street. Illustrated. 8 P. M.

"Wonders of the Heavens," by Henry Frowe, St. Columba Hall, West Twenty-fifth street. Illustrated.

"The United States Army," by J. Welsh, Morris High School, 166th street and Boston road, Bronx. Illustrated.

[illegible]

[illegible] street between [illegible] and Bronx. Illustrated.

"Treasures Among the Rocks," by Charles Nelson, Public School [illegible]

[illegible] Seventh Avenue

"Voltaire and Diderot," by Professor Christian Gauss, Public School No. [illegible] Forty-second street, east of Third avenue.

"Rostand's 'Cyrano de Bergerac,'" by Professor J. C. Carlo, Public School No. 43, Fourth avenue and [illegible] street.

"Around Cape Horn to Hawaii," by Edna Mathews Shipman, Public School No. [illegible] Eighty-eighth street, east of Park avenue. Illustrated.

"The Land of Evangeline," by Edward P. Crowell, M. D., Public School No. [illegible] 147th street, west of Seventh avenue. Illustrated.

"Bolivia," by Professor Benjamin [illegible] Public School No. 10, 165th street and Boston avenue. Illustrated.

"Some of the Treasures of the American Museum of Natural History," by Henry Wurtzel, Central Park West. Illustrated.

[illegible] the Normans," by [illegible] Hamilton, Public School [illegible] Eighty-fifth street, west of Lexington avenue. Illustrated.

"Hayda, Pioneer of the Symphony," by Daniel Gregory Mason. Hunter College, Lexington avenue and 68th street.

"Bloorm Grove—Its Cure," by Miss Josephine [illegible] 59 Miss Josephine [illegible] ture Hall, [illegible] Fifty-second street.

"New York Public Library, Bloomingdale Branch, 206 West One Hundred and Fifth street. Illustrated. Eighth floor.

"Down the St. Lawrence to the Sea," by Edward [illegible] Seamen's Church Institute, 25 South street. Illustrated.

"The Social Work of Mrs. George A. Hamilton," by Charity Organization Society. Harlem Branch, 2238 Seventh avenue, near 125th street. Illustrated.

"Persia," by Joel [illegible] School No. 37, 169th street and Boston avenue, Bronx. Illustrated.

"Wonderland—[illegible] McClellan Street [illegible] Randolph, Bronx. Illustrated.

"Constantinople [illegible] Fund," by [illegible] Washington [illegible] place and [illegible] "The [illegible] Civ[illegible] Ad[illegible]

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BACK IN NEW YORK

SAN FRANCISCO is a bit far from New York, and that probably accounts for the fact that hardly any news has reached the people in the East of the great labor struggle now being waged on the Pacific slope.

And yet we are all fighting the same fight, and the situation in San Francisco now is especially very grave. Four of the most devoted labor men and one woman there are now facing the gallows on a frame-up of the Chamber of Commerce. Big Business on the Coast has declared a war of extermination against organized labor. In the persons of Billings, Mooney, Mrs. Mooney, Nolan and Weinberg they seek to strike a fatal blow to the militant workers of the Western Coast. Billings has already been convicted by a professional jury, on the evidence of notorious prostitutes, pimps and perverts. Unless the country is aroused to the police conspiracy to hang the other accused labor men—all of them absolutely innocent in this case—the program of blood vengeance will be carried out by the mob in authority.

Because of the gravity of the situation, the International Workers' Defense League of San Francisco, consisting of over forty labor organizations, has sent me as its special representative to interest the people of the East in the uneven struggle now being waged by our accused brothers against the organized powers of greed and oppression.

The San Francisco cases are not local. Success or defeat there will quickly show its effects on the labor struggle of the whole country.

Every fair-minded man and woman must come to our aid in this difficult moment. A repetition of the 11th of November, 1887, must not be permitted. Help must be given before it is too late.

Organizations, groups and individuals who want to aid the San Francisco prisoners of the labor war, or who want me to address them on the subject, please communicate with me at once. During my stay in the East, my office will be at 20 East 125th Street, New York, N. Y. Phone Harlem 6194.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

AGAIN THE BIRTH CONTROL AGITATION

BY EMMA GOLDMAN

IF ANY one is in doubt about the tremendous growth of the Birth Control movement, two recent happenings in New York City should dispel this doubt. One is the opinion of Judge Wadhams of General Sessions, and the other is the desperate methods employed by the New York Police Department in dealing with the Birth Control advocates. Not only do the police arrest everyone who openly discusses or distributes Birth Control information, but they frame up charges against innocent victims. Of course, perjury is nothing new with the Police Department, so it may not surprise you to learn that the old staid method is again being used in the most flagrant manner.

First as to Judge Wadhams. A woman was brought before him for burglary. Mrs. Schnur declared that she was compelled to steal to obtain bread for her six children, the youngest of whom was ten months old.

Up until five years ago Samuel Schnur was able to support his family with his earnings as an operator on childrens' coats in an east side shop. The close confinement ultimately had its effect on the man, and he de-

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veloped tuberculosis. He kept at his work despite his illness until discovered by an inspector of the Health Department, who refused to permit him to remain in the shop as long as he had the disease. Since that time he has been unable to obtain employment.

The burden of support fell on Mrs. Schnur, who has partially earned a living for the family by doing odd jobs. Recently she was unfortunate in obtaining employment, and quickly used up what little money she had on hand. Last month she entered the home of Morris Moskowitz, at 203 East Seventh Street, and stole a small sum of money and a watch, which resulted in her arrest.

In his opinion Judge Wadhams said that Mrs. Schnur had been found guilty on a previous occasion of theft, arising out of the same conditions, but sentence was suspended. Although the woman could be sentenced for a long term in prison, the Court said that the unusual circumstances were such as to warrant a further extension of clemency.

After discussing the condition of the husband and his inability to care for his family, Judge Wadhams made the following statement:

> Nevertheless he goes on becoming the father of children who have very little chance under the conditions to be anything else but tubercular, and, themselves growing up, to repeat the process with society. There is no law against that.
>
> But we have not only no birth regulation in such cases, but if information is given with respect to birth regulation people are brought to the bar of justice for it. There is a law they violate.
>
> Judge Wadhams pointed out that many nations of Europe had adopted birth regulation with seemingly excellent results. He queried whether Americans had taken as common sense a view of the subject as we might.
>
> "I believe," the oninion continued, "that we are living in an age of ignorance which at some future time will he looked upon aghast as we look back unon conditions which we now permit to exist. So before us we have here a family increasing in number, with a tubercular husband, with a woman with a child at her breast, with other small children at her skirts, and no money."

It was certainly worth going to jail to teach a Judge the importance of Birth Control for the masses of people. However, even going to jail will never teach the police anything.

Friday, October 20th, I was subpoenaed to appear as a witness for Mr. Bolton Hall in his trial before Special

Sessions, Department Six, for having distributed Birth Control circulars at the Union Square meeting on May 20th. Mr. Hall was acquitted. Together with a number of friends, I left the court house about 5 P. M., and had barely gotten to the sidewalk when I was arrested by detective Price. When he was asked to show a warrant he said it was unnecessary, that I was in his charge and would have to come along. Knowing from the past that a detective, even like the Russian Black Hundred, is absolute, I went along to the Elizabeth Street station house, and was there placed under $1,000 bail for having distributed Birth Control leaflets at the Union Square meeting May 20th. Evidently the detectives took no heed to the overwhelming testimony brought to bear in behalf of Mr. Bolton Hall, a testimony which, of course, will also be brought to bear in my behalf, i. e., that neither Mr. Hall nor myself distributed Birth Control leaflets. The detectives had decided to engage in a frame-up and they straightway proceeded to carry out their decision.

You will recollect that last April, I was arrested for *having given out birth control information;* that I was tried and found guilty and that I preferred going to the Queen's County Jail rather than pay a fine of $100.00. With that in view it is hardly necessary for me to emphasize that I believe in the birth control issue, and that I believe in the necessity of giving people information. In other words, I am willing to take the consequences if I have been guilty of what the law pleases to call an offence. But, as it is, I have not given out the circulars and, of course, do not intend to be arrested and thrown into jail simply because the New York detectives want to crown themselves with laurels of stemming the tide of the Birth Control agitation.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

FRIDAY, October 27th, I appeared before Judge Barlow, a type out of Dickens or Victor Hugo. Hard, pompous and dull. I waived examination, and was held for trial.

I cannot say at present when the trial will come up, but I expect to get a postponement and probably secure a jury trial. Meanwhile I am out on $1,000 bail.

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On October 30th three cases were tried in the court of Special Sessions: Jesse Ashley and two I. W. W. boys, Kerr and Marman. Of course they were all found guilty. Jesse Ashley was sentenced to pay $50.00 fine or serve 10 days in jail. She would have preferred the jail sentence but was urged to make a test case. Therefore she paid the fine under protest and will appeal.

Kerr and Marman will probably fare worse, inasmuch as the detective testified that while speaking on Madison Square, the boys offered a Birth Control pamphlet for sale at 10 cents and gave away with 12—oh, horrors!—"Preparedness: The Road to Universal Slaughter," by E. G. Little did we dream, when we published the pamphlet what an important part it would play in a New York court.

The two boys insisted that what they did do was to sell the "preparedness" pamphlet and give the Birth Control leaflet gratis. But though judges know that detectives never hesitate to perjure themselves, Kerr and Marman were found guilty.

However; it was evident that the judges are being educated. Thus one of them was very emphatic in saying that he means to distinguish between those that give Birth Control information free, out of conviction, and those that sell it. No such instruction was made in either Bill Sanger's, Ben Reitman's, or my case, although none of us sold information.

The opinion of the judge, then, proves that direct action is the only action that counts. But for those of us who have defied the law, Birth Control would still be a parlor proposition, as it continues to be to this day with nearly all of the Birth Control leagues in this country.

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THE RETURN OF THE HEROES

By W. S. Van Valkenburgh

WITH the return of the various militia units from their Mexican border debauch one cannot but be impressed with the grandeur of the vocation chosen by these hired and liveried germ spreaders in the cause of Uncle Sam.

As the sallow faced and emaciated gentlemen workers detrain at their respective habitats after the long and

tedious ride on slow trains they are met and embraced by the unsuspecting maids who are lured by the khaki and trinkets. Little do the girls realize the condition of personal filth these soldier "boys" bring home to them as they arrange the dates that are but preludes to deeds never recorded on the scroll of honor down in Washington.

The long delay in mustering out these green-horn dupes of the recent enlistment spasm, during which time they parade about town attired in their mustard colored suits, is responsible for the sudden change of attitude on the part of the general publie toward those, who, but a few short months ago were the idols of men, women and children alike.

So notorious have their home exploits become that decent people are beginning to give them a wide berth as they approach, whilst for a girl to be seen in their company is sufficient reason for the busy-bodies to place the scarlet seal upon her.

Thus do the tax-payers, who have consistently supported the hundred million dollar Mexican fiasco, subscribe to the transformation of the State armories into brothels; the streets into avenues of temptation for the too confiding girls and the highways into lanes of seduction for the soldiers.

The health authorities were exceedingly careful during the recent quarantine regulations that no children should pass from town to town, but their good offices are entirely lacking when it comes to the more important work of fumigating the returning army, the majority of which bring back pollution and infection galore.

Such a situation is the natural accompaniment of the military humbug upon which Mr. Wilson depends so much for his re-election and towards which the superintelligent American public has acquiesced so willingly.

The next great charity scheme should be a popular subscription for the launching of a National pest-house to care for the incubating syphilitic crop whose fathers will always remain obscure and respectable in their infamy.

It is with poor grace and less reason that the American people point the finger of shame at the European ruling-class for the blood-bath their subjects are wal-

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The Emma Goldman Papers

The Petty Discrimination of the Law / Emma Goldman.— pp. 701-703 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 11, no. 10 (Dec. 1916).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Weinberg is not only for the purpose of getting rid of some of the most intelligent and active factors in the California labor movement, but even more so to discredit and destroy the militant labor movement on the Coast. It is a question that vitally concerns every member of organized labor, and all those who stand for progress and humanity. As one of the means towards arousing publicity, a big mass meeting is to take place in Carnegie Hall, December 2nd, on which occasion Frank P. Walsh, Emma Goldman, Max Pine, Secretary of the United Hebrew Trades; Arthur Giovannitti, Max Eastman, Pat Quinlan, just released from the Trenton prison, and myself are to be the speakers.

The meeting is held under the auspices of the United Hebrew Trades, and numerous unions, radical organizations and groups have promised participation with their flags and banners. A street demonstration is also to be held on the afternoon of December 2nd, in behalf of Carlo Tresca and his imprisoned co-workers in Minnesota, and of our labor-prisoners in California; the demonstration to culminate in Union Square at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon where a big mass meeting is to take place, thence to join the Carnegie Hall meeting. The New York radical papers, among them the "Call," "Forward." the "Warheit," the "Tag" and others have taken up the labor struggle in California and the fight of our accused friends in San Francisco, and have aided us considerably in giving the matter publicity among the labor elements. Every effort should be bent towards getting more publicity in the English press. Everyone interested in the cause of humanity should contribute towards the moral and financial success of this great movement, whose purpose it is to save the lives of our martyrs and to strengthen the hands of the militant labor element in this country.

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DIRECT ACTION—Conscious individual or collective effort to protest against, or remedy, social conditions through the systematic assertion of the economic power of the workers.

THE PETTY DISCRIMINATION OF THE LAW

BY EMMA GOLDMAN

> My dear Miss Goldman: I have been notified that Judge Delehanty has denied your motion for a jury trial.
>
> HARRY WEINBERGER.

IN MY absence on tour my friend, Harry Weinberger, argued the motion for a jury for me. The above is his answer, which I received a few days ago. In our most enlightened city, New York, the right of jury trial is denied for a misdemeanor. Gilbert E. Roe appeared before the Appelate Court in behalf of William Sanger to secure a jury, but his request was also denied.

It would never have occurred to me to try for a jury had I believed that the law really stands for impartiality; but of course it does not. One woman openly gives out birth control methods, not once but repeatedly, but because she is socially connected, she is never molested. Others are arrested even if they do not give out methods. In another case, the District Attorney conveniently closes his eyes to a motion for a jury trial, and the motion is granted because of the influential connections of the defendant's attorney. Yet, I am denied a jury.

Of course, all this is not new to me, nor is it to those who know the farce and the crookedness of the law. But it will be news to many of our readers who still persist in asking "how can they—how dare they?" Perhaps this little incident, which is but one in a thousand will convince our unsophisticated friends that the law and its upholders dare everything they please. Why not? Whoever—outside of the Anarchists—seriously objects to laws, pointing out that laws and justice are opposite poles?

Knowing, as I did, that the club, and not a sense of justice, decides the direction of the law, I am not disappointed with the denial of our motion, nor am I sanguine about the outcome of my trial which has been set for Dec. 1st, but which will most likely be postponed for a little while. True, I will be able to call fifty witnesses on the stand who were at the meeting May 20th, who stood close to our automobile and were able to see who did and who did not give out birth control circulars.

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But what is the word of fifty reputable people as against the testimony of a wretched detective, especially when the defendant in the case is an Anarchist, one who has already "graduated" from several jails? Did not the District Attorney have the temerity to question my veracity when I was on the witness stand for our friend Bolton Hall, just because I had been convicted before? Of course, he knew perfectly well that my "crimes" consisted in standing up for a truth, but such a fact is not expected to weigh in the balance with a prosecutor.

I want our friends to know that anything is possible in our courts. I do not need to emphasize that I am not afraid, nor am I particularly worried about the outcome of my case. It is only that I like to face facts and be prepared for the worst. I will plead my own case. I will pay no fine: therefore I need no help for that end of our struggle. But it is not a question of myself so much as it is of the issue itself—Birth Control. I am convinced that this issue was advanced at least ten years through the publicity given it by our arrests and trials. But publicity costs considerably. Almost every cent our friends so generously contributed to my first trial and that of Ben Reitman, went for publicity and propaganda. Twenty thousand birth control numbers of MOTHER EARTH alone were circulated broadcast, to mention but one of the many other items published.

I said in our last issue that I believe in giving out birth control methods. I have done so from the platform in New York and other cities, and I will do so again. At this writing, we have closed a course of sixteen lectures in Chicago, of which those on birth control brought out the largest audiences. I discussed methods in the presence of the police, and leaflets were given out. But I did not give them out on May 20th. I confess I regret now not to have done so. I believe with the Russian mujik, "If I drink I die, and if I don't drink I die, so I might just as well drink and die."

Since I must be molested, since I must be taken off without a warrant, since I must be put to the hideous inconvenience of a trial, I might just as well have been guilty. But as I am not, I refuse to oblige the District Attorney. I want to make a big fight. I want to show

up the petty persecutions, the discriminations and the chicanery practiced in the District Attorney's office. I need your help for that.

First, write letters to Edward Swann, District Attorney, protest against the persecution and prosecution of one whose offense consists in standing for a world-wide movement. Do it now.

Secondly: Send your contribution to me, 20 East 125th Street, New York City, N. Y. It is worth making an effort, for the truth must prevail in the end.

THE WARFARE

BY I. G. BLANCHARD

ALONG the battle's flaming van
We mark the tried and true,—
Defenders of the cause of man,
A chosen, peerless few.
Born to their mission and inspired,
Oh, should they fall, we feel
No spirit would like theirs be fired,
No hand could wield their steel.

Yet, one by one, they step aside,
Or on the red field lie,
And still their places are supplied,,
Still rings the battle-cry;
Still o'er the hoary walls of Wrong
Truth's startling missiles fly,
And still, with steady step and strong,
Her hosts are marching by.

And so it shall be evermore,
Until the trump is blown,
Proclaiming Wrong's hard rule is o'er,
And Right is on the throne.
Oh, fear not for our cause sublime!
Let hate do all it can;
For in the darkest coming time
The hour shall bring the man.

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To Our New York Friends / Emma Goldman.– pp. 707-708 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 11, no. 10 (Dec. 1916).

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THE NEMESIS OF REMORSE

By W. S. Van Valkenburgh

PLEDGE signing is often invoked as punishment for the overindulgence in the liquid fire of rum and, quite frequently this opportunity is readily grasped by the weak-minded victim of civilization's tender culture.

The pledge being taken and the resolution being made, the sinner is, for a time, a bit remorseful and inclined to look back with regret upon a sorry past.

But time soothes all sentiment, and soon he leads himself back into the old ways through the well worn ruts of custom.

Why this eternal slavery to evil?

It is the combined result of misdirected desire and poverty of the ideal.

Man is too self-conscious. Superstition has erected within him a towering mental Ego that blinds his senses to the realization of his individual unimportance.

So he indulges in a flirtation with the dead memories of a wasted past, unmindful of the opportunities that await him in the present to be beckoned on ahead. He does not know the past can never be recalled whilst the future is aglow with hope and joy unbounded.

Rather than brood, the sad one should rejoice. That the past was not worse is because he could not have made it so; that it was not better is because he did not desire it so.

Why bother at all about it?

Resolutions are a curse to hope: an incentive to repetition.

Man must build himself a rational religion. One without steeples, texts or dogmas, a religion devoid of priests and monks and harlots, a religion of hope and the will to do, and then crown it over with a deity whose name shall be IDEAL.

If such faith cannot regenerate the soul-sick supplicant then man indeed, is a worthless proselyte.

For nineteen hundred years Christianity has preached repentance and resolution. With hands stained scarlet in human blood the priests of the Christian church have extended forgiveness for sins the devil would never stoop to do.

It is time for man to stand on his own feet and take unto himself the task of realizing his chosen Ideal without regard to what the past has been, the present is or the future may acclaim. He needs no other comforter than this.

Who espouses the Ideal masters passion; rises over self and, urged on by a desire that is only cherished by the impervious shall reach the heights though he scatter devastation in his wake.

As in the light of the beacon to the mariner, so shall shine such a creed to the soul of the free.

To the seeker, to the searcher, no resolutions are required, to him no pledges appeal, for the pursuit of truth brings forth its own solace. Self-abandonment leads on to that distant Utopia that man is ever reaching, and the pure Ideal linked up with an indomitable will shall surmount all barriers and rise supreme.

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TO OUR NEW YORK FRIENDS

YOU will be glad, I am sure, to learn that I am returning to New York for the winter to resume my lecture work. It is always a great joy to me to get back to our city, for while I have tremendous meetings all through the country, New York is the one great force and always lures me back. After all, I have spent more than a quarter of a century and have made the hardest and bitterest struggle there. It almost seems that every street and every stone played their part in that struggle.

I will open a series of lectures at the Harlem Masonic Temple, 310 Lenox Ave., between 125th and 126th Streets. Sunday, Jan. 7th, I will speak on "Anarchism and Human Nature: Do They Harmonize?" Sunday, Jan. 14th, on the "Educational and Sexual Dwarfing of the Child" when I will discuss the "Gary System." Sunday, Jan. 21st, on "Obedience, a Social Vice." Sunday, Jan, 28th, on "Celibacy or Sex Expression."

You can see that all the subjects are very timely and will answer the many objections raised invariably at every meeting. I am hoping that out of the first month will develop sufficient interest to enable me to take some theatre or large hall, more centrally located, where I could give my course of lectures on "The Life Struggle

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and Martyrdom of Russian Literature"; also a series of lectures tracing the ideal of Anarchism in the American classic period. For that I will of course need your assistance and co-operation, and you can help in many ways.

First of all, please call for cards and tickets at our office. Secondly, interest as many people as you can reach, in the forthcoming course. Third, if the idea of a theatre or large hall appeals to you, will you not contribute towards the expense? Imagine that you are sending some Christmas presents to MOTHER EARTH. Not that we have any reason to rejoice over the "Birth of Jesus," since neither his birth nor his death has done anything for humanity,—but you have it in your power to do much in spreading our ideas and in helping me to place our message before thinking people. Let me hear from you, and do not fail to write for tickets and cards to the office.

Hoping to see you all this coming winter and with all good wishes to you for the New Year.

Faithfully,

EMMA GOLDMAN.

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PROPAGANDA WORK

Chicago, Nov. 23rd, 1916.

OUR meetings in this city were most wonderful, thanks to the weeks of preliminary work done by Ben Reitman and a group of faithful helpers. A detailed account of our visit here and in other cities will appear in the next issue of MOTHER EARTH.

From here we go to Milwaukee for lectures. Then I am to rush back to New York to add my voice to the great protest which is to be raised in Carnegie Hall, December 2nd. After that, I shall be in Ann Arbor, Michigan, for a series of six lectures on Russian Literature and two Propaganda lectures, beginning Monday, Dec. 4th, 4:15 P. M., at Woodman's Hall, Cor. Main St.

Friday, Dec. 8th, we will have a meeting in Detroit. The hall will be announced later. I am sorry that I will not be able to stay longer in that city where we have so many faithful friends.

Sunday, Dec. 10th, I shall give two lectures in Cleveland, at Pythian Temple, 919 Huron Road, 3 P. M.—

"Anarchism and Human Nature—Do they Harmonize?" At 8 P. M., "The Life and Struggle of Russian Literature: Leo Tolstoy, Artist and Prophet."

Monday and Tuesday evening, we will be at Moose Hall, 1000 Walnut Street. Monday evening, "The Educational and Sexual Dwarfing of the Child." Tuesday evening, "Is Birth Control Harmful—a Discussion of the Limitation of Offspring."

Wednesday, Dec. 13th, we open up a course of lectures in Rochester, N. Y. Wednesday morning at the *Century Club* on "Tolstoy."

Thursday and Friday, Dec. 14th, at Recital Hall, Fine Arts Bldg., Cor. Elm and Chestnut Streets.

Thursday, 8 P. M., Henry Ibsen's "Ghosts," and "Enemy of Society.

Friday, Dec. 15th, 8 P. M., August Strindberg's "The Father" and "Countess Julia."

Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, Dec. 17th, 18th and 19th, 8 P. M., at the Labor Lyceum, 580 St. Paul St.

Sunday evening, "Anarchism and Human Nature—Do They Harmonize?"

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Our friends who wish to get further details, cards and tickets in the different cities can communicate as follows: Ann Arbor, Agnes Ingles, 1340 Wilmot St.; Cleveland, Richard Laukhoff, Bookseller, 40 Taylor Arcade; Rochester, N. Y., Mrs. H. Hochstein, 421 Joseph Avenue.

I can be reached at either of the above addresses.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

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TRIPLE ALLIANCE FOR THE EXPLICIT PURPOSE
of
UPLIFTING THE FALLEN MASSES

By M. K. SERALIEN

FATHER-RELIGION—"I will lift his soul in prayer; then he will forget that he has a body."
FATHER-LAND—"I will lift his body with the flying cannon-ball's: he will forget that he had a soul."
FATHER-WEALTH—"I will lift his earnings; he will forget that he had either a soul or a body."
THUS WITH THE MERCY OF THE ALMIGHTY AND HIS FAITHFUL UPLIFTING ALLIANCE
THE *MASSES* ARE *COMPLETELY UP-LIFTED* ! ! !

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Propaganda Work / Emma Goldman.– pp. 708-709 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 11, no. 10 (Dec. 1916).

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Preparedness, the Road to Universal Slaughter

BY EMMA GOLDMAN

Mother Earth Publishing Association
20 East 125th St., New York

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PREPAREDNESS, THE ROAD TO UNIVERSAL SLAUGHTER

By Emma Goldman

EVER since the beginning of the European conflagration the whole human race almost has fallen into the deathly grip of the war anesthesis, overcome by the mad teaming fumes of a blood soaked chloroform. Indeed, with the exception of some savage tribes, who know nothing of Christian religion or of brotherly love, and who also know nothing of dreadnaughts, submarines, munition manufacture and war loans, the rest of the race is under this terrible narcosis. The human mind seems to be conscious of but one thing, murderous speculation. Ammunition! Ammunition! O, Lord, thou who rulest heaven and earth, thou God of love, of mercy and of justice, provide us with enough ammunition to destroy our enemy. Such is the prayer which is ascending daily to the Christian heaven.

Just like cattle, panic-stricken in the face of fire, throw themselves into the very flames, so all of the European people have fallen over each other into the devouring flames of the furies of war, and America, pushed to the very brink by unscrupulous politicians, by ranting demagogues, and by military sharks, is preparing for the same terrible feat. In the face of this approaching disaster, it behooves men and women not yet overcome by the war madness to raise their voice of protest, to call the attention of the people to the crime and outrage which are about to be perpetrated upon them.

America is essentially the melting pot. No national unit composing it is in a position to boast of superior race purity, particular historic mission, or higher culture. Yet the jingoes and war speculators are filling the air with the sentimental slogan of hypocritical nationalism. "America for Americans," "America first, last, and all the time." This cry has caught the popular fancy from one end of the country to another. In order to maintain America, military preparedness must be engaged in at once. A billion dollars of the people's sweat and blood is to be expended for dreadnaughts and submarines for the army and the navy, all to protect this precious America.

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The pathos of it all is that the America which is to be protected by a huge military force is not the America of the people, but that of the privileged class; the class which robs and exploits the masses, and controls their lives from the cradle to the grave. No less pathetic is it that so few people realize that preparedness never leads to peace, but that it is indeed the road to universal slaughter.

With the cunning methods used by the scheming diplomats and military cliques of Germany to saddle the masses with Prussian militarism, the American military ring with its Roosevelts, its Garrisons, its Daniels, and lastly its Wilsons, are moving the very heavens to place the militaristic heel upon the necks of the American people, and, if successful, will hurl America into the storm of blood and tears now devastating the countries of Europe.

Forty years ago Germany proclaimed the slogan: "Germany above everything. Germany for the Germans, first, last and always. We want peace; therefore we must prepare for war. Only a well armed and thoroughly prepared nation can maintain peace, can command respect, can be sure of its national integrity." And Germany began to prepare, thereby forcing the other nations to do the same. The terrible European war is only the culminating fruition of the hydra-headed gospel, military preparedness.

Since the war began, miles of paper and oceans of ink have been used to prove the barbarity, the cruelty, the oppression of Prussian militarism. Conservatives and radicals alike are giving their support to the Allies for no other reason than to help crush that militarism, in the presence of which, they say, there can be no peace or progress in Europe. But though America grows fat on the manufacture of munitions and war loans to the Allies to help crush Prussianism the same cry is now being raised in America which, if carried into national action, would build up an American militarism far more terrible than German or Prussian militarism could ever be, and that because nowhere in the world has capitalism become so brazen in its greed and nowhere is the state so ready to kneel at the feet of capital.

Like a plague, the mad spirit is sweeping the country, infesting the clearest heads and staunchest hearts with the deathly germ of militarism. National security leagues, with cannon as their emblem of protection, naval leagues with women in their lead have sprung up all over the country, women who boast of representing the gentler sex, women who in pain and danger bring forth life and yet are ready to dedicate it to the Moloch War. Americanization societies with well known liberals as members, they who but yesterday decried the patriotic clap-trap of to-day, are now lending themselves to befog the minds of the people and to help build up the same destructive institutions in America which they are directly and indirectly helping to pull down in Germany—militarism, the destroyer of youth, the raper of women, the annihilator of the best in the race, the very mower of life.

Even Woodrow Wilson, who not so long ago indulged in the phrase "A nation too proud to fight," who in the beginning of the war ordered prayers for peace, who in his proclamations spoke of the necessity of watchful waiting, even he has been whipped into line. He has now joined his worthy colleagues in the jingo movement, echoing their clamor for preparedness and their howl of "America for Americans." The difference between Wilson and Roosevelt is this: Roosevelt, the bully, uses the club; Wilson, the historian, the college professor, wears the smooth polished university mask, but underneath it he, like Roosevelt, has but one aim, to serve the big interests, to add to those who are growing phenominally rich by the manufacture of military supplies.

Woodrow Wilson, in his address before the Daughters of the American Revolution, gave his case away when he said, "I would rather be beaten than ostracized." To stand out against the Bethlehem, du Pont, Baldwin, Remington, Winchester metallic cartridges and the rest of the armament ring means political ostracism and death. Wilson knows that; therefore he betrays his original position, goes back on the bombast of "too proud to fight" and howls as loudly as any other cheap politician for preparedness and national glory, the silly pledge the navy league women intend to impose upon every school child:

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"I pledge myself to do all in my power to further the interests of my country, to uphold its institutions and to maintain the honor of its name and its flag. As I owe everything in life to my country, I consecrate my heart, mind and body to its service and promise to work for its advancement and security in times of peace and to shrink from no sacrifices or privation in its cause should I be called upon to act in its defence for the freedom, peace and happiness of our people."

To uphold the institutions of our country—that is it—the institutions which protect and sustain a handful of people in the robbery and plunder of the masses, the institutions which drain the blood of the native as well as of the foreigner, and turn it into wealth and power; the institutions which take from the alien whatever originality he brings with him and in return give him cheap Americanism, whose glory consists in mediocrity and arrogance.

The very proclaimers of "America first" have long before this betrayed the fundamental principles of real Americanism, of the kind of Americanism that Jefferson had in mind when he said that the best government is that which governs least; the kind of Americanism that David Thoreau worked for when he proclaimed that the best government is the one that doesn't govern at all; or the other truly great Americans who aimed to make of this country a haven of refuge, who hoped that all the disinherited and oppressed people in coming to these shores would give character, quality and meaning to the country. That is not the America of the politician and munition speculators. Their America is powerfully portrayed in the idea of a young New York Sculptor I know; a hard cruel hand with long, lean, merciless fingers crushing in over the heart of the immigrant, squeezing out its blood in order to coin dollars and give the foreigner blighted hopes and stulted aspirations instead.

No doubt Woodrow Wilson has reason to defend these institutions. But what an ideal to hold out to the young generation! How is a military drilled and trained people to defend freedom, peace and happiness? This is what Major General O'Ryan has to say of an efficiently trained generation: "The soldier must be so trained that he becomes a mere automation; he must be so trained

that it will destroy his initiative; he must be so trained that he is turned into a machine. The soldier must be forced into the military noose; he must be jacked up; he must be ruled by his superiors with pistol in hand."

This was not said by a Prussian Junker; not by a German barbarian; not by Treitschke or Bernhardi, but by an American Major General. And he is right. You cannot conduct war with equals; you cannot have militarism with free born men; you must have slaves, automatons, machines, obedient disciplined creatures, who will move, act, shoot and kill at the command of their superiors. That is preparedness, and nothing else.

It has been reported that among the speakers before the Navy League was Samuel Gompers. If that is true, it signalizes the greatest outrage upon labor at the hands of its own leaders. Preparedness is directed not only against the external enemy; it aims much more at the internal enemy. It is directed against that element of labor which has learned not to hope for anything from our institutions, that awakened part of the working people which has realized that the war of classes underlies all wars among nations, and that if war is justified at all it is the war against economic dependence and political slavery, the two dominant issues involved in the struggle of the classes.

Already militarism has been acting its bloody part in every economic conflict, with the approval and support of the state. Where was the protest of Washington when "our men, women and children" were killed in Ludlow? Where was that high sounding outraged protest contained in the note to Germany? Or is there any difference in killing "our men, women and children" in Ludlow or on the high seas? Yes, indeed. The men, women and children at Ludlow were working people, belonging to the disinherited of the earth, foreigners who had to be given a taste of the glories of Americanism, while the passengers of the Lusitania represented wealth and station—therein lies the difference. Preparedness, therefore, will only add to the power of the privileged few and help them to subdue, to enslave and crush labor. Surely Gompers must know that, and if he joins the howl of the military clique, he must stand condemned as a traitor to the cause of labor.

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The proof of this contention has never been demonstrated with greater force than by Woodrow Wilson, himself, in his recent message to Congress dealing with the "internal enemy, the plotters in our midst, the disloyal element disrupting our government. Preparedness must be directed against them and drastic laws framed to deal with them, etc., etc." Does the President really mean the handful of German plotters? Or does he not rather use them as an excuse to create a military force for the larger and wider section which constitutes the internal enemy; the revolutionary proletariat of America, the discontented, rebellious minority which Wilson, like Gompers, dreads more than German invasion.

Besides how do the German plotters happen now? Why never before in the history of the United States? Germans have been with us since the days of Columbus, almost. They certainly were here during the Franco-Prussian war, when their Fatherland needed them even more than now. How is it that they did not plot then? Is it not, perchance, because America never before engaged in such a brazen business as now, accumulating fabulous profits from murder? Or is it less murderous to furnish munitions for the butchery of men than it is to do the actual butchering? Yes a more cowardly murder. The soldier at least faces danger, risks his life, but the munition manufacturers and the government clique which sustains them are in perfect safety and security.

I am no more pro-German than pro-Ally. As an Anarchist I refute both, as the "two thieves who are too cowardly to fight." Hence they force the people to do their criminal deed, hence they sacrifice "the boys from every village, hamlet and town." But I can understand how Germans should now be plotting—the Germans who were hitherto the most submissive American subjects, the one foreign people in America first to lose their identity, first to go into the melting pot, first to swear by America.

In other words the cold-blooded conspiracy between the munition manufacturers and Washington has created the plotter. Let the American conspiracy cease and the German-American conspiracy will be no more. The German will again vegetate in their singing societies, at their beer tables and at the game of scat. They have done

nothing else since the rebellious and enlightened immigrants have been replaced by Green-Grocers and Delicatessen dealers.

It will be with preparedness as it has been with all other institutions in our confused life which were created for the good of the people and which have accomplished the very reverse. Supposedly, America is to prepare for peace; but in reality it will prepare for the cause of war.

It always has been thus—all through blood-stained history, and it will continue until nation will refuse to fight against nation, and until the people of the world will stop preparing for slaughter. Preparedness is like the seed of a poisonous plant; placed in the soil, it will bear poisonous fruit. The European mass destruction is the fruit of that poisonous seed. It is imperative that the American workers realize this before they are driven by the jingoes into the madness that is forever haunted by the spectre of danger and invasion; they must know that to prepare for peace means to invite war, means to unloose the furies of death over land and seas.

That which has driven the masses of Europe into the trenches and to the battlefields is not their inner longing for war; it must be traced to the cut-throat competition for military equipment. for more efficient armies, for larger warships, for more powerful cannon. You cannot build up a standing army and then throw it back into a box like tin soldiers. Armies equipped to the teeth with weapons, with highly developed instruments of murder and backed by their military interests, have their own dynamic functions. We have but to examine into the nature of militarism to realize the truism of this contention.

Militarism consumes the strongest and most productive elements of each nation. Militarism swallows the largest part of the national revenue. Almost nothing is spent on education, art, literature and science compared with the amount devoted to militarism in times of peace, while in times of war everything else is set at naught; all life stagnates, all effort is curtailed; the very sweat and blood of the masses are used to feed this insatiable monster—militarism. Under such circumstances, it must become more arrogant, more aggressive, more bloated with its own importance. If for no other reason, it is out of surplus energy that militarism must act to remain

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alive; therefore it will seek an enemy or create one artifically. In this civilized purpose and method, militarism is sustained by the state, protected by the laws of the land, is fostered by the home and the school, and glorified by public opinion. In other words, the function of militarism is to kill. It cannot live except through murder.

But the most dominant factor of military preparedness and the one which inevitably leads to war, is the creation of group interests, which consciously and deliberately work for the increase of armament whose purposes are furthered by creating the war hysteria. This group interest embraces all those engaged in the manufacture and sale of munition and in military equipment for personal gain and profit. The family Krupp, for instance, which owns the largest cannon munition plant in the world; its sinister influence in Germany, and in fact in many other countries, extends to the press, the school, the church and to statesmen of highest rank. Shortly before the war, Carl Liebknecht, one of the few brave public men in Germany now, brought to the attention of the Reichstag that the family Krupp had in its employ officials of the highest military position, not only in Germany, but in France and in other countries. Everywhere its emissaries have been at work, systematically inciting national hatred and antagonisisms; creating invasion hysteria.

It is not at all unlikely that the history of the present war will trace its origin to the same international murder trust. But is it always necessary for one generation to wade through oceans of blood and heap up mountains of human sacrifice that the next generation may learn a grain of truth from it all? Can we of to-day not profit by the cause which led to the European war, can we not learn that it was preparedness, thorough and efficient preparedness on the part of Germany and the other countries for military aggrandizement and material gain; above all can we not realize that preparedness in America must and will lead to the same result, the same barbarity, the same senseless sacrifice of life? Is America to follow suit, is it to be turned over to the American Krupps, the American military cliques? It almost seems so when one hears the jingo howls of the press, the blood and

thunder tirades of bully Roosevelt, the sentimental twaddle of our college-bred President.

The more reason for those who still have a spark of libertarianism and humanity left to cry out against this great crime, against the outrage now being prepared and imposed upon the American people. It is not enough to claim being neutral; a neutrality which sheds crocodile tears with one eye and keeps the other riveted upon the profits from war supplies and war loans, is not neutrality. It is a hypocritical cloak to cover the countries' crimes. Nor is it enough to join the bourgeois pacifists who proclaim peace among the nations while helping to perpetuate the war among the classes, a war which in reality, is at the bottom of all other wars.

It is this war of the classes that we must concentrate upon, and in that connection the war against false values, against evil institutions, against all social atrocities. Those who appreciate the urgent need of co-operating in great struggles must oppose military preparedness imposed by the state and capitalism for the destruction of the masses. They must organize the preparedness of the masses for the overthrow of both capitalism and the state. Industrial and economic preparedness is what the workers need. That alone leads to revolution at the bottom as against mass destruction from on top. That alone leads to true internationalism of labor against Kaiserdom, Kingdom, diplomacies, military cliques and bureaucracy. That alone will give the people the means to take their children out of the slums, out of the sweat shops and the cotton mills. That alone will enable them to inculcate in the coming generation a new ideal of brotherhood, to rear them in play and song and beauty; to bring up men and women, not automatons. That alone will enable woman to become the real mother of the race, who will give to the world creative men, and not soldiers who destroy. That alone leads to economic and social freedom, and does away with all wars, all crimes, and all injustice.

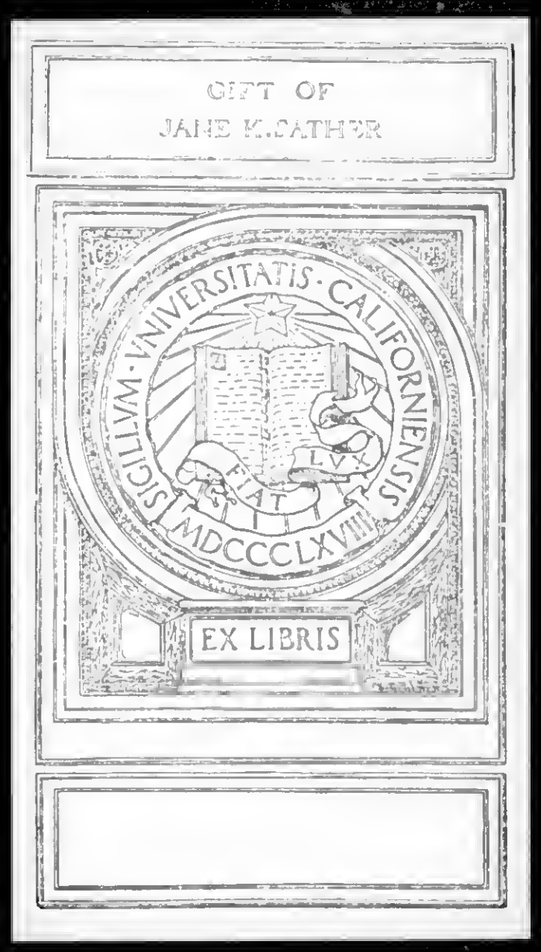
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THE TRUTH ABOUT
THE BOYLSHEVIKI

BY

Emma Goldman

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MOTHER EARTH PUBLISHING ASS'N
4 JONES STREET, NEW YORK

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THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BOYLSHEVIKI

BY

Emma Goldman

Dedicated

as my last contribution before going to Jefferson City, Mo., prison for two years, to the Boylsheviki in Russia in appreciation of their glorious work and their inspiration in awakening Boylshevism in America.

MOTHER EARTH PUBLISHING ASS'N
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THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BOYLSHEVIKI

EMMA GOLDMAN

The attitude of dense ignoranee and stupidity toward the most gigantie event since the Freneh Revolution, the Boylsheviki movement in Russia, is not typically Ameriean. All great movements have met with the same fate in every land, sinee stupidity and ignoranee have never been the monopoly of any partieular country.

The Boylsheviki, like all revolutionary movements, have faeed three eharaeteristie stages. First, ealumny, misrepresentation, hatred, opposition, and perseeution. After that eame ridieule, scoffing, and eheap derision of the movement. Finally, in the third stage, recognition—though stinted and grudging.

It took the great movements of the past more than a eentury to pass these varying stages, and that at the expense of untold suffering and saerifiee. The Boylsheviki have swept on and all but reaehed the third stage in just a few months.

It is indeed unfortunate that we in Ameriea depend upon the press for information on all urgent questions. Yet everybody knows that there is no other medium so hopelessly inaeeurate, so much of a falsifier of faets, as the press. Not only because it is inspired entirely by material interests, and therefore opposed to every movement which is likely to hurt those interests, but beeause the profession of journalism is in the hands of the most undeveloped, uninformed, provineial type of men and women. People who know almost nothing of the soeial currents in their own eountry eannot be expeeted to even remotely grasp the character and purpose of a movement whieh promises the salvation of the world. Therefore the utterly stupid, conseious and uneonseious, misrepresentation of the Boylsheviki.

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And yet it is of the utmost importance that the people in America should understand the true meaning of the Boylsheviki, their origin, and the historic background which makes their position and their challenge to the world so significant to the masses.

Boylsheviki is the plural term for those revolutionists in Russia who represent the interests of the largest social groups, and who insist upon the maximum social and economic demands for those groups.

At a Social Democratic Congress, held in 1903, the extreme revolutionists, impatient of the ever-growing tendency of compromise and reform in the party, organized the Boylsheviki wing as opposed to those known as the Mensheviki, or the group content to move slowly, gaining reform step by step. Nikolai Lenin, and later Trotsky, were the prime factors in the separation, and have since worked incessantly to build up the Boylsheviki party along straight revolutionary lines, but nevertheless in keeping with Marxian theoretical reasoning.

Then came the miracle of miracles, the Russian Revolution of 1917, which to the politicians in and out of the different Socialist groups meant the overthrow of the Tsar and the establishment of a liberal or quasi-Socialist government. Lenin and Trotsky, with their followers, saw deeper into the nature of the Revolution, and, seeing, they had the wisdom to respond—not so much to their own theoretical predilections but to the compelling needs of the awakened Russian people themselves.

Thus the Russian Revolution is a miracle in more than one respect. Among other extraordinary paradoxes it presents the phenomenon of the Marxian Social Democrats, Lenin and Trotsky, adopting Anarchist Revolutionary tactics, while the Anarchists Kropotkin, Tcherkessov, Tchaikovsky are denying these tactics and falling into Marxian reasoning, which they had during all their lives repudiated as "German metaphysics."

The Russian Revolution is indeed a miracle. It demonstrates every day how insignificant all theories are in comparison with the actuality of the revolutionary awakening of the people.

The Boylsheviki of 1903, though revolutionists, adhered to the Marxian doctrine concerning the industrialization of Russia and the historic mission of the bourgeoisie as a necessary evolutionary process before the Russian masses could come into their own. The Boylsheviki of 1918 no longer be-

lieve in the predestined function of the bourgeoisie. They have been swept forward upon the waves of the Revolution to the point of view held by the Anarchists since Bakunin; namely, that once the masses become conscious of their economic power, they make their own history and need not be bound by the traditions and processes of a dead past, which—like secret treaties—are made at the round table and are not dictated by life itself.

In other words, the Boylsheviki now represent not only a limited group of theorists but a Russia reborn and virile. Never would Lenin and Trotsky have attained their present importance had they merely voiced cut-and-dried theoretical formulæ. They have their ears close to the heart-beat of the Russian people, who, while yet inarticulate, know how to register their demands much more powerfully through action. That, however, does not lessen the importance of Lenin, Trotsky and the other heroic figures who hold the world in awe by their personality, their prophetic vision and their intense revolutionary spirit.

It is not so long ago that Trotsky and Lenin were denounced as German agents, working for the Kaiser. Only those who are still influenced by newspaper lies, who know nothing about the two men, believe such accusations. Incidentally it is well to bear in mind that there is nothing quite so contemptible or cheap as to call a man a "German agent" because he refuses to believe in the high-sounding phrase "to make the world safe for Democracy," with Democracy whipped in Tulsa, lynched in Butte, shut up in prison, and otherwise outraged and banished from our shores.

Lenin and Trotsky need no defense. Yet it is well to call the attention of the credulous ones, whose daily papers "cannot tell a lie," that when Trotsky was in America he lived in a cheap apartment house, and was so poor that he had hardly enough to live on. To be sure, he was offered a comfortable position on one of the successful Jewish Socialist dailies, on condition that he learn to compromise and curb his revolutionary zeal. Trotsky preferred poverty and the right to retain his self-respect. When he decided to return to Russia, at the very beginning of the Revolution, a private subscription had to be taken up by his friends to cover his fare—so much did Trotsky earn as a "German agent."

As to Lenin, his whole life has been one long, endless struggle for Russia. In fact, he comes to his revolutionary ideals through heritage. His own brother was executed by order of the Tsar. Thus Lenin has a personal

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as well as a universal reason to hate autocracy and to dedicate his life to the liberation of Russia. What absurdity it is to accuse a man like that of sympathy with German imperialism! But even the loud-mouthed accusers of Lenin and Trotzky have been shamed into silence by the powerful personalities and the incorruptible integrity of these great figures of the Revolution.

In one respect it is not at all surprising that there should be so little understanding in America for the Boylsheviki. The Russian Revolution still remains an enigma to the American mind. Without a trace of feeling for his own revolutionary traditions, and ever prostrate before the majesty of the State, the average American has been trained to believe that Revolution has no justification in his own country and that in "darkest Russia" it was only for the purpose of getting rid of the Tsar, provided it was done in a gentlemanly manner and with respectful apologies to the autocrat. And, further, that the moment a stable government like ours is established, the Russian people ought to "get behind the President."

Imagine, then, the surprise when the Russian people, after driving out the Tsar, destroyed the throne itself, and sent the "liberal" Miliukovs and Lvovs, and even the Socialist Kerensky, in the direction the Tsar had gone. And then, to cap the climax, come the Boylsheviki, who declare against both king *and* master. That is too much for the democratic mind of the American.

Fortunately for Russia, her people have never enjoyed the blessings of Democracy, with its institutionalized, legalized, classified values of education and culture; all of which are "machine made and ravel out the moment one begins at the first knot."

The Russians are a literal people with an unspoiled, uncorrupted mind. Revolution to them has never meant mere political scene shifting, the overthrow of one autocrat for another. The Russian people have been taught for nearly a hundred years—not in stuffy schools by sterile teachers and stale text books, but by their great revolutionary martyrs, the noblest spirits the world has ever known—that Revolution means a fundamental social and economic change, something which has its roots in the needs and hopes of the people and which must not end until the disinherited of the earth come into their own. In a word, the Russian people saw in the overthrow of the autocracy the *beginning* and not the *finale* of the Revolution.

More than the tyranny of the Tsar, the muzhik hated the tyranny of the tax collector sent by the landed proprietor to rob him of his last cow or horse, and finally of the land itself, or to flog him and drag him off to prison when he could not pay his taxes. What was it to the muzhik that the Tsar had been driven from his throne, if his direct enemy, the Barin (master) still continued in possession of the key to life—the land? *Matushka Zemlya* (Mother Earth) is the pet name which the Russian language alone has for the soil. To the Russian the soil is everything, life and joy giver, the nourisher, the beloved *Matushka* (Little Mother).

The Russian Revolution can mean nothing to him unless it sets the land free and joins to the dethroned Tsar his partner, the dethroned landowner, the capitalist. That explains the historic background of the Boylsheviki, their social and economic justification. They are powerful only because they represent the people. The moment they cease to do that they will go, as the Provisional Government and Kerensky had to go. For never will the Russian people be content, or Boylshevism cease, until the land and the means of life become the heritage of the children of Russia. They have for the first time in centuries determined that they shall be heard, and that their voices shall reach the heart, not of the governing classes—they know these have no heart—but the hearts of the peoples of the world, including the people of the United States. Therein lies the deep import and significance of the Russian Revolution as symbolized by the Boylsheviki.

Starting from the historic premise that all wars are capitalist wars, and that the masses can have no interest whatever in strengthening the imperialistic designs of their exploiters, it is perfectly consistent for the Boylsheviki to insist upon peace and to demand that there shall be neither indemnities nor annexations involved in that peace.

To begin with, Russia has been bled in a war ordered by the bloody Tsar. Why should they continue to sacrifice their strong manhood, which could be employed to better purpose for the reconstruction of Russia? To make the world safe for Democracy? What a farce! Did not the so-called Democracies forfeit the sympathy of the Russian people when they tied their Goddess to the knout of the Russian autocracy? How dare they complain of Russia that she is longing for peace now that she has successfully thrown off her back the weight of centuries of oppression!

Are the Allies really sincere in their boast of Democracy? Why, then,

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did they fail to recognize the Russian Revolution even before the "terrible Boylsheviki" had taken charge of its direction? England, the famous liberator of small nations, with India and Ireland in her clutches, would have none of the Revolution. France, the would-be cradle of liberty, repudiated the Russian Delegate to her Conference. To be sure, America recognized Revolutionary Russia, but only because she fondly hoped that Miliukov or Kerensky would remain in power. Under such circumstances why should Russia help to continue the war?

Yet it is not for this reason that the Boylsheviki insist upon peace. It is because nothing vital or constructive can be built up during war, and the Russian people are eager to build up, to create, to found a new, a free, a rich Russia. For that they need peace; and, above all other considerations, the Boylsheviki want to help the other peoples of the earth toward peace—the peoples who, like themselves, never wanted war.

Already the Boylsheviki have taught the world the lesson that peace negotiations must be initiated by the peoples themselves. Peace cannot be declared in the name of those who make wars and gain by them. That is one of the most significant contributions to world progress that the Boylsheviki have made. Furthermore, they maintain that negotiations for peace must be made openly, frankly and with the full consent of the peoples represented. They will have none of the secret diplomatic intrigue that betrays the peoples, leading them to irretrievable disaster.

On this basis the Boylsheviki invited the other powers to participate in the General Peace Conference held at Brest-Litovsk. Their suggestion was met with scorn. The democratic boast of the Allies, when put to the test, was found sadly wanting. The treachery of the Allies in forsaking the Russian people itself warrants the Boylsheviki in making a separate peace. They stand guiltless when they declare for a separate peace after their repudiation by the Allies.

Abandoned, the Boylsheviki are no less strong. It was Trotsky who expressed the moral influence of the Boylsheviki in the seeming paradox, "Our weakness will be our strength." Weak in the instruments of an autocracy, the Boylsheviki are strengthened by a common Revolutionary purpose. The moral opinion of the world will be more deeply influenced by a simple-hearted Russian's desire to act honestly at the peace table, than by all the connivance, evasion and hypocrisy of highly cultured diplomats.

The Boylsheviki demand that the obligations and indemnities incurred by the other governing classes should be repudiated. Why should they live up to the obligations of the Tsar? The people have not incurred those obligations; they have not pledged themselves to the other warring countries; they were no more consulted whether they should be slaughtered than the people of America were consulted. Why should they bear the brunt of punishment for an autocrat's crimes? Why should they saddle their children and their children's children with war loans and indemnities? They say that arrangements or contracts made by the enemies of the people must be lived up to by the enemies of the people, but not by the people themselves. If the Tsar pledged himself to other countries, the other countries should import him and make him responsible for what he pledged. But the people who were not consulted in the first place, who fought and bled and sacrificed their lives for three and a half years,—they say that they will only pay the debts incurred by themselves, with their knowledge, with their understanding, and for a purpose of which they have approved. These are the only war debts, war loans and war indemnities they intend to pay.

The Boylsheviki have no imperialistic designs. They have libertarian plans, and those that understand the principles of liberty do not want to annex other peoples and other countries. Indeed, the true libertarian does not want even to annex other individuals, for he knows that so long as a single nation, people or individual is enslaved, he too is in danger.

That is why the Boylsheviki demand a peace without annexations and without indemnities. They do not feel ethically called upon to live up to the obligations incurred by the Tsar, the Kaiser or other imperialistic gentlemen.

The Boylsheviki are accused of betraying the Allies. Were the Russian people asked whether they wanted to join the Allies? The Boylsheviki, as Communists, as men who adhere with all the passion and intensity of their beings to the principle of Internationalism, declare: "Our allies are not the governments of England, France, Italy or America; our allies are the English, French, Italian, American and German peoples. They are our only allies, and these allies we will never betray; these allies we will never deceive. We want to serve our allies, but our allies are the peoples of the world, not the governing classes, not the diplomats, not the prime ministers, not the gentlemen who make war." That is the position of the Boylsheviki to this present moment. They have demonstrated this within the last few

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weeks, when they saw that the German peace terms implied the enslavement and dependency of other peoples. They said, "We want peace, but in asking for peace for ourselves we do so because we feel certain that our peace will induce all the other peoples of the world to demand and make peace, whether the governing classes want it or not."

Trotsky, in a letter to the "Citizen Ambassador" of Persia, said: "The Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907 was directed against the liberty and independence of the Persian people, and is, therefore, null and void for all time. Moreover, we denounce all agreements preceding and following the said agreement which may restrict the rights of the Persian people to a free and independent existence."

The Boylsheviki are accused of taking possession of the land. This is a terrible charge, of course, if you believe in private property. It is considered the greatest crime of all to offend against private possessions. Human slaughter may be justified, but the sanctity of private property is inviolate. Fortunately, the Boylsheviki have learned from the past. They know that past revolutions failed because the masses did not take possession of the means of life.

The Boylsheviki have done another terrible thing—they have taken possession of the banks. The Boylsheviki remembered that during the Paris Commune, when women and children were starving on the streets, the Communards foolishly sent their comrades to protect the Bank of France, and that afterwards the French Government used the bank's funds to pay Bismark in return for the 500,000 German war prisoners who marched into Paris and drowned the Commune in the blood of 30,000 French workers.

At that time, in 1871, the French bourgeoisie had not the slightest objection to the use of German guns to slaughter the French people. The "end justifies the means," which the bourgeoisie would not hesitate—now as then—to use for the maintenance of its own supremacy.

The Boylsheviki are ardent students of history. They know that the ruling classes would prefer even the Tsar or the Kaiser to the Revolution. They know that if the bourgeoisie could retain the wealth stolen from the people, in the form of land and money, they would brihe the devil himself to save them from the Revolution, and the people, starved and destitute, might succumb to the cruel bargain.

That is why the Boylsheviki took possession of the banks and are urging the peasants to confiscate the land. They have no desire to turn the banks and land, the raw material and the products of Labor's toil over to the state. They want to place all the natural resources and the wealth of the country in the hands of the people for common holding and common use, because the Russian people are by instinct and tradition communists, and have neither need nor desire for the competitive system.

The Boylsheviki are translating into reality the very things many people have been dreaming about, hoping for, planning and discussing in private and public. They are building a new social order which is to come out of the chaos and conflicts now confronting them.

Why is it that many Russian revolutionists are opposed to the Boylsheviki? Some of the finest types of men and women in Russia, such as our beloved Babushka Breshkovskaia, Peter Kropotkin, and others, are antagonistic to the Boylsheviki. It is because these good people have been lured by the glamor of political liberalism as represented by Republican France, Constitutional England and Democratic America. Alas, they have yet to realize that the line of demarcation between liberalism and autocracy is purely imaginary, the sole difference being that the people under autocracy know that they are enslaved, and love liberty to such an extent that they would fight and die for it, while the people in a democracy imagine they are free and are content with their bondage.

The Russian revolutionists who are opposed to the Boylsheviki will soon come to appreciate that the Boylsheviki represent the most fundamental, far-reaching and all-embracing principles of human freedom and of economic well-being.

It might be asked, what would the Boylsheviki do if they were opposed by all the other governments? It is not at all unlikely that if the Boylsheviki attain to complete economic and social power in Russia, the combined governments might make common cause with German Imperialism in order to crush the Boylsheviki. It can be safely predicted that the imperialistic elements will join the bourgeoisie to defeat the Russian Revolution.

The Boylsheviki are alive to these dangers and are using the most effective measures to combat them. Their influence on the proletariat of Germany and Austria has been immeasurable. Returning German pris-

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The Truth About the Boylsheviki / Emma Goldman.— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., [1917].— 9 p. ; 22 × 32 cm.

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oners of war are carrying the message of Boylshevism into trench and barracks, into the fields and factories, awakening the people to the only power that can crush autocracy. The educational work of the Boylsheviki among the German people is beginning to have its effect. Certainly it has already accomplished a hundred-fold more than all the pratings of the Allies about the necessity of spreading revolt in the Central Empires.

Even though the Boylsheviki should fail in actually carrying out their wonderful dream, their conception of universal peace, their attempt to ally themselves with all the oppressed peoples of the world, their demand that the land be given to the peasants and that the workers who produce the wealth of the world should enjoy the things they produce—the very fact of their being and demanding must exert such influence upon the rest of the world that human beings can never again be quite so commonplace, so contented and ordinary as they were before the Boylsheviki made their appearance upon the horizon of human life.

That is the part the Boylsheviki are playing in our lives, in the lives of the German, the French and all the other peoples of the earth. We can never be the same, because at all times, in moments of despair, in moments of pessimism, in moments when we believe everything crushed, we shall turn toward Russia and there behold the Great Hope risen, incarnate, breaking up the blackness that has filled our hearts with the hatred of our brothers, paralyzed our minds and chained our limbs, bent our backs and emasculated our wills.

The Boylsheviki have come to challenge the world. It can nevermore rest in its old sordid indolence. It must accept the challenge. It has already accepted it in Germany, in Austria and Roumania, in France and Italy, aye, even in America. Like sudden sunlight Boylshevism is spreading over the entire world, illuminating the great Vision and warming it into being—the New Life of human brotherhood and social well-being.

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Alexander Berkman
and
Emma Goldman
In the United States District Court, in the City of New York, July, 1917

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ANARCHISM ON TRIAL



Speeches of ALEXANDER BERKMAN and EMMA GOLDMAN before the United States District Court in the City of New York, July, 1917

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A TRIBUTE

Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman
Are in prison,
Although the night is tremblingly beautiful
And the sound of water climbs down the rocks
And the breath of the night air moves through multitudes and multitudes of leaves
That love to waste themselves for the sake of the summer.

Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman
Are in prison tonight,
But they have made themselves elemental forces,
Like the water that climbs down the rocks:
Like the wind in the leaves:
Like the gentle night that holds us:
They are working on our destinies:
They are forging the love of the nations:

. . . . . .

Tonight they lie in prison.

JOSEPHINE BELL

(From *The Masses*, Aug., 1917)

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Tell all friends that we will not waver, that we will not compromise, and that if the worst comes, we shall go to prison in the proud consciousness that we have remained faithful to the spirit of internationalism and to the solidarity of all the people of the world.

EMMA GOLDMAN

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Justice walks with leaden feet and has lost her way and cannot find many of the court-rooms of America.

Ideals cannot be killed by imprisoning idealists. You cannot stop ideas as long as one brain continues to function. Governments, Churches, Judges, and Jailors have tried it as far back as the memory or records of men go. But never have they been able fully to subdue the spirit of man. Ideas are contagious, and crushed to earth, spread over it.

Liberty is never a gift. It is always a purchase, and the price is blood and tears, happiness and the personal liberty of the individual purchaser. Liberty has always been the great temptation for idealists.

We are all walking in the shadow of war. Most of us, however, have our eyes on the stars of peace and liberty, and because a few are articulate, expressing our hopes and desires, Judges are sending them to the penitentiary, to the workhouse, fining them, taking their property, and even ordering them deported to Russia, the new home of democracy. If Christ gave out "The Sermon on the Mount," he would go to the workhouse for six months.

Are some of our courts the new Bastiles, with petty Judges as the wardens? Judges with the dust of dead laws and dead theories in their eyes and mouths and brains are stamping out free speech, are trying to shackle the brave spirits of those who see that the faults of liberty can only be cured by more liberty.

HARRY WEINBERGER

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IMPRESSIONS OF THE TRIAL

Oppression has dragged revolt before the tribunal of the Grand Inquisition. Dead words of the Law lay ready as instruments of torture. The District Attorney acted as accuser for the offended divinity. In the box sat the jurors, men with set faces, steadfast worshippers of the dogma. Soldiers and detectives formed nine-tenths of the audience; only a few friends of the accused had been fortunate enough to gain admission to the court.

On his elevation beneath the purple canopy—stretched by another generation—in his solemn high-backed chair behind the huge table laden with law books sat the Judge, the almighty of the hour.

It was the afternoon of the seventh of July, in the Federal court-room situated on the fourth floor of the old Post-office Building in New York.

City Hall Square below was crowded with thousands of people who had assembled to witness the spectacle of the City fathers welcoming the Russian Commission on the steps of the City Hall, just across the square. The Russian tricolor in close embrace with the Stars and Stripes flew from buildings and flagpoles. It was a sunshiny, jubilant afternoon, the Friday which the people of New York had chosen to show their love for the new Russian democracy and to try Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman for conspiracy.

From the windows of the court-room we could see the festive procession, the waving of flags, the enthusiastic faces that hailed the dawn of a new era, we could hear the music of the band playing that grandest of all songs of liberty, "The Marseillaise," and the cheering of the crowds, who, in the bottom of their hearts, believe in freedom. But the people of New York could not look into the court-room on the fourth floor of the Post-office Building and could not hear the cry of strangled Liberty, nor the strains of the dreadful litany that tells of prison and punishment and death.

The air was heavy, the audience quiet and subdued, the soldiers in their uniforms among the spectators watchful and defiant. The court attendants in their blue uniforms and shining badges used both gestures and looks to intimidate the awed spectators. Officers were posted at the doors to refuse admission to the people of New York who tried to get in.

I sat there at the press table amidst the representatives of our daily papers. Some were older men who followed the proceedings with the mellow superiority of experience. Young reporters were busy making notes, which would never be published.

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And there, opposite me, sat Alexander Berkman. A strong, fighting face; decision and action written all over him. Around his mouth plays the tired smile of the fighter who knows what it means to meet stupidity face to face. His hands are clenched, he is armed against attacks and lies, against rudeness and against injustice. He has come to fight. He does not know how to compromise. He does not know how to bow politely to the court, how to invoke in flowery language the attention of the District Attorney or how to arouse the sympathetic interest of his peers—the jurymen. The principles for which he is fighting, which brought about his indictment, are now his only weapons and his only shield. He is a non-conformist who believes in liberty and in freedom uncurtailed in any way.

My memory goes back a few years. I see the very same man surrounded by little children, laughing and merry-making with them. I see him amidst the pupils of the Ferrer School, telling them fairy-tales and admonishing them always to remain brothers and sisters after they have left school and grown up to be adults.

There is Emma Goldman, sitting behind him. I don't see hatred in her eyes but determination; to do to the last minute what she thinks so important for the happiness of future generations. She is reading some report introduced as evidence by the District Attorney. There is a grave seriousness on her features and that wonderful, final resolve that has ever—since time began—caused men to be crucified, to be burned alive, hung, drawn and quartered; the resolve and purpose which have brought to humanity all the good things it possesses.

There is the jury! Twelve men representing the people of New York; the peers of the defendants! I look at their faces: some are old men, some are middle-aged, some are bald-headed and some have gray, black or blonde hair. Some have mustaches and others have not. Some have pepper-and-salt colored suits, others wear suits of brown, black or light-gray. Sometimes they look at the defendants. When they do, it is not for long. It is the casual look at something repulsive, at something that one might be curious enough to look at though one knows that it is bad because it is so different from what newspapers print and politicians praise.

These representatives of the people of New York let their eyes rest with an expression of content upon the District Attorney, that Archangel who guards the gates of their Paradise. Some of the jurors dare, now and then, to glance shyly up at the judge's throne beneath the purple canopy.

His Honor seems uncomfortable in the clear rays of the sun which pour in through the shining window panes onto his

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face. He must face the sun because his duty compels him also to face the jury and the defendants. He is seated and only his head can be seen above the table, his head on his broad shoulders. A thick, sensitive upper lip, between nose and forehead an angle of about 160 degrees, a small chin, big jaws, his eyes hard, not by experience but by purpose. He seems to me to be a man who would really go and do what you bade him do or what he thought was expected of him.

Now he rises. The black toga of his office seems too heavy upon his shoulders and he throws it back with a tired gesture. Or does he feel too warm? His arms are very short and he is a little man.

I try to read his face. I am very near him. I search for something in his eyes. Nothing is written upon his face, nothing in his eyes.

The witnesses! Everybody in the court-room knows that the District Attorney must prove what the witnesses have to answer, what the jurymen must decide in their minds, what the Judge will pronounce as sentence. . . a dreadful monotony —an iron ring presses tighter and tighter around our heads.

The District Attorney is reading part of a speech delivered by Emma Goldman to the effect that the people themselves should be called upon to decide whether there should be war or not: the same thing one reads in the *New York American* editorials. A witness is swearing that he has heard her utter such sentences. And, like mockery, from across the Square come the sounds of "The Marseillaise," played in honor of the Russian rebels, guests of the people of New York.

And now! "The Star Spangled Banner." Life comes into the Judge. He rises. He gesticulates wildly with his short arms: "Everybody must rise in the room," he shouts, with a voice which seems unused to give command. The soldiers poke their neighbors, court attendants run about the room pushing men and women into patriotic attention. Some persons refuse to get up. The Judge excitedly issues orders. The objectors are dragged out. Everyone who wears a badge seems eager now to earn his livelihood by bullying people into patriotic attention. . . . All is over. The jurors again sit down indolently in their seats, the witness continues his narration.

Hopeless monotony again! The English anthem is being played outside on the Square, but the Judge does not command us to stand up. We are allowed to remain seated.

* * *

The hall is filled with men and women, well-dressed and well-to-do people, as well as laborers and factory girls. They were not admitted to the court-room and have waited patiently

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for a chance to see the two people who were sacrificing their liberty and their comfort to secure the joys of life for others.

Below in the Square a procession had formed to take the Russian Commission with flying red banners of the Russian Revolution through the streets of our city and to show the people of New York that democracy is triumphant . . . in Russia.

Monday. Again I sit in my chair and listen to Alexander Berkman, who tries in simple but eloquent words to tell the jurymen what it means to be an anarchist. . . . He paints with vivid colors the beauties of a free democracy without oppressors, without poverty, with beauty and content for everybody. He shows conclusively that the District Attorney had failed to prove him "to be the head of a country-wide conspiracy to resist conscription." He shows that speeches by Miss Goldman and by himself had been delivered on several occasions and that the District Attorney used in his evidence only the one speech where there had been no stenographer present to take it down for Miss Goldman. He points out that the stenographic report offered as evidence is the work of a policeman who has never reported a speech before and who has failed in a test in this very court.

* * *

He finished and the jurymen look with set faces at the District Attorney, with the faces of men who care only for the dogma.

Emma Goldman speaks in her defense.

Her speech goes to the heart of everyone in the court-room, even of those whose hearts are made sound-proof and who would never permit other gods to take the place of their own gods.

She speaks of the twenty-seven years of her rebellion against existing conditions.

She states her unshakeable principles of independence and of liberty.

Her speech is one of the important documents of our century. It will live as the great plea of our time for liberation from ancient customs and institutions.

* * *

The jury goes out and the jury comes in. "Guilty."

The Judge gives the heaviest punishment he can; these are the worst offenders possible.

The government takes possession of the prisoners at once.

The Judge refuses to grant them time to attend to their personal affairs, to take counsel with each other, and a few hours after the sentence had been pronounced, they are on their way to their prisons.

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Emma Goldman to sew women's garments in the prison of Jefferson City, Mo., and Alexander Berkman to do some sort of menial work in the Federal prison at Atlanta, Ga.

Freedom is a great vision. It appears upon the horizon of each of us. Some fear even to look in its direction. It dazzles their eyes.

Some retain the shallow name and use it as a bait to fill their coffers or satisfy political ambition; others cherish it in their hearts.

They are hung or sent to prison.

GUIDO BRUNO in *Pearson's Magazine*

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The Trial and Conviction of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman

WHEN Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, charged with conspiracy to defeat military registration under the conscription law, were sentenced by Judge Julius M. Mayer, on July 9, 1917, to serve two years in prison, to pay fines of $10,000 each, and to be probably deported to Russia at the expiration of their prison terms, United States Marshal McCarthy said: "This marks the beginning of the end of Anarchism in New York." But Mr. McCarthy is mistaken. The end of Anarchism will only be in sight when Liberty itself is dead or dying, and Liberty, as Walt Whitman wrote in one of his greatest poems, is not the first to go, nor the second or third to go, —"it waits for all the rest to go, it is the last."

When there are no more memories of heroes and martyrs,
And when all life and all the souls of men and women are discharged from any part of the earth,
Then only shall liberty or the idea of liberty be discharged from that part of the earth,
And the infidel come into full possession.

The Arrest

Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were arrested on June 15, at 20 East 125th Street, New York. At the time of the arrival of the Marshal and of his minions, late in the afternoon, Miss Goldman was in the room which served as the office of the No-Conscription League and of MOTHER EARTH. Berkman was upstairs in the office of THE BLAST. A number of helpers were in the building at the time, including M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, Carl Newlander, Walter Merchant and W. P. Bales. Mr. Bales, a young man, was arrested without a warrant. The raiding party included, besides Marshal McCarthy, Assistant United States District Attorney E. M. Stanton, Lieutenant Barnitz, of the so-called "Bomb Squad," Deputy Marshals Doran, Hearne and Meade, and Detectives Murphy and Kiely, of the Police Department.

"I have a warrant for your arrest," Marshal McCarthy said to Emma Goldman.

"I am not surprised, yet I would like to know what the warrant is based on," Emma Goldman replied.

Marshal McCarthy answered by producing a copy of

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MOTHER EARTH containing an article on the No-Conscription League signed "Emma Goldman."

"Did you write that?" asked the Marshal.

Miss Goldman replied that she had written the article, and in answer to another question said she stood for everything in MOTHER EARTH, because, she added, she was the sole owner of the publication.

A few minutes later, the officers mounted the stairs and arrested Alexander Berkman.

In the meantime, policemen were busy searching both offices. They found books and pamphlets written by Kropotkin, Malatesta, Voltairine de Cleyre, Max Stirner, Frank Harris, C. E. S. Wood, Charles T. Sprading, Gorky, Andreyev, Strindberg, William Morris, George Bernard Shaw, and many other writers. They seized everything they could lay their hands on, including a card index, bank and check books, and thousands of copies of MOTHER EARTH and THE BLAST, held up by the Post Office. THE BLAST, which was solemnly pronounced by the newspapers "one of the vilest things ever sent through the United States mails," contained, in addition to Berkman's writings, quotations from Victor Hugo and Edward Carpenter, and articles written by Leonard Abbott and Robert Minor.

After the police had rifled the contents of both offices, the three prisoners were taken down to the street and rushed in automobiles to the Federal Building. They were joined by their attorney, Harry Weinberger. There was no opportunity for arraignment that evening, and the prisoners were locked up in The Tombs.

THE ARRAIGNMENT

On the morning of June 16, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were brought before United States Commissioner Hitchcock. Assistant United States District Attorney Harold A. Content appeared as prosecutor. "These two Anarchists," he said, "are the leading spirits in this country in a countrywide conspiracy to spread anti-registration propaganda." Mr. Weinberger, attorney for the defendants, made a motion for dismissal on the ground that advising anybody not to register is not a violation of law. "Failing to register, no doubt, is a crime," said Weinberger, "but telling people not to do so is certainly not a violation of the law." The Commissioner is old and gray; he looked like a relic of the Dark Ages. He held the prisoners in $25,000 bail each. Weinberger protested against the bail as excessive, but was not able to change the decision. Later, when Weinberger and Leonard Abbott approached Marshal McCarthy and when Abbott protested against the holding of the young man Bales without warrant or charge, the Marshal became violently abu-

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sive and ordered the ejection of Abbott from the Federal Building.

The Grand Jury Indicts

The prisoners were held in the Tombs practically incommunicado; it was only with the greatest difficulty that they were able to communicate with any of their friends. Gross unfairness was shown in the matter of the bail. When more than enough property was offered to cover the necessary sum, it was refused by Attorney Content on the ground of petty technicalities. Many friends offered money. By June 21, Emma Goldman was free. Four days later, Berkman was released. In the meantime, the Federal Grand Jury had framed a formal indictment.

Opening of the Trial

The trial began before Judge Mayer on June 27. Judge Mayer is a German, and he has the Prussian type of face. It occurred to more than one spectator that the defendants, charged with the "crime" of fighting Prussianism in America, were being tried before a Prussian judge. They announced, at the outset, that they had decided to conduct their own cases. They made it clear that this decision was not in any way to be construed as a reflection upon their lawyer. Mr. Weinberger, indeed, had consecrated himself to this case with conspicuous idealism, and was still giving advice and suggestions. But they had decided that, as Anarchists, it would be more consistent to go into court without a lawyer.

The defendants asked for a postponement on the ground that they had so recently been released from prison that they had had no opportunity to summon witnesses and to familiarize themselves with their case. They also asked for a postponement on the ground of Berkman's physical condition. He had sprained his leg, prior to his arrest, and appeared in court on crutches. Both of these requests were denied by the Judge. He insisted upon an immediate trial. Emma Goldman and Berkman were at first so incensed by the injustice of this decision that they declined to take part in the proceedings. The trial, as Emma Goldman put it, was a farce. Later, however, the defendants consented to examine the talesmen.

For three days the examination proceeded. It is certain that never before in a court of "justice" had there been such a questioning of talesmen, and it is to be hoped that some of those who listened, or answered, learned something about *real* justice and social ideals. Alexander Berkman, who took the lead in the questioning, created an atmosphere that was libertarian and anti-militarist. Among the questions asked were:

"Do you believe in free speech?"

"Do you believe in the right to criticize laws?"

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"Do you believe that the majority in a community is necessarily right?"

"Would you be biased against the defendants because they had been active in the labor movement?"

"Would you be biased because they had fought conscription?"

"Do you feel that you would be unable to render a just verdict because the defendants are anti-militarists, or Anarchists?"

"Do you know what Socialism and Anarchism mean?"

"Have you read any Socialist or Anarchist books?"

"Have you attended any Socialist or Anarchist meetings?"

Incidentally, Emma Goldman and Berkman managed to convey a great deal of information bearing on the libertarian struggle in many countries. Robert Emmet was mentioned, and George Washington. The birth control movement came in for discussion.

The court-room was packed with friends of the prosecution, but many friends of the defendants were excluded. Some were roughly handled. June 27, it happened, was Emma Goldman's birthday, and, during the lunch hour, some comrades presented her with a bouquet of red roses.

On June 29, just as the jury was selected, a number of telegrams were received by the defendants from their friends, among them the following from Charles Erskine Scott Wood, of Portland, Oregon. Mr. Wood is a Single-Taxer, poet and art connoisseur, and was at one time colonel in the United States army.

"I have wired the judge and attorney general and prosecuting attorney, and please say to Emma I can be quoted as believing with her that conscription utterly belies democracy, and punishment for criticising the government marks an autocracy in spirit, no matter what the form. Thousands here share this view."

The Case of the Prosecution

On Monday morning, July 2, Prosecutor Content opened his case. He said he would show that the two defendants, whom he characterized as "disturbers of law and order," had both tried in their writings and in their public addresses to influence the ignorant amongst the men of military age not to register. The first witness that he put on the stand was Miss Fitzgerald. He questioned her regarding the No-Conscription League and the "profits" of The Blast. She answered him that she and her colleagues had worked for the sake of principle and not for profits. Mr. Content went to the trouble of presenting newspaper reporters, printers, binders, etc., to testify as to the contents, printing and binding of Mother

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EARTH, THE BLAST and No-Conscription literature; but all this, as the defendants pointed out, was superfluous. They admitted the authorship of the writings which were the basis of the Government's case. Berkman looked the student, the intellectual, with his black-rimmed eye-glasses. Emma Goldman was constantly on her feet, parrying unfair questions, elucidating doubtful points.

One of the witnesses that Mr. Content put on the stand was a police stenographer who testified that in her speech at Harlem River Casino on May 18, Emma Goldman used the words, "We believe in violence, and we will use violence." But Emma Goldman denied ever having used any such words, and she was able to call many witnesses who corroborated her statement. This led to lengthy discussion of the entire question of violence and of violent methods as a means of advancing Anarchist propaganda. Emma Goldman and Berkman read to the jury extracts from articles on this subject, appearing in MOTHER EARTH. The stenographer who reported the Harlem River Casino meeting was shown to be untrustworthy. Another stenographer testified, incidentally, that Emma Goldman was the best speaker he had ever heard. The proprietor of the Harlem River Casino, called by the prosecution, gave testimony favorable to the defendants. He said that the meeting of May 18 had been perfectly orderly, in spite of the fact that a group of soldiers, carrying a flag, had tried to make trouble. A Sergeant of the Coast Guard, appearing on the witness-stand in uniform, confirmed this testimony.

During the examination of several of these witnesses, a military band was playing beneath the open windows, and patriotic speeches, punctuated by applause, could be heard. In the street below, a recruiting station had been established. By a curious irony of fate, militarism and anti-militarism, each in its most dramatic phase, had been set in juxtaposition.

BERKMAN OUTLINES THE CASE OF THE DEFENDANTS

Alexander Berkman, when he came to present to the jury the line of argument on which he proposed to build his case, said in substance: "We admit that we are opposed to militarism and to conscription. We have been carrying on an anti-militarist propaganda for twenty-five or thirty years. But we did not conspire, and we did not advise people not to register. The No-Conscription League refused to commit itself to a policy of definitely advising young men not to register. We decided to leave the matter to the conscience of each individual." All this was substantiated by the testimony of a conscientious objector who declared that he had gone to the office of the League for definite counsel and had been unable to get such counsel. It was further confirmed by a letter of Emma Goldman, referred to by Miss Fitzgerald. In

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this letter Miss Goldman said that so long as she was not in danger of arrest under the registration law, she would not advise young men not to register; she added that, as a matter of principle, she would not tell a man to do a thing or not to do a thing, "because if I would have to tell him what to do, he would have no strength of character and courage to stand by what he is doing." The position of Emma Goldman and of others connected with the League was: "Each man must decide the issue for himself. As a conscientious objector, he has to decide for himself." Anna Sloan, Helen Boardman, Rebecca Shelly and Minna Lederman all testified that they had never heard Miss Goldman urge violence or non-registration.

The Mysterious $3,000

When the offices of the No-Conscription League were raided by the police, a newspaper published an account of a mysterious bank deposit of $3,000. It was hinted that the money had come from pro-German sources. On July 5, James Hallbeck, eighty years old a[illegible] native of Sweden, testified that he had given Emma Goldman a check for $3,000 as a contribution to her work. So the "pro-German" bubble was pricked.

Reed, Steffens, Hall

John Reed and Lincoln Steffens, magazine writers, testified that they had known Emma Goldman and Berkman for many years, and that they did not regard either as "violent." Bolton Hall, Single-Taxer and writer, said that he was a member of the Free Speech League. Asked by the Judge what the principles of the League are, he said:

"It believes in activities tending to promote liberty, and particularly free speech. We have long fought for free speech. We do not believe in putting any restraint on it. We hold that limiting free expression of opinion is the best way to foster insurrection. We are never afraid to listen to any expression, even if we believe it wrong, but we have decided that the individual must bear the consequences for anything he utters."

"Does that mean that you permit free speech even when it is opposed to law?" queried Judge Mayer.

"We believe the constitutional guarantee of free speech makes free speech of every kind permissible," said Hall.

"In other words, the League permits free speech though it may be contrary to existing statutes," the Judge again asked.

"I think that is free speech," Hall retorted.

Hall asserted he had always known Emma Goldman believed in educational work, and in benefiting people through educational activities. He said he had never known her to advocate violence, or to deny any principle which she preached.

Leonard D. Abbott Testifies

Leonard Abbott, Chairman of the Ferrer Association and President of the Free Speech League, was sure that Emma

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Goldman had not urged violence at the Harlem River Casino meeting. He said that he had expected she would take a more extreme attitude than she did take. Questioned by Berkman in relation to the educational work of the Ferrer Association, in which both Emma Goldman and Berkman had had a share, Abbott spoke at some length of the Children's School in Stelton, New Jersey, created as a memorial to the Spanish martyr, Francisco Ferrer.

"Does the Ferrer School teach children to disobey the laws of the country?" Mr. Abbott was asked.

"It teaches them," he replied, "to criticise all laws and to prepare themselves for a Free Society."

"When you speak of criticising laws, do you include the laws of this Government?" Judge Mayer asked the witness.

"Yes," was the reply.

"Why was Francisco Ferrer executed by the Spanish Government?" the Judge asked the witness.

"He was executed because he loved liberty and human rights," said Abbott.

"Wasn't he executed upon false testimony?" asked Miss Goldman, springing to her feet.

"Yes," was the reply.

Martial Music Gives Color to the Trial

Revolutionary and patriotic music clashed toward the end of the trial. At one moment the clear strains of the Marseillaise floated in through the open windows from bands accompanying the Russian Commission, which was marching past City Hall with its streaming red banners. This happened just as Miss Goldman read from her writings passages to the effect that war was only in the interests of the working class when it aimed at the overthrow of the capitalist system. When she read her "New Declaration of Independence," setting forth the right of the masses to overthrow a tyrannous and iniquitous government, the band suddenly burst forth with the "Marche Militaire," France's new song of revolution and freedom.

Twice the bands played "The Star-Spangled Banner." Everybody was ordered to rise. The first time, a young girl refused to do so, and was ejected by court attendants. The second time Stephen Kerr and another man were led from the room for refusal to stand, whereupon the Judge said: "Any man who refuses to stand will be taken from the room, and will not be permitted to come back." Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman remained seated.

Closing Scenes of the Trial

The trial occupied eight days and came to an end on Monday, July 9. Alexander Berkman spoke for two hours. Emma Goldman then spoke for something over an hour. Mr. Con-

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tent summed up for the Government in a speech not quite an hour long.

The Verdict of the Jury

After listening to the speeches, the members of the jury filed out of the court-room. They deliberated for thirty-nine minutes. It was late in the afternoon. Judge Mayer came into the court-room at 6 o'clock. The Clerk called the roll of the jury, and then turned to Frank M. White, the foreman, and asked him if a verdict had been agreed upon. Mr. White replied that the jury had agreed.

"What is your verdict?" the Clerk asked.

"Guilty," the foreman replied, in a voice that could be heard in the corridors.

Emma Goldman was immediately on her feet.

"I move," she said, "that this verdict be set aside as absolutely contrary to the evidence."

"Denied," replied Judge Mayer.

"I then ask that sentence be deferred for a few days, and that bail be continued in the sum already fixed in our case," Miss Goldman added.

"Motion denied," said the Judge.

The clerk then took the pedigrees of the defendants. Berkman said he was born in Petrograd about forty-seven years ago, that he was single, and not a citizen of the United States. Miss Goldman said she was born in Kovno, Russia, in 1869, was single, and that she was not a citizen by application, although, she added, her father had died an American citizen.

The Prisoners Sentenced

Judge Mayer announced that he was about to impose sentence and asked the defendants if they knew of any reason why sentence should be deferred.

"I think it only fair to suspend sentence and give us a chance to clear up our affairs," Berkman said. "We have been convicted simply because we are Anarchists, and the proceeding has been very unjust." Emma Goldman also protested against the way in which they were being railroaded to prison.

Then came the sentence. Judge Mayer stood, while the defendants remained seated.

"In the conduct of this case," said Judge Mayer, "the defendants have shown remarkable ability, an ability which might have been utilized for the great benefit of this country had they seen fit to employ themselves in behalf of this country rather than against it. In this country of ours, we regard as enemies those who advocate the abolition of our Government, and those who counsel disobedience of our laws by those of minds less strong. American liberty was won by the forefathers, it was maintained by the civil war, and to-day there are the thousands who have already gone, or are getting ready

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for liberty. For such people as these, who would destroy our Government and nullify its laws, we have no place in our country. In the United States law is an imperishable thing, and in a case such as this I can but inflict the maximum sentence which is permitted by our laws."

The Judge imposed a penalty of two years in prison, with a fine of $10,000 in each case. He instructed Mr. Content to communicate the record of the conviction to the immigration authorities for such action as those authorities might see fit to take when the prisoners had served their terms, Under a new Federal law an alien, twice convicted of a crime, may be deported by the Government to the country from whence he came.

As the Judge finished pronouncing sentence, he declared the court adjourned and started to leave the bench. Emma Goldman at once arose.

"One moment, please." Judge Mayer turned and faced her.

"Are we to be spirited away in a speedy manner? If so, we want to know now, right now," she said.

"You have ninety days in which to file an appeal," replied the Judge.

"Well, how about the next hour or so?" Miss Goldman demanded.

"The prisoners are in the custody of the United States Marshal," Judge Mayer answered, and for the second time he started to leave the room.

"One more word," Miss Goldman said, "I want to thank your Honor for refusing us the two days which are given even to the most heinous of criminals."

Rushed to Prison

The prisoners were spirited away, by midnight trains and with indecent haste. Emma Goldman was taken to Jefferson City, Mo.; Alexander Berkman to Atlanta, Ga.

The vindictive sentences inflicted upon them and the injustice of the entire trial can only have the effect of strengthening the libertarian and Anarchist movement in America.

Their imprisonment is likely to accomplish even more for the no-conscription movement and for anti-militarism than their agitation. The very fact that they are behind the bars ought to make clear to even the dullest mind that the Prussianism that America has set out to combat, by force of arms, is already enthroned in this country.

The crime of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman was that they fought for liberty.

Their heroism consists in their willingness to make what even the militarists admit is the supreme sacrifice—the sacrifice of their own bodies and of their own freedom.

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It is marvelous to think that Alexander Berkman, after serving fourteen years in a Pennsylvania prison with spirit unbroken, is still willing to go to jail again in behalf of the liberties of the people.

The example of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman is inspiring, and will serve as a beacon light for many a year to come.

LEONARD D. ABBOTT

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OPENING SESSION

PROSECUTOR H. A. CONTENT: Where is your attorney, Mr. Weinberger?

ALEXANDER BERKMAN: We will conduct our own case. I move an adjournment on the following grounds: We have had absolutely no chance to familiarize ourselves with the case, or with the charges brought by the prosecution against us. We have been unable to see or to subpoena witnesses, many of them being out of town. We have been released from jail only a very short time ago, owing to the fact that it was most difficult to secure for the defendant Emma Goldman the excessive $25,000 cash bail demanded by the District Attorney; owing, further, to the fact that the prosecution placed many obstacles in the way of releasing the defendant Alexander Berkman on bail. Emma Goldman has been out only since Thursday evening. Every moment of her time until Monday night was devoted to securing bail for the defendant Alexander Berkman. As a result of this we have had no time for a consultation, nor any opportunity to familiarize ourselves with the indictment. For these reasons we ask for a reasonable adjournment to prepare our defense.

MR. CONTENT: Your Honor will understand that whereas it is always the defendant's right to defend himself or herself, on the other hand up until this moment Mr. Weinberger was the attorney of record. This is a form of indictment Mr. Wienberger ought to know and knows. He was furnished with a copy of the indictment the day it was filed. He has had ample opportunity to look it over, and it is not very different from other indictments in which he has been counsel.

EMMA GOLDMAN: I wish to state it is not true, as claimed by Mr. Content, that Mr. Weinberger has charge of our case. He is not in charge of our case, not because he would not have been willing or glad to appear, but because we decided to conduct our own case. We wish to conduct our own case, and we feel we ought to have a reasonable adjournment to prepare our defense. We are asking for a reasonable adjournment.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN: I should like to add to the reasons given by Miss Goldman that I have been out of jail only since Monday evening. Today is Wednesday morning. It was a physical impossibility for me to do anything to become familiar with the indictment, look up witnesses, or to give the matter much thought. I was held twelve days in jail, suffering great pain because of the accident to my foot, and I am now physically and mentally not in a condition to go ahead with the trial.

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THE COURT: When this case first came up, I stated that the case would proceed today. The statute of May 18, 1917, provides that violations thereof shall have precedence on the criminal docket. That is the mandate of Congress, approved by the President of the United States. You have concluded to conduct your own case, which is your absolute right; and every effort will be made to give you the fullest opportunity to conduct your own case in accordance with law. But I deem it my duty to deny the motion, and the case will proceed.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN: May I say something with regard to the Act under which we are indicted? I am not familiar with it, but I take it that that statute does not intend to deprive us of the opportunity to prepare our case.

THE COURT: I have ruled, Mr. Berkman.

EMMA GOLDMAN: May I also say, your Honor, that I presume that it is not the intention of the Court to persecute us – that as long as we are not familiar with the indictment or with the various phases of the law, have we not the right to ask you to reconsider your denial of the motion, and grant us a reasonable adjournment for the purpose of familiarizing ourselves with the indictment and preparing an adequate defense? That is a thing which was granted prisoners even in Russia under the Czar. Surely we ought to have this right in the United States.

The Court again denies the motion for adjournment, and jury is called.

MR. CONTENT: Do you want to examine the jurors?

EMMA GOLDMAN: I don't wish to participate in this farce.

MR. CONTENT: Then you don't want to examine any jurors?

EMMA GOLDMAN: No, I don't.

MR. CONTENT: Mr. Berkman, do you desire to examine any of the jurors in this proceeding?

ALEXANDER BERKMAN: I should like to find out first how we are going to be tried, since we are not prepared. I have stated that I got out of jail Monday, five o'clock in the evening. *I am out of prison only one day*, and it was humanly impossible to get ready. I have not even read the indictment yet.

THE COURT: I have answered all that. I have ruled that you have had plenty of time.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN: But I have not had.

THE COURT: I have so ruled and you have an exception, and you say you will conduct your case, each of you.

EMMA GOLDMAN: Since we realize that the trial will

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be a still greater farce if we allow ourselves to be tried without an examination, we will examine the jurors *under protest.* We want it to go into the record that we protest against any procedure which makes it impossible for the defendants to study their case, or familiarize themselves with certain technicalities which we, as lay people, certainly cannot do in forty-eight hours or even in three or four days. We will examine the jurors under protest.

Examination of the jury was carried on under the greatest difficulty, the District Attorney and the Judge constantly interfering. The Judge and District Attorney took it upon themselves to instruct the jurymen to answer that they "would not be prejudiced against the defendants if their activities were within the law."

Motion for Dismissal

ALEXANDER BERKMAN: The defense wants to make a motion for dismissal on several grounds.

THE COURT: I made that motion for you at the beginning of the case. Before Mr. Content opens you may make the motion if you want to.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN: We move to dismiss the indictment for the following reasons:

(1) It does not charge any crime.

(2) The conscription law is unconstitutional because it involves involuntary servitude in the army, in the navy and in industrial and agricultural service.

(3) The conscription law violates the moral, ethical and religious beliefs of the people of the United States.

(4) The conscription law violates the conscience of the people who are opposed to war on the ground that human life is sacred.

(5) The conscription law is highly immoral and prejudicial to the best interests of the country, because it is not to the best interests of the country to force people to act contrary to their judgment and their conscience.

(6) The United States has not been invaded, nor is it in danger of invasion; it is not in a condition of rebellion, and therefore the law is not of a defensive but of an offensive character.

(7) It is not just to force an American citizen to die on foreign soil against his will, and thus deprive him of the opportunity to die in his own native country.

For all these reasons we ask that the case and the indictment be dismissed.

THE COURT: Motion denied. You may reserve an exception.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN: Exception taken.

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Introductory Address by the Prosecutor

GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY: If my recollection serves me correctly, at the time you were examined as talesmen on your qualification as prospective jurors, practically everyone of you, gentlemen of the jury, assented to the statement that you had, at some time or other, served on a jury; so that you doubtless know the purpose of an opening statement in a case of this sort. It is not in any way to furnish evidence. The evidence will come from the mouths of the witnesses and the documents that will be offered for your inspection. But it is only proper in order that you may be assisted in knowing what the witnesses are talking about, that you should know the nature of the charge, and in a brief and concise way what the Government expects to submit to your consideration, that you may later decide the issue of facts submitted to you by the Court.

The general conspiracy section of the United States laws, Sec. 37 of the Criminal Code, in plain English is this: When two or more conspire to commit any offense against the United States and one or more of such persons does any act toward the accomplishment of the conspiracy—what we call an overt or outward act—then the act is complete and that is a conspiracy. Conspiracy simply means two or more persons acting in an unlawful agreement; that is to say, a conspiracy is two or more persons acting in concert in an unlawful plan, either to accomplish something lawful by unlawful means, or to accomplish something unlawful by lawful or unlawful means. If any one of the persons does any act looking toward the accomplishment of the conspiracy, whether he finally succeeds or not, the crime is complete by the commission of the so-called "overt act."

The selective draft law was passed on May 18th, 1917, and on the same day the President duly affixed his signature to a proclamation fixing June 5th, 1917, between the hours of 7 A. M. and 7 P. M., as the date on which people should register as provided by Section 5 of that law. This is section 5 of that law: That all persons between the ages of 21 and 30, both inclusive, are subject to registration except officials and members of the regular army, the navy, the national guard while in the active service of the United States. In other words, all male persons, whether they are citizens or declarants, or aliens, between those ages, are required by that act to register. Some of them may not be subject to draft. For example, a man born in Germany who has taken out his first papers but has not yet completed his citizenship, under the law could not be drafted; but at any rate he must register, because he is a male person between the ages of 21 and 30, both inclusive, and is not a member of the exempt classes.

In addition to that, Section 332 of the U. S. Criminal

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Code says that anyone who directly commits an act or who aids, abets, counsels, commands, induces or procures its commission is a principal. So that you will see at a glance that if you go out and kill a man you are a principal, you have committed the act directly. On the other hand, if you committed that pursuant to my persuasion or inducement or assistance I am an aider, or an abettor, what was formerly known at common law as an accessory before the fact. And by this statute he, too, is made a principal. So that the man procuring the killing is just as guilty in the eyes of our law as the man who fired the shot. So that the indictment in this case charges the two defendants Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, and a lot of other people whose names are unknown to the grand jurors, entered into an unlawful agreement or conspiracy that a lot of people of conscriptable age, other than those exempted by reason of service in the army, should willfully disobey the sections of the Act requiring them to register, and that the conspiracy further required that these people and the unknown people should aid and abet and assist and counsel and advise, and assist persons to willfully disobey the command to register—though the law provides that it is the duty of everybody to register, all male persons in the United States other than members of the army, etc., to register in the precincts where they shall have their permanent abode. Whether or not the conspiracy was accomplished makes no difference; but the Government will prove to your ample satisfaction that these persons were component parts of an unlawful conspiracy of two or more persons to induce people of conscriptable age liable to register to disobey the law passed by Congress, signed by the President, and in the pursuance of which law the President of the United States duly issued his proclamation; and to accomplish that conspirative act the indictment charges that on the 18th day of May, on the very eve of the day when the President affixed his signature to the bill, this defendant Emma Goldman, at the Harlem River Park Casino, in the City of New York, delivered an address which was an overt or outward act looking to the accomplishment of their unlawful designs.

Further, to accomplish the object of the conspiracy, that the defendant Alexander Berkman on the 1st day of June, in New York City, published or caused to be published a magazine known as THE BLAST, about which some of you were questioned by Mr. Berkman. The magazine itself, the June issue, will be offered in evidence. That on or about the 2nd day of June, a companion magazine known as MOTHER EARTH, or a copy thereof, was handed by Miss Goldman to an *Herald* reporter by the name of Haggerty, who will be called as a witness before you. That further to accomplish the object of the conspiracy on the 4th day of June, on the eve of the registra-

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tion, these two defendants, in the Hunts' Point Casino, in the Borough of the Bronx, New York City, both delivered addresses, outward acts looking toward the accomplishment of their unlawful designs and plans.

That, gentlemen, is in brief a statement of the Government's case. So that the Government will prove to your satisfaction that at 20 East 125th St., New York City, each of them ran a publication there, Berkman's known as THE BLAST, Miss Goldman's as MOTHER EARTH; that both published a June number which we claim is highly offensive to law and order, and which we claim further was directly published for the purpose of procuring people willfully to set themselves above the provisions of the Draft Act of May 18th. We will show that these two people were at all times in active unison and accord; that they sent out through the mails and otherwise literature tending to the result of resisting by every means in their power the laws of the United States duly enacted by the representatives of the people.

The Government will prove further that these people at public meetings have done their very best to inflame the populace to such an extent that it will defy the laws of the United States in every particular; that all these acts together constitute not only a conspiracy but a violent attempt made by these two disturbers of law and order to induce people wilfully to refuse to register, although the Congress of the United States have decreed that people must register as provided in that act of May 18th, 1917.

There is no occasion for further comment at this time. The facts will speak for themselves. The articles and the speeches made by the defendants will speak for themselves. But bear in mind, gentlemen, at all times, that the charge is this: That these two people were in an unlawful agreement that certain people should wilfully refuse to register, that they should assist in every way and counsel and induce people of conscriptable age in every way wilfully to fail and refuse to register in defiance of the laws of the United States, and to further their unlawful designs they committed many outward acts tending toward the breach of the peace and tending toward the accomplishment of their wicked design.

THE COURT: Before the examination of witnesses is begun, the program will be this: As to any particular witness produced by the Government, one of the defendants only will offer any objections. That objection will be noted on behalf of both defendants. If the Court rules against the defendants, the defendants from now on will be required to take an exception. But an exception taken by one will be for the benefit of both. So that, for instance, witness number one would be objected to by the defendant Berkman or Goldman, whichever

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they may chose; witness number two the other defendant. But there would not be objections by both defendants at the same time, which would only tend to confusion. The other method that I have suggested, and which I have the discretion to require, will safeguard the rights of both defendants, because both the objection and the exception, if such there be, will be for the benefit of both defendants. Now you may call your first witness.

The prosecution proceeds to present the case of the Government through its witnesses.

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ALEXANDER BERKMAN

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Alexander Berkman's Introductory Address

After the witnesses for the prosecution had testified, the defense opened its case with the following address by Alexander Berkman.

GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY:

The facts in this case are very simple. It is not a question of printers' bills; it is not a question of rent bills or of deliveries by this or that expressman. The only question at issue here is: Did the defendants conspire to urge people not to register? Before I briefly state what the defense will prove, may I be permitted to make a few remarks with regard to the fact that Miss Goldman and myself are conducting our own case. I merely want to explain our reasons since, so far, our reasons have not been brought out. I want to state right now that Mr. Harry Weinberger is a personal friend of ours, and in justice to him I wish to say that there has been no misunderstanding whatever between Mr. Weinberger and the defendants. We are the best of friends. Mr. Weinberger was our attorney only in the matter of bail; and when the matter of bail was settled, Mr. Weinberger ceased to be our attorney in that connection. Of course, we consult Mr. Weinberger on various questions. But it is a matter of principle on the part of Miss Goldman and myself to defend, or rather to conduct, our own case. As a matter of principle we do not believe in being represented by legal talent at our trial. We believe in explaining things to the jury ourselves. And we believe that it is just and fair to have the jury get some idea about the defendants from their own appearance, from their own expressions of opinion and views. That is all I want to say on this point.

I have stated that the only question involved in this case is whether the defendants conspired to advise people not to register or to urge people not to register. I believe that the Government has absolutely, in fact ridiculously, failed to prove its case. It was brought out here during the examination of the jurymen that the Government must prove its case beyond a reasonable doubt. It seems to me that the Government has not even begun to prove its case that there was a conspiracy between Miss Goldman and myself to urge people not to register. But we, the defendants, take this opportunity to state clearly and frankly to you, gentlemen of the jury, that we are opposed to conscription. I do this so that, during this trial, you may be able to see for yourselves that the defendants are sincere and frank; that they will tell you the truth as to what they do believe and what they do not believe. We will prove that the defendants have throughout their lives always stood up for

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the things they believe in, no matter whether the majority opinion was against them. And similarly in this case, as in all our past, we mean to acknowledge frankly what we believe, and to be as frank in stating what we do not believe. We will frankly admit what we said at mass meetings and what we wrote in various magazines, but we will just as frankly deny anything we did not say on the platform or in print. We will deny anything put in our mouths by any one, contrary to our wishes or opinions. In short, we will hold ourselves to the facts.

We declare emphatically that we are opposed to conscription, and that we have been opposed to conscription for twenty years or more. We go further: we are and have been opposed to every form of militarism and war. But we deny absolutely that either of the defendants ever told any one not to register. We deny that we were in a conspiracy to advise or to urge people not to register. We will prove to you, gentlemen of the jury, beyond any reasonable doubt that the No-Conscription League, of which these defendants are members, consistently refused to advise people to register or not to register. We will prove to your complete satisfaction that the No-Conscription League took a positive decision, at one of its meetings, to give no advice in this matter, but to leave it to the judgment of each individual to decide for himself.

We will further prove to you that the alleged overt acts charged against us in this indictment were the normal expression of the opinions and activities to which the defendants have been devoted for the last twenty-five or thirty years. We will prove that they were the continuation of an agitation carried on by these defendants against conscription, militarism, and against war, during more than twenty years, and not a matter of any recent happening. We will prove to you that for many years the identical views have been expressed by us against war and in opposition to the forcing of human beings to do anything against their will. We will prove further that the overt acts charged against us were not overt acts at all, but the legitimate expression of independent and fearless opinion.

We will further prove to you that the defendants Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman have been friends and comrades for many years. That they worked along similar lines of activity, but that they were independent thinkers, and that their activities were always independent: that they used independent methods, and independent platforms, though it often happened that they spoke on the same platform, and published articles in the same magazines. We will also prove to you that the monthly magazine MOTHER EARTH, published and edited by Emma Goldman, always was and is now an entirely separate and independent publication from the labor paper

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published in San Francisco by Alexander Berkman and known as THE BLAST. We will prove that MOTHER EARTH has existed for twelve years and that it has consistently followed the same policy against war and in favor of universal peace. We will show that THE BLAST was started about a year and a half ago, four thousand miles from MOTHER EARTH, in San Francisco, as a result of special labor conditions on the Coast; that it had absolutely no connection with MOTHER EARTH, and that the circumstance that the last two issues of THE BLAST were published in New York has also no bearing whatever on MOTHER EARTH, but is due to the fact that I had special business in New York in behalf of certain labor unions, and that my stay in New York was unexpectedly protracted and that I therefore decided to publish a few issues of the paper in this city. We will prove that the mere fact that MOTHER EARTH and THE BLAST and a number of other magazines, for that matter—happened to hold similar ideas on some subjects, does not in any way constitute either an overt act or a conspiracy, but that, as a matter of fact, there is absolutely no reason to assume that there is any conspiracy involved.

We will also prove to you, gentlemen of the jury, and to your entire satisfaction, that the consensus of intelligent opinion in this country, the opinion of leading writers, of public speakers and statesmen, is that registration and conscription are two distinct things, two separate conceptions; indeed, two different issues. In fact, we will prove by intelligent and reliable witnesses that many people believe in registration but are opposed to conscription, on the ground that registration and conscription are different issues.

And finally we will prove to you, gentlemen of the jury, that at no time and at no place did these defendants, or either of them, urge people not to register. In fact, we will submit documents to prove that one of these defendants wrote a special letter to tell the members of the No-Conscription League that she is entirely opposed to advising anyone not to register. We will submit documents to prove that at no time, at no place—neither in our publications, on the platform, nor anywhere else—did these defendants, or either of them, advise or urge people not to register.

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE DEFENSE

After Alexander Berkman delivered his introductory address to the jury, the defense called its witnesses.

The prejudice and venom on the part of the Court and the Prosecution against Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman was demonstrated from the very beginning. It reached its climax in the brutal treatment of the friends of the defendants who came to attend the trial. While the court room was packed

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with friends of the Judge, Prosecuting Attorney and Marshal McCarthy, the friends of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman were shoved about and insulted and on numerous occasions almost kicked down the stairs. It was under only the greatest difficulty that a few friends of the defendants could be passed through the Cossacks at the door of the American Court. On one occasion Emma Goldman had to call upon Judge Mayer for reasons why the friends of the two defendants were thus treated.

EMMA GOLDMAN: Your Honor, is there any special reason why the friends of the defense are kept out, as long as there is room in the court?

THE COURT: The control of the courtroom in such matters is entirely in the hands of the United States marshal. I assume that he is exercising his discretion appropriately.

EMMA GOLDMAN: We certainly protest against the discrimination.

THE COURT: The court has no knowledge of discrimination. How much time do you desire?

ALEXANDER BERKMAN: I think the defense will require about three hours altogether. Maybe less.

THE COURT: Well, endeavor to finish the defense's summing-up by 1:15 if possible.

Address by Alexander Berkman

GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY:

It is for the first time that I rise to address a jury.* It was a new experience for Miss Goldman and myself to examine the talesmen, and it is a new experience to conduct a trial without the presence of counsel. It is more than probable and quite natural that we did not follow the usual procedure. It is also very likely that we have neglected many points and circumstances which a trained lawyer would have used in behalf of the defense. But, as indicated in our introductory statement, it is a matter of principle on our part to dispense with counsel and to address the jury face to face, thus to enable the jury to judge for themselves as to the quality and the character and motives of the defendants. No doubt we could have had the services of brilliant lawyers, and I am sure that even the best legal talent of the country could have been at our disposal. We believe that the fact that we have dispensed with lawyers is to a considerable extent to our detriment. But for the sake

*At his trial in Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1892, in connection with the historic steelworkers' strike at Homestead, Alexander Berkman refused to be represented by counsel or in any way to participate in the judicial farce. He contented himself merely with reading a statement, setting forth his social views and explaining the motive and purpose of his act.

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of the opportunity to speak to you, as I have indicated, face to face, we are willing to take that disadvantage, because after all, to stand up for our principles in the expression of our ideas for ourselves is more important, more vital to us than the mere question of liberty or even of life.

Gentlemen, if in the examination of the talesmen we have perhaps asked inappropriate questions, or if in the excitement of the unusual experience we have been guilty of some discourtesy, we wish now to express to you our deepest regret and apology. I am sure that you will not hold our inexperience against us.

And now to the case. The charge against us, as you know from the indictment, is that we conspired to advise and to urge men of conscriptable age not to register. Remember, gentlemen, the indictment is in regard to a conspiracy to urge people not to *register*. If you look through the indictment you will not find a single word about *conscription*. I want you, gentlemen, to bear it in mind that the indictment sets forth a conspiracy and overt acts alleged to be connected, in order to induce young men not to register. The question now is, Did the prosecution prove the alleged conspiracy? Did the prosecution prove that we urged people not to register? Did it prove any overt acts in furtherance of that alleged conspiracy? Did it even attempt to prove or to demonstrate that we are guilty as charged? O, no. The prosecution felt its case so weak that it had to drag in a thousand and one issues that have nothing to do with the present charge. It had to drag in the question of Anarchism, of violence, of the Ferrer Modern School, of mass meetings held three years ago, under special circumstances, of protest meetings held in this city about four years ago with regard to the Colorado miners' strike, of protest meetings held in connection with the Rockefeller treatment of the Ludlow miners. It had to drag in a thousand and one questions that have as much relation to this case as a lion is related to a jackass.

Why were those irrelevant issues dragged in by the prosecution? Was it not because the prosecution sought to obscure the issue in this case? Was it not because the prosecution hoped to prejudice you, jurymen, perhaps to frighten you, if that were possible, in order to set you up against the defendants, because there is no evidence whatever to prove the charges of this indictment? The prosecution, so far as these defendants are concerned, is perfectly welcome to its professional subterfuges to becloud the issue before you. We don't evade any issue. But the bare fact that the prosecution is compelled to resort to such doubtful tactics ought to be sufficient for any intelligent man to realize that there is absolutely no foundation for this charge, and that we stand here indicted for a charge never mentioned in the indictment itself. *We*

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stand here accused of being Anarchists. A vain accusation! We *are* Anarchists, and I for one am proud of being an Anarchist, and I am sure I may say the same for my co-defendant Emma Goldman.

You have heard a good deal here about Anarchism and about violence and similar matters unrelated to this indictment. Now, once for all, what is all this talk about violence in relation to Anarchism? I think it is time to explain and to make this matter clear. I am tired of hearing Anarchism confused with violence, the explanation of a thing confused with the cause of the thing. I am tired of all that, and am glad of the opportunity—whatever it may cost—to speak to you, gentlemen, and to tell you just what Anarchism is to Anarchists,—not to the enemies of Anarchism, but what Anarchism is to us and what our position is on violence. There will be no evasion by us. Gentlemen, there is too much humbug in the alleged attitude of the average man toward violence. You speak to the average man, the unthinking man, and ask him, does he believe in violence, and he will hold up his hands in horror. "No!" he will shout. And yet you know it is the most unthinking statement an intelligent man could make. I am sure each and every one of you, gentlemen, is a law-abiding, peaceful citizen. You believe in peace rather than violence. And yet you are all concerned and involved in the present war. You all support the war, which is nothing but wholesale violence. It must, therefore, appeal to your common sense that a sweeping general statement about violence—belief in violence or disbelief in violence—is the statement of an unthinking person. We all believe in violence and we all disbelieve in violence; it all depends upon the circumstances. Under ordinary circumstances no one wants violence, no one wants bloodshed; and yet certain circumstances arise when violence seems to be necessary in order perhaps to combat greater violence, in order to combat a greater evil that may menace humanity. You all therefore, and each of you, do not believe in violence and yet you support the Government of the United States to-day, you support it in the war, a war that means the greatest possible violence. But you have your own good reasons to support this war. I personally do not believe in this war. I do not believe in any war of that character. I believe the war is merely for the purpose of furthering capitalistic interests. I believe the people have nothing to gain from this war, neither the people of Europe nor the people of America. I believe in universal peace. But I am not a pacifist. I am a fighter and all my life I have been fighting for liberty. I am not a pacifist. I want that emphasized. I believe in war under certain circumstances. I believe in fighting. But it is unfair that some remark about violence be picked out here and there, perhaps from the report of a mass meeting held three years

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ago, an expression used by people who may be dead now, for all I know—yet I am ready to stand responsible, as the then editor of the MOTHER EARTH magazine, for any expression used there. All I want is to explain, explain the meaning of such references.

Now, as to the question of violence. Gentlemen, if you know anything at all about human life, if you reflect on the progress of civilization, you will realize that there are two tendencies in human life, tendencies that have always been the foundation and the lever of all progress. Those two tendencies are: the *constructive* and the *destructive* tendency of man. The greater the intelligence, the higher the rise in the scale of development, the less necessity or justification for the destructive tendency of force and violence, and the greater the need for, and the application of, the constructive efforts of man. Take the primitive man, for instance, the cave man. He rushes out of his cave and [illegible] the female. He knocks her down with a club and drags her to his cave. He is using—whether he knows it or not—the destructive tendency of man, the spirit of violence, of force, of superiority, of authority. But sooner or later, and indeed very soon, he realizes that he and the female have mutual interests: what is good for one is also good for the other: they need each other. He ceases to use the destructive tendency upon the female—he becomes constructive. They organize the family. And one family fights another family. One family uses its destructive tendencies upon the other, tries to annihilate, destroy it by the use of superior violence and force, until the two families rise a little more in the scale of intelligence and realize that they have common interests which can be furthered better by co-operation than by strife. Then the two families combine, and you have the clan. And clan fights clan for the means of subsistence or domination, until they realize their constructive needs and possibilities, then combine and become the tribe. And tribe fights tribe, until tribe and tribe become constructive instead of destructive, become civilized, and then we have the nation. To-day, gentlemen, the nations have not yet fully risen to the constructive level. They are still destructive. As the primitive cave man fought the female, as one family fought the other, as clan fought clan, so to-day this barbarism still persists and one nation fights another nation with force and violence, with dynamite, with flying machines, with the most ingenuous inventions of the human mind, inventions which should be for the benefit of mankind, not for its destruction. But the time is coming when the nations, like the clans and tribes of the past, will develop their constructive tendencies, will realize that all humanity is kin, and that people in Russia, in Germany, in France or America have the same purpose: to live, to enjoy life and liberty and sunshine. They will learn

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that it is better to co-operate, to work together, to use mutual effort for a common good, rather than to murder and slaughter each other. The nations that are fighting to-day are still in the *destructive* stage of their development. But we, we Anarchists, have reached the *constructive* stage, and we say to the nations, as we would have said to the primitive men: combine; work together; help each other; mutual aid shall be your condition of life. We are the Internationalists, and I am sure that some day the nations will become international, in the sense that they will do away with all this internecine strife, do away with murder, slaughter, and violence. Yet you accuse *us* of violence—we who stand for the principle of universal peace? Preposterous!

Now, what is the relation of this particular point to Anarchism itself? Of course, gentlemen of the jury, you know that Anarchism is a new idea, comparatively speaking. It often takes hundreds of years to elucidate and explain and make a new idea popular, especially a new idea that runs contrary to all the accepted notions, all old prejudices, all our old superstitions. Anarchism wants to change the false values of hatred, of strife, of brother murdering brother, the false values of exploitation and robbery, of tyranny, of oppression. We want to change these false values and give humanity new values. In the words of the great, perhaps the greatest, philosopher of modern times, we want to trans-value all human values, to give them a new meaning, a new foundation, with the hope and the necessary result of a different and better society. Anarchism has been misrepresented. Naturally so. As many philosophies that are accepted to-day, had been misrepresented in the past. What is the matter with Christianity itself? You remember the early Christians in the time of the Roman Caesars, the Christians who stood for an ideal then as we stand for an ideal of brotherhood to-day. What did they do with those Christians, Mr. District Attorney? They put them in the arena to be torn by wild beasts. They crucified them on the streets of Rome, because crucifixion then was the customary method of capital punishment. And if we had crucifixion to-day, I am sure that these defendants would be crucified also. What did they do with the Hugenots, the conscientious objectors of their time? You know. They slaughtered the Hugenots by the hundreds of thousands all through France. And what did they do with Garibaldi whom the City of New York has been celebrating only a few days ago? There is his statue: What did they do with Garibaldi, the liberator of Italy from the yoke of the foreign oppressor? They put him in prison. What did they do to Mazzini and the other great liberators of Italy? They put them in prison. What did they do with Bruno who propagated a new and strange and unpopular theory? They burned Bruno at the stake. And I am

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sure that there are men to-day who would burn the modern Brunos at the stake. And a hundred years hence their descendants would build monuments to them, as you have built a monument there for Garibaldi.

We do not need to go back very far in history. What is the matter with the Russian revolutionists? Their Commission is honored by your city right now, at this very moment. I say that their Commission honors your city. The representatives of the Russian Revolution, the revolution fought against the tyranny of the Czar, the revolution whose great gospel is liberty for all, well-being for each, happiness for humanity, that revolution has to-day its representatives in your midst and you are honoring them. And who are those revolutionists? They have returned from Siberia, from the dungeons of the Peter and Paul Fortress, they have returned from Schluesselburg, from the mines of Kara, from Sakhalin, from the places where revolu[illegible] were sent by the Czar and governors of Russia for a hundred years. These rebels against tyranny, these lovers of humanity have come back from Siberia and to-day they are at the helm of the destinies of Russia. You celebrate them to-day in the persons of their representatives, and we, we are here in this courtroom, on trial—for what? For loving humanity.

I said it would be interesting to know on this occasion, especially because it is in the evidence, what relation violence has to Anarchism. You have heard the word Anarchism mentioned many times, but perhaps you have not heard what it really means. It comes from two Greek words, and very simple they are. "Arche" means power or violence. And "an", a prefix, means without. "Anarche" in Greek, Anarchy in English, which means without violence. The philosophy of Anarchism means the negation of violence, opposition to violence. The very translation of the word means absence of violence and absence of government as representing organized forms of violence. And yet this stupid man, the ignorant man opposite me, dares say Anarchism means violence, when the very meaning of the word Anarchism stands for the negation of all forms of violence and force. I have tried to call your attention, gentlemen, to the fact that Anarchism, which stands for human brotherhood, for the constructive tendencies of man, seeks an opportunity only, an opportunity to develop these tendencies of man, these constructive tendencies as against the destructive tendencies; an opportunity to develop them first, of course, by enlightening the people, by telling them what Anarchism really means, by doing away with all those misrepresentations of Anarchism which our enemies have inculcated into the minds of the people. Misrepresentations—and when was there a time when a new idea was not misrepresented? Why, some of you perhaps remember the

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Abolitionist days in this country. Did not the ordinary stupid citizen consider an Abolitionist a murderer? Why? Because those who were their enemies, those who were opposed to their ideas misrepresented the abolitionists, misrepresented the philosophy and vilified the champions of that philosophy. And what did the abolitionists want? They wanted the emancipation of the black man. To-day it is a fact. They were successful finally. We have not been successful yet. But before they were successful what happened to the greatest, to the noblest representatives of abolition? What happened to Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison who was dragged in the streets of Boston, dragged by a mob and almost lynched because he stood for a bigger conception of human love, because he stood for a greater conception of brotherhood, because he said "No country can be free when half way free and half way slave." And we, gentlemen of the jury, say the same thing to-day. No country is free, half way free and half way slave. We are in the position of Garrison and Wendell Phillips and John Brown. But we say that not only the black slave must be emancipated, but also the white wage slave of the factory. We are the *modern* Abolitionists.

But why do some people pretend that we mean only violence? When we explain what violence is, where violence comes from, and how inevitable it is that when there is violence above there will be a reaction, there will be violence below—when we *explain* these things there comes the District Attorney and says, "They *advocate* these things." If I say to you, "It looks cloudy and there is going to be a storm," will you say that I have caused the storm or that I am responsible for it? That is the logic of the District Attorney.

Gentlemen of the jury, in looking over the testimony in this case it strikes me, and I am sure it will convince any intelligent man, that the District Attorney proved only one thing, and that is that we are Anarchists. It did not need to be proven, Mr. District Attorney. We cheerfully, proudly admit that we are Anarchists, that we are opposed to all capitalist wars, that we believe in universal peace, that we believe in brotherly co-operation, in mutual aid, not only in the family and the tribe and the clan and the nation, but between all nations, between all humanity. We stand here as Anarchists, and I am proud to stand here as a believer in the highest ideal that the human mind ever conceived, the ideal of liberty and sunshine for everyone: the ideal of the rights of the child, the child who to-day works in the factories and the mills, and is exploited day after day; the rights of the woman, the equal rights of the woman in every way; the right of the man not alone to an empty political liberty, but the right of every man to the resources of life, the right of the working class to produce for the general benefit, not for the profit of this or that

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monopolist; the right of humanity to enjoy the wealth of the world. What is wealth for? Why was it produced? It was produced to enjoy, not to speculate with, not to monopolize. We demand, in other words, the emancipation of the wage slave, white or black, the factory slave, the working class, the proletariat—as we call them—the proletariat of all countries. I have no more use for the exploiter and monopolist of America than I have for the exploiter of Germany or Austria, of Italy, South America or China. The exploiter of humanity does not belong to a particular country. It is an international class. The true benefactor of mankind is also international. It is the man or the woman who works for greater liberty and well-being, the people who advocate peace, brotherhood among humanity. We, the Anarchists, stand for the emancipation of the wage slave from slavery, for the liberation of the woman and child from exploitation. We demand for every man, woman, and child the right of [illegible] opportunity to work and produce, and a chance to enjoy sunshine and happiness. That is what Anarchism means.

The District Attorney has proven that we are Anarchists, and I want you to know what we Anarchists stand for. What else has the District Attorney proven? He was to prove two things, gentlemen. He was to prove that there was a conspiracy between these defendants, a conspiracy to advise and urge conscriptable men not to register; and he was to prove that overt acts had been committed by us in pursuance of that conspiracy. Has he proven either one of these two propositions? He has not proven a single thing about either one, neither the conspiracy nor the overt act. And when I go ahead to analyze his testimony and our testimony, I think I can convince you, gentlemen, beyond a reasonable doubt that we have proven our case instead of the District Attorney proving his. You have heard here, gentlemen, that on your oaths you cannot convict unless you are absolutely certain in your own hearts and consciences that the District Attorney has proven his case beyond a reasonable doubt. But I say the defense has proven its case beyond a reasonable doubt and the District Attorney's case has not a leg to stand on. Now I will proceed to examine the evidence submitted by the District Attorney and let you see what he has proven and how he has proven it.

His case was so "strong" that he had immediately to lay his strongest proof before you by producing here a printer and a bookbinder, an expressman and a telephone man. And he actually proved, gentlemen of the jury, that MOTHER EARTH was printed at a printer's. He actually proved that THE BLAST was bound in a bindery. He proved that an expressman actually delivered packages of MOTHER EARTH to the MOTHER EARTH office. He proved that packages of THE BLAST were

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delivered to THE BLAST office. Do you think a paper is printed without a printer, without an electrotyper to make electros from the pictures and illustrations? Do you think we do not need an expressman to deliver packages? Why did the District Attorney waste your time and patience by proving these things? Because he can prove nothing else. All those things were admitted by the defense. Ridiculous even to submit such things in evidence! And lo, and behold, we get a new Sherlock Holmes upon the scene, Harold A. Content! He discovers a tremendous secret and submits it to you as his chief piece of evidence. What is that big discovery of our great detective? The No-Conscription Manifesto, the No-Conscription Manifesto that was sent out in 50,000 copies all over the country. The No-Conscription Manifesto that was read by millions of people in this country. *Some* secret! By millions of people—because practically every big paper in New York and Chicago and in all the other cities reprinted the manifesto, some in whole, some in excerpts. Millions of people have read it. Fifty thousand copies were sent out through the mails of the Federal Government. It required this great Sherlock Holmes to discover to you the secret, the existence of a No-Conscription Manifesto. I think, gentlemen of the jury, the very fact that the District Attorney had to submit such inadequate, irrelevant, absolutely useless facts as proof is an insult to your intelligence as jurymen. And when we come to the No-Conscription Manifesto, what do you find there? The word registration is not even mentioned. And here is his own charge about registration. The whole charge, the indictment of conspiracy to induce people not to register is based practically on this manifesto; and this manifesto never mentions the word registration. Some detective. Some proof. Some foundation for this ridiculous charge! Now let me read to you just one more passage to tell you the real meaning of this manifesto. The No-Conscription Manifesto, the very title of it, No-Conscription, not "No-Registration." Do you think if I wanted a No-Registration pamphlet I would issue a No-Conscription pamphlet? Have I ever hidden my meaning? Have I not always been frank to express it and perfectly free to voice my views? Why, the very purpose of my work is to express my views. They say we published a No-Conscription Manifesto when we meant No-Registration—we who have been only too frank all through this trial; who mean to be frank the rest of our lives; who have been frank all through the past, beginning with Russia, and suffered for it, too. We have said No-Conscription when we meant No-Registration! And what does this No-Conscription Manifesto say, in essence? "Liberty of conscience is the most fundamental of all human rights, the pivot of all progress. No man may be deprived of it without losing every vestige of freedom of thought

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and action. In these days when every principle and conception of democracy and of liberty is being cast overboard under the pretext of democratizing Germany, it behooves every liberty-loving man and woman to insist on his or her right of individual choice in the ordering of his life and actions." And here is again a passage that gives the very gist of the matter in one sentence: "The No-Conscription League is to be the voice of protest against the coercion of conscientious objectors to participate in the war." The gist of the No-Conscription movement in one paragraph. The No-Conscription movement is for the purpose of giving voice to protest, expressing the opinions of the conscientious objectors who do not want to participate in the war. That was the purpose of the No-Conscription movement. That was the purpose of the No-Conscription manifesto. Here it is expressed in the plainest, simplest language. And only a District Attorney could misunderstand it or try [illegible]de you with the claim that the manifesto referred to No-Registration instead of dealing, as it does, exclusively with Conscription. It was necessary for the District Attorney to resort to such cheap subterfuge to bolster up the preposterous position of the Government in regard to the charge against us.

There were four No-Conscription mass meetings addressed by Miss Goldman. You will remember that the first No-Conscription meeting took place in Harlem River Casino, on May 18th. The next meeting of the League was held in Hunts' Point Palace, June 4th. Another meeting in Forward Hall, on June 14th. That is three meetings. Miss Goldman had also spoken, by invitation of another organization, in Koyal Lyceum, June 11th. That is also in the evidence. Four meetings in all. Three of them were addressed also by me. What has the District Attorney produced with regard to those meetings? He has concentrated all his evidence on the meeting of May 18th. Now, gentlemen of the jury, it may not be quite clear to you why he did so. But there was a good reason, and no one knows the reason better than the defendants and Mr. District Attorney. There was a strong reason for centering the attention of the jury on the meeting of May 18th, and practically ignoring the speeches made at the other meetings. I will tell you the secret, and I want you to listen carefully. The District Attorney knew, and we can prove it, that we had our own stenographic notes of the meetings of June 4 and 14. The only meeting of which we did not have stenographic notes was the meeting of May 18th. The District Attorney selects May 18th. He knew that we had an expert shorthand reporter, engaged by the S. S. Corporation, take notes of the June 4 and June 14 speeches. The only meeting we had no notes of was that of May 18th. The District Attorney used the May 18th meeting as his chief argument. I

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will show you a moment later how he used those notes. But bear in mind just now that that is the only meeting of which we had no stenographic notes, and that the prosecution knew this fact.

In the first place, I hold that the meeting of May 18th had no business to be in this evidence at all. Not that we are not willing to stand for anything we have said. We have made it a principle of our lives to accept responsibility for articles in our magazines of which we do not even approve. We have stated on previous occasions, and I want to repeat now, that we are prepared to stand responsible for any article that ever appeared in MOTHER EARTH or in THE BLAST—no matter who wrote it, no matter whether the author is dead or alive, no matter what he says there, no matter even if I am entirely opposed to what he says. Why? Because we believe in free speech, and MOTHER EARTH was esablished just for that purpose. THE BLAST was established for the purpose of giving workingmen a chance to say what they think. We believe in free speech, and that is why you will find various, and sometimes contradictory, opinions expressed in MOTHER EARTH as well as in THE BLAST.

What I want to point out to you now, gentlemen, is that the meeting of May 18th had no business in this evidence. The District Attorney is a lawyer, a learned lawyer, and he knew it had no business in this case at all. Why did it have no business? Because the meeting of May 18th, according to the prosecution's own testimony, took place before there was such a thing in this country as a conscription law. We are indicted under the conscription—

THE COURT: Mr. Berkman, I do not want you to lose any unnecessary time on that subject. The Court is going to charge the jury that the Selective Service Law went into effect on the 18th day of May.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN: Very well.

THE COURT: And that at the time the meeting was held it was the duty of all persons not to violate the statute. The Court is going to charge that as a matter of law.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN: I am glad that the Court supports my contention that the Conscription Bill was not signed until May 18th. And I want to point out to you that it was signed by the President of the United States at ten o'clock at night, May 18th. The witness of the District Attorney stated here that Miss Goldman spoke on May 18th at 9:15 P. M., and that her speech was finished at 9.45. Besides that, gentlemen of the jury, you know what meetings are. Miss Goldman and I, being at a mass meeting, how could we know whether the President signed the bill or not? I do not want to argue along this line. I merely point out to you the char-

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acter of this testimony, the spirit of this persecution—not prosecution—and the motive back of it, to which I will come later.

Now, then, the meeting of May 18th, and that particular speech quoted, took place before the Conscription Bill became a law or had the signature of the President. Gentlemen, there is another important point about the meeting of May 18th. The District Attorney found himself in a dilemma. It was hard for him to decide what should be done about these meetings, and, especially the meeting of May 18th. You will see in a moment how he solved his dilemma. The May 18th meeting was the result of a wide-spread agitation that went on all over the country, because conscription was then discussed in Congress. The question of conscription was being agitated throughout the country. Many Congressmen voiced their constitutional objections and reasons against conscription. Many of them argued that it is contrary to the best interests of the country, contrary to the traditions of America, contrary to the very spirit of liberty upon which this republic is supposed to have been founded. There was a great deal of excitement in the country. Every person has a right to discuss. And naturally every one was very much interested. Mass meetings were taking place throughout the land, in opposition to conscription. One of them was the meeting of May 18th, at which Miss Goldman and myself spoke. Does it not appeal to your common sense that the chief topic of discussion at that meeting would be conscription? Registration was practically unknown then. The country hardly knew what registration was about, at that time. The Bill had not yet been signed, as I have called your attention to before. Conscription overshadowed every other issue on that day. Registration was not an issue. All the speeches at the meeting of May 18th were devoted, almost exclusively, to the discussion of conscription. Now, the District Attorney knew that. And there was his dilemma. What should he do to make the speech of Miss Goldman, on that particular evening, the most important link in his evidence? There was very little, perhaps nothing, about registration in her speech. Yet he had to make something of it. I will tell you what he did: he *doctored the document.*

I charge now and right here, and I am willing to take the consequences, that he doctored the stenographic notes of the patrolman with regard to the meeting of May 18th. And I am going to prove it to you right now. How did he doctor them? First of all, let us consider this wonderful stenographer who is really a patrolman, who has very little experience in stenography, as has been shown you, and who is only a third-grade stenographer, not an expert shorthand reporter. He could not tell you when he took stenographic notes previous to the meeting of May 18th. He stood there, confused, and when I asked

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him: "Tell us, when did you take stenographic notes before," he could not mention any occasion when he took stenographic notes at a meeting, except May 18th, Miss Goldman's speech. And then, gentlemen, when we put him to the test here, when Miss Goldman dictated to him in your own presence,—why, he dropped his hands at the second sentence: he could not take anything because he has no experience. And here this man, a patrolman, not really a stenographer, not a court reporter, who passed only with 125 or 120 words maximum, incompetent, by his own testimony—this third-grade, not third-grade really, but what in common language we would call tenth-grade stenographer—claims that he took down the total speech of Miss Goldman on May 18th! And how did he take it down? I am going to use his own testimony. He stood with both feet on a beer table, a round flat-topped beer table having only one leg; he stood in the center, people were passing up and down and jostling him, he was leaning against the wall with his hand in an insecure position, and thus he was taking down the speech of one of the fastest speakers in this country. Miss Goldman is considered the third fastest speaker in America, and only experts can take her speeches. Are you going to believe the testimony of this acrobatic stenographer? But Mr. Randolph, this patrolman who acts as a stenographer on one particular occasion in all his life, this Mr. Randolph has a very simple system. He just leaves out the words that he does not get. He leaves out the sentences he does not get, and he puts in the things he thinks should be there. That is his system, according to his own testimony, gentlemen. I do not want to say anything against Mr. Randolph personally. I am sorry for Randolph. He is not a bad man. He is just weak, and he is a patrolman. He may have a wife and family. He wants to keep his job. It is a tragedy, gentlemen, that a man has to keep his job by such methods. But it is not the fault of Mr. Randolph. Randolph has it in his stenographic notes that Miss Goldman said, "We believe in violence and we will use violence." That is the sentence he has and he sticks to that sentence. Now, of course, that is Mr. Randolph's idea of an Anarchist's speech. It had to be in. He was sent there to put that in. But maybe you, gentlemen, will have a different conception of Anarchist speeches before we are through. You have heard some Anarchist speeches delivered here, since you have been so patiently listening in this court for many days. You have heard Anarchist articles read. I want you to compare, in your own minds, the spirit and the manner of expression in the Anarchist speeches and articles you have heard here from the defendants with the spirit and the character of this would-be Anarchist expression, "We believe in violence and we will use violence."

Gentlemen, I don't think I need to waste much time in

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proving to you that it was an impossibility for Miss Goldman to use such an expression. I challenge anyone, without the least fear of successful contradiction, to prove to me that in her twenty-seven years of experience on the public platform Miss Goldman ever used such an expression, or anything similar to such an expression, or anything that might be construed as meaning anything similar to that expression. Miss Goldman speaks about 250 times every year; she has lectured in practically every city and town; she has spoken to hundreds of thousands; in every city she has been welcomed again and again by the best minds. Do you mean to tell me that the incoherent thing that was read on the stand by the policeman can be credited to this intelligent woman? That incoherent, stupid, unconnected statement, that forgery—and a poor stupid forgery at that. Do you mean to tell me that that stuff is the speech of a trained, practiced orator like Miss Goldman? I leave it to your intelligence, gentlemen of the jury.

Nor is it necessary to dwell much upon the various pamphlets, leaflets and boo[illegible]ritten by Miss Goldman. Most of them are in evidence here. I haven't time to read them, nor do I wish to try your patience. But I challenge anyone, and the District Attorney especially, to pick out a single sentence in any of her books, in any of her pamphlets, that can even be interpreted as meaning what this patrolman-stenographer tells you, "We believe in violence and we will use violence." I have spoken to you before about the true meaning of Anarchism, and I don't think it is necessary to repeat that the very spirit and philosophy of Anarchism, for which we stand, proves that this document, this police stenographic report, is *inherently* false. Within itself it contains the proof that the expression attributed to Miss Goldman is not in harmony with her ideas and is, in fact, contrary to everything she has been advocating for many years.

I don't think I shall bother much more with the testimony of Mr. Randolph. I said that I am sorry for him, and now I am through with his evidence. But he was corroborated by another man, Edward Cadell, the acting detective. Now, what does Cadell say? Cadell swears that he took down every word, and he reads quoting allegedly what Miss Goldman said: "When they are conscripted they will not register." Such an idiotic statement! Does, then, conscription come first, registration afterwards? First they won't be conscripted, she says, according to Cadell, and then they will not register. That is the statement of your acting detective, as good a stenographer, every bit, as Mr. Randolph. Mr. Acting Detective also has another statement. He quotes Miss Goldman in a wonderful manner: "Breshnabotsky was tortured." I don't blame the witness for not being familiar with Russian history, or the history of the Russian Revolution and the names of our great

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martyrs. I don't blame him in the least. But I will point out something significant to you. I will point out to you that that sentence alone proves that this testimony was manufactured to order. It would have been absolutely impossible for Miss Goldman to say, "Breshnabotsky was tortured." In the first place, the name is Breshkovskaya. It is the name of the "Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," the woman who served forty years in Siberia, the noblest woman that the world has seen, with the exception of Miss Goldman; the woman who visited this country a few years ago, and was entertained and honored by the best representatives of American thought. Then she returned to Russia under the Czar, was arrested for her activities—the same activities that Miss Goldman has been following in this country; she was arrested and sent to Siberia again; a woman eighty years old. She is called the "Grandmother of the Russian Revolution." She was true to her ideals through long years in the mines of Kara, the mines where life is death; through all the years of her Siberian existence she has remained true to the ideals of Liberty, and she has now been called back by the triumphant Revolution of Russia to advise her people, to guide and enlighten them, to help them carry the banner of the Rusian Revolution into the open road of sunshine, of liberty and joy. That is Breshkovskaya. That is the woman to whom Miss Goldman referred, and I assure you there is no one in this country who is more familiar with the life and activities of Madame Breshkovskaya than Miss Goldman, because she is, as she has indeed been called, the Breshkovskaya of America. According to the police stenographer Miss Goldman said, "Breshkovskaya was tortured." Miss Goldman could not have said it. Breshkovskaya was never tortured. Miss Goldman knows it. What she did say was that Breshkovskaya has just been called back. She gave the story of Madame Breshkovskaya. She told about her exile—

THE COURT: Just a minute. There is no evidence to that effect.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN: That is where another sentence comes in—

THE COURT: Then read it. You cannot state any evidence that has not been introduced. You cannot make your own statements.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN: I am speaking of "Breshkovskaya tortured." The stenographer's words—

THE COURT: You can take the stenographer's words. You can read any part of it. But you cannot make a statement to the jury of what you heard or what the co-defendant heard or said, because no such evidence was introduced excepting by the witness. You can state anything the witness has said.

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ALEXANDER BERKMAN: Very well. Gentlemen of the jury, I am referring—I am not a lawyer and don't know all these technical points; perhaps they are insignificant and not important—I am referring to those particular words "Breshkovskaya was tortured." It is a lie. Breshkovskaya never was tortured. Emma Goldman could not possibly say that Breshkovskaya was tortured, any more than you could say that President Wilson was a prisoner in Russia. She mentioned another woman who was tortured, Spiridonova—

MR. CONTENT: This is not evidence, your Honor.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN: I can't be interferred with every moment.

THE COURT: Just one moment; you will be interefered with when you do not follow the rules applicable in court. You cannot state anything that is not in evidence. You cannot state to this jury unsworn and not subject to cross-examination any interpretation of yours of [illegible] took place. You can have the fullest opportunity with the greatest latitude to discuss the evidence produced on this witness stand, whether that evidence was the evidence of the two stenographers who are members of the Police Department or was the evidence of witnesses produced by either the prosecution or the defendants. The jury is instructed to utterly disregard any statement made by either of the defendants or by the District Attorney which is not in evidence.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN: Gentlemen of the jury, it is sufficient to establish here the fact that Miss Goldman could not possibly have said Breshkovskaya was tortured; and that is all that is necessary to say about that part of the evidence of the man who corroborated Mr. Randolph, and who is an acting detective.

I want to say this here: That not having been trained to talk to a jury, and this being my first experience, it is rather confusing to be interrupted. Now, gentlemen, the fact is that neither Randolph nor the witness who corroborated him could take Miss Goldman's speech. She speaks too rapidly. You heard the testimony of two of the best experts in this country, one of whom was at one time the champion in his line. You heard his testimony that Miss Goldman frequently at meetings and lectures speaks two hundred words a minute, and that she is the third fastest speaker in the country. And that will explain, I think, why there are such nonsensical statements in the stenographic notes of the police transcript of the May 18th meeting, and why there are statements that are inherently false, statements that could not possibly have been made by Miss Goldman. You have also heard another expert shorthand reporter; I believe his name is Mr. Pickler. He was put on as a witness by the prosecution. He is the expert shorthand reporter of the S. S. Corporation which engaged him to take

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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down the speeches. Mr. Pickler testified that he had never met either Miss Goldman or myself, until the meeting of May 18th. He is the witness of the prosecution. But the spirit of the prosecution is evidenced when it shouts at its own witness, "You are prejudiced in favor of the defense!" Of course, in the opinion of the District Attorney, any witness who tells the truth on the stand necessarily must be prejudiced in favor of the defense. Mr. Pickler does not know us and is not in sympathy with our ideas. But you looked at him, and I am sure you have never seen a finer type of American—an open, frank face, an honest expression, the very personification of frankness. The District Attorney tries to discredit his own witness, and fails miserably.

Now, gentlemen of the jury, I pride myself, justly or wrongly, on being a bit of a psychologist, and I divide the witnesses of the prosecution in classes, just to save time, instead of analyzing their testimony one by one. I can safely divide the witnesses of the prosecution into three classes. One class consisted of witnesses who gave entirely immaterial testimony. It is detective Barnitz, Officer McGee, the telephone man, the expressman and a few more. I want to say that Detective Barnitz told nothing but the truth. He testified to our arrest: that we were frank about our work; that we did not try to resist, and so forth. Officer McGee testified that he confiscated certain documents. I say that these witnesses were of the first class, whose testimony is entirely immaterial with regard to the real charge at issue, the conspiracy to urge people not to register.

The second class comprised the printer of the Grayzel Press, the printer of the Graphic Press, the manager of the Harlem River Casino, where the meeting was held on May 18th, Mr. Wood, the binder, and several others. The evidence given by this class of witnesses was entirely in favor of the defense. You have heard what Mr. Wood said about Miss Goldman; how he respects and admires her. You have heard what the other witnesses testified to about the friendly relations we have had with all these business men. That is all there was to this testimony. You have also heard the testimony of Mr. Michael who owns, or rather pays rent for, the front room at 20 East 125th Street, third floor, and who was good enough to let us use his room for a while. You listened to the testimony of Mr. Kelly. All of them belong to the same class of witnesses, some for the prosecution, some for the defense, all testifying to immaterial facts, merely showing that there were our offices, that our relations were friendly, that our work was no secret, that MOTHER EARTH has been in existence for twelve years and that it passed through the Post Office as second class mail matter. Also that THE BLAST had an office on the third floor, back, in the same building as MOTHER EARTH, and that

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everything was done openly and above board in the frankest manner. That is the testimony of the first and the second class witnesses.

Now we come to the witnesses of the third class: the patrolman who wants to be a stenographer, and the stenographer who is an active detective. Then several Federal men, a soldier, and so forth. All interested and prejudiced witnesses, gentlemen; witnesses who do not like us, who do not understand us, who have no conception of our ideals, and by whom we have been misrepresented. But even they—what do they prove? Absolutely nothing. Even with all these witnesses, with the whole power of the Federal Government back of him, with the machinery of the Police Department and the detective bureau of the City of New York—with all this tremendous power back of the District Attorney, what did he prove against us? Nothing, absolutely nothing, except what we ourselves cheerfully and proudly admitted.

Now, gentlemen, as to the conspiracy itself, I think it would be ridiculous to dwell upon it. You have had us before your eyes for about ten or more days. You have heard us, you have had an opportunity to study our characters. I leave it to your own intelligence to judge whether we are the kind that slink about, that conspire in dark corners, that hide; whether we are the sort of people that make conspiracies,—unless our friendship and comradeship for the last twenty-seven or thirty years can be considered a conspiracy, the friendship and comradeship of which I am proud. Gentlemen, as to a conspiracy, there ain't no such animal in this zoo!

As impossible as it was for the District Attorney to prove a conspiracy, impossible because it did not exist, just as unsuccessful was he in proving any overt acts. Perhaps if I were a lawyer I would stop right here, because since he did not prove any conspiracy the whole charge falls; and even if there had been any overt acts the charge falls, because we are indicted for conspiracy and I have proven, I think, and I believe the intelligence of the jurors themselves will convince them, that the very suggestion of a conspiracy is ridiculous, preposterous, taking into consideration the facts of the situation and the character of the work we have been doing for the past thirty years. The conspiracy has not been proven—but I am not satisfied merely to show you that the District Attorney failed to prove his case. I want to demonstrate to you that the defendants *did* prove their case beyond a reasonable doubt. They are not expected to do so. But I shall not be satisfied in my own conscience until I show that to you. I know I can. I say that the District Attorney proved neither conspiracy nor any overt acts in furtherance of any imaginary conspiracy. Now, what are the overt acts that he is charging us with?

He talks about the May 18th meeting. Miss Goldman and

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I had a conspiracy there, he says, and he quotes her alleged speech. But why didn't he quote anything from my speech?

I am supposed to have entered into a conspiracy with Miss Goldman. She makes a speech, according to the District Attorney, and I, the co-conspirator, do not even say a word in furtherance of my conspiracy. Not a word quoted from my speech, my great conspiratory speech of May 18th! The District Attorney did read my speech of June 4th, and not a line in it about any conspiracy or urging against registration. So it seems that we had a conspiracy, but one of the two conspirators never said a word in furtherance of his conspiracy. There were meetings, and there were speeches, and Mr. District Attorney has those speeches, and the co-conspirator Alexander Berkman never uttered a word to further the conspiracy. If we had really had a conspiracy, it would be insulting to me to be proven such a poor conspirator.

What are the other proofs of the prosecution that show us guilty of overt acts in furtherance of the conspiracy? There is nothing of any proof in the falsified notes of the stenographer. Suppose I admit, just for the sake of the argument, that what Randolph took down, "We believe in violence and we will use it," is correct. Where is the conspiracy, and where is the urging not to register? What has that to do with any conspiracy? Why, the detectives, numbers of them, were at the meeting; representatives of the Marshal's office, Federal officers, soldiers and everybody else were present. Miss Goldman is supposed to have said, "We will use violence," and nobody arrests her. She is not arrested for inciting to riot when all those officials of the City, State and Federal Government hear her say, "We believe in violence and we will use violence." Why was she not arrested? Because she did not utter those words. You can bet your life that she would have been arrested mighty quick if she had said anything like that. But I go further. Suppose she did say that. What has it to do with any conspiracy? Is she charged with inciting to riot? Is it charged that a riot took place? Why did they put in that sentence? Why is that sentence, that one sentence, the strongest link of the prosecution? Why put it in when it has nothing to do with the conspiracy against registration, absolutely nothing to do with urging people not to register? The answer is, because they had nothing else.

Now, what other alleged testimony or proof has been produced by the prosecution? The articles of MOTHER EARTH of the year 1914, articles dealing with reports of speeches held in Union Square under peculiar conditions, as the result of a special situation in the United States, at the time of the great miners' strike in Colorado. Mind you, speeches in 1914, by people, some of whom Miss Goldman probably does not even know. That is put in evidence as proving conspiracy under this

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new law of May 18, 1917. Is that evidence to prove that Miss Goldman urged people not to register on May 18, 1917? Have they submitted anything from MOTHER EARTH to connect us in any way with a conspiracy not to register? Have they produced any articles, old or new, that tell people "Do not register"? I am pointing out to you the character of this prosecution. I think you know, from your own impressions during the trial, that we stand for the things we believe in. If I wanted to say to people "Don't register," would I say to them, "I am opposed to conscription"? I am not that kind of a man. I *am* opposed to conscription, and I will say so. But if I wanted to urge people not to register, I would not tell them that I am opposed to conscription: I would tell them not to register. I demand that the District Attorney show evidence to the effect that either I or Miss Goldman advised any one not to register, or ever said in our speeches, or in MOTHER EARTH or in THE BLAST, "Don't register," or "You should not register." We are accustomed to say what we feel like saying, what we believe is right for us to say. Don't try to misinterpret the meaning of words. Words have their particular meaning, gentlemen of the jury, and even if I have to say it myself, I think I can use words in their proper meaning. I think I am an accurate writer. In fact, I am more accurate as a writer than as a speaker. I do not pretend to be an orator. I am now uttering what I consider common sense, as man to man. In my writings I am particularly accurate. I should consider it an insult to me, as a literary man, if anyone tried to misinterpret the meaning of my words, if anyone tried to tell me: "You meant a different thing when you said this. You said this and you meant something else." I say what I mean, in public and in private. I have no double character. I have no private character. My public and my private character is the same. I will say here in the court room—as I said before and as I will continue to say as long as my voice holds out—just what I believe. It is not a question of public speeches, not a question of any mass meetings or writings in MOTHER EARTH or in THE BLAST. I have said, do say, and will say just what I believe. I do not want any other words put in my mouth, words I have not said, things I have not meant. I stand for everything published in MOTHER EARTH and in THE BLAST, because we believe in free speech: we believe that free speech is the very foundation of liberty in this country or in any other country. I believe that the moment you begin to limit free speech, the moment you begin to persecute those who believe in the use of free speech, that moment you are committing the worst crime against liberty, the worst crime against democracy, the worst crime against the traditions in which you believe, the worst crime against the best interests of the people, because the abolition of free speech is a bad thing, gentlemen. Free speech is a sacred thing. Russia knows it. All other countries

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know it. And you, gentlemen of the jury, are intelligent enough to know that this country was originally founded upon the liberty of conscience, upon free speech, upon the free expression and discussion of opinion. We may be wrong. May be Anarchism is all wrong. May be all our ideas are wrong. But I claim the right even to be wrong. I may express any opinion. If I am wrong, I am willing to discuss with you, willing to discuss with anyone. It was I who sent word to the soldiers that I believe in free speech and that I would therefore give them the platform, though we did not expect them. I believe free discussion and free speech should not be limited under any pretext. It is a dangerous thing to do. It is the assassination of liberty.

Suppose we are wrong. Suppose our ideas are wrong. Is that any reason why we are guilty of conspiracy on this charge? Is that a reason to believe that we conspired or told people not to register? Why, gentlemen of the jury, many of the idealists of the past were told that they were wrong, but history proved them right. What if we are not wrong, after all? If you try to suppress us, you rob the people of the opportunity to learn our ideas. If our views are foolish, no intelligent person will accept them. There is no danger in letting a man talk foolishly. But there may be danger for the monopolist and the speculator in human blood to let people tell the truth. There may be danger. Perhaps in this you will find the explanation why they try to suppress those who tell the truth. I must emphasize that. There is no danger in getting up here and expressing foolish ideas. I could not convert you if my ideas are foolish. There would be no harm done. But if my ideas are right, you will commit the greatest mistake in suppressing their expression. And therefore I say that I believe in the right of being wrong, as much as in the right of being right. In short, I believe in complete free speech. I am willing to take the consequences that may follow from the expression of my opinions. That is free speech. And it is for that reason that you will find, for instance, in MOTHER EARTH or in THE BLAST articles that sometimes really contradict themselves. Why? Because we open our pages to everyone, believing in free expression and in the free discussion of all views. Out of such discussion, I am sure, and only out of such discussion, can there come clarity, come understanding, and that which is of the greatest benefit and blessing to humanity—sympathy.

I don't like to take up too much time, but the District Attorney has read here an article by Alexander Berkman, called "Registration," from the last issue of THE BLAST, June, 1917. I haven't time to read it all to you. You have heard it read before, and I just want to point out to you what spirit animated the interpretation of the prosecution. I said in that

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article that registration is the first step toward conscription. The District Attorney read that sentence in a very peculiar tone, calculated to insinuate into your minds something that was not in the article. I have said, and I repeat, that registration is the first step to conscription. But, gentlemen of the jury, is that equivalent to urging people not to register? If I say to you, "I have taken the first step into the restaurant," does it mean that I have urged *you* to eat? When I say that registration is the first step to conscription, I have stated what I consider to be a fact. But that does not mean that registration and conscription are synonymous. Everyone understands that registration is one thing, conscription another. The District Attorney tries to interpret that statement as meaning "Don't register." Now take the other sentence: "The consistent conscientious objector to human slaughter will neither register nor be conscripted," a statement which I believe is true, and which is an expression of my opinion. But since when is an expression of opinion to be considered as urging people to do or not to do a thing? Since when is opinion to be interpreted as an act? There is a very clear distinction, gentlemen of the jury. Don't let any technical legal point confuse you about such a simple matter. There is expression of opinion, and there are acts. No sane man will say that expression of an opinion is the same thing as an act, or that an expression of opinion means advice to others. Ridiculous! If I say to you "I am hungry," does it mean I urge you to eat? If I say that registration is the first step to conscription, does it mean that I tell you that you should not register?

Gentlemen, I have mentioned several times that I am opposed to war, to capitalist war, and that I believe in universal peace and the constructive tendencies of man. I believe that through education, through organization, through enlightenment we will bring people to the point of sanity where war will become impossible, where the destructive tendencies will disappear, and misery, desperation and poverty, the sources of crime, will be things of the past. I believe that with the whole power of my heart and mind. May be I shall not see that day in my own lifetime. But that makes no difference. I believe these things are absolutely true.

It has further been shown to you that we do not believe in conscription. I consider conscription the death-blow to American liberty, or to any other kind of liberty. I believe we are making ourselves the laughing stock of the world by claiming that we stand for liberty and democracy, while we force people to go to war when they don't believe in war. I am opposed to conscription. But I am not charged here with conspiracy against conscription. I am charged with conspiracy against registration, or rather conspiracy to urge men not to register. I believe that conscription is wrong. I believe that

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conscription is tyranny. I believe that if the people had more intelligence and courage, the law would never have been passed. It is an insult to the people of the United States, an insult to humanity, to say that you must go to war and slaughter, when you have conscientious objections to murder. We do not believe in that thing. According to your own conceptions, gentlemen, government derives its powers from the consent of the governed. The people of the United States have not been asked whether they want conscription. They have been dragged, they have been forced into conscription. And therefore I say that the people have the right to throw away what they do not want. They have the right either to repeal conscription or to resist conscription. Thomas Jefferson said that resistance to tyranny is the beginning of freedom. Thomas Jefferson, one of the greatest men you ever had in this country, said that it was not only the right of the people, but even their duty, to resist tyranny. Therefore we stated that we believe in resisting conscription, and I've advised the people to organize mass meetings, to join their voice to our protest against militarism and thus help to arouse the public conscience.

Gentlemen of the jury, we Anarchists work to educate and enlighten. That is why we publish literature and seek to spread it. We have repeatedly emphasized our belief that, in proportion as the people become enlightened, they will abolish the evils with which society is festering to-day. We believe in education, and we have tried to inform the people about the menace of militarism, the criminality of war which is but murder. We held up to them the ideal toward which humanity should strive: the ideal of universal peace, brotherhood and labor solidarity. The District Attorney cast it up to us that we asked people to send money to us. We did. We need money to publish literature. The printer testified that he had to be paid.

Another article from THE BLAST was read to you by Prosecutor Content. I suppose District Attorneys are not supposed to be susceptible to humor. Content evidently did not know that it was a humorous sketch called "War Dictionary," by Alexander Berkman. Between ourselves, I rather prided myself on it, because it was the first time –so far as I know— that anyone thought of a war dictionary. One of the definitions reads: "The Allies, the fairies of Democracy." Fairies, you know, are supposed to bring you many blessings. But fairies are a myth. That is my idea of the Allies. They pretend to be fighting for liberty. England, especially, has promised all manner of good things to Ireland. But those promises are fairies: they will not materialize. My humorous definition of the Allies is one of the "strongest" links in the case of the prosecution.

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Another definition is: "Free speech: say what you please, but keep your mouth shut." One more powerful proof in support of the conspiracy charge against us! But I shall not waste any more time analyzing such evidence. It would be an insult to your intelligence.

Now comes something with which I should have perhaps started my argument, and which is in itself sufficient proof that the alleged conspiracy did not exist, and that, furthermore, Miss Goldman had taken the very opposite attitude from what she is here charged with. I am referring to the statement Miss Goldman sent from Springfield, Massachusetts, to the No-Conscription meeting of May 23rd, regarding her position on registration. The District Attorney sneered when Miss Helen Boardman, Miss Fitzgerald and numerous other defense witnesses testified that they heard a statement read, a statement from Miss Goldman, at the May 23rd meeting. The District Attorney shouted, "I don't believe there was any such statement!" When I said that the document was among the effects confiscated in our office by the District Attorney, he jumped up and cried: "I will make you prove it." Well, we did prove it. The statement was found among the papers of the District Attorney. It is in evidence. It has been read to you, and you heard very clearly what Miss Goldman wrote: that she would refuse to advise young men not to register. That statement itself disproves the whole case of the prosecution.

In passing, I want to call your attention, gentlemen of the jury, to the type of witnesses produced by the prosecution, and those of the defense. On the one hand we have a soldier, who has made it his business to break up peace meetings and who is bitter against us. Then Federal officers, police and detectives, with a few other similar witnesses. For the defense there appeared men and women of the best calibre, such as Lincoln Steffens, Bolton Hall, Leonard Abbott, John Reed, Mrs. John Sloan, Miss Helen Boardman, Alter Brady, writer and poet, and a number of others, the flower of American manhood and womanhood. Did the District Attorney mean to tell you, as he sneered at them, that they all perjured themselves? For what? Some of them had never met us before. They testified they came to the meeting of May 18th, and to other meetings specially to see how far we "would go in breaking the law." They said they were disappointed. Some of them even came to the committee meetings of the No-Conscription League and to our offices to get advice about registration. They were disappointed because, as they themselves stated, we refused to advise them not to register. Miss Goldman's statement proves it, if any additional proof is necessary.

I will tell you why we refused to advise young men not to register.

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I would never advise anyone to do a thing which does not endanger me. I am willing to resist tyranny. If I were willing and ready to resist tyranny, I might advise others to do so, because I myself would do it. I would be with them and take the responsibility. But I was excepted from that registration business. I did not have to register. I was beyond the age. I was not in danger. And would I advise anyone to do the thing which does not put me in danger? I would advise people once in a while, if I thought it necessary to do things, dangerous things; but I would be with them. Never would I advise anybody to do a thing that is dangerous and I not be there or I not be in danger. That is why I did not advise people not to register.

Gentlemen of the jury, I think that I should not use any more time with regard to the evidence. I believe it has been absolutely demonstrated here that the District Attorney has no case. He proved neither conspiracy nor any overt acts. It is further demonstrated that such a conspiracy could not possibly exist, and that all the previous acts of our enlightening propaganda and agitation and all the ideals of Miss Goldman and myself are inherently opposed to any such thing as a dark conspiracy, and that other circumstances which I have mentioned made it impossible for us to urge people not to register. I think I have sufficiently proven, beyond any reasonable doubt, that the defense or defendants never advised or urged anyone not to register and that there was no such conspiracy. I think I have said enough about that. If I argue this point, gentlemen, before I conclude, I want you to know that I am not arguing to keep myself from going to prison. I am not afraid of prison. I am willing to suffer for my ideas in prison, if necessary. Life is dear, but not so dear that I should be at liberty without self-respect. I would rather be in prison with my ideals, with my convictions, true to myself, than be outside with my soul damned in my own estimation. So I am not pleading to save ourselves from prison. Ourselves, I say, because I know that Miss Goldman shares my views and my feelings in this matter. No, it is not a question of prison with us. It is a question of whether we stand here indicted as guilty of conspiracy to induce people not to register, or whether the prosecution has tried to arouse your passions and prejudices against us as Anarchists. That is the question. It is really Anarchism that is on trial here, and I am glad it is, because it is well for you to know what Anarchism is, since we are Anarchists.

Gentlemen of the jury, this is an important, a solemn moment in your lives, in your lives much more than in mine. A solemn moment, because the eyes of the whole country, indeed the eyes of the world, are upon you. This is no petty question of telling some one not to register. The real question at issue

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here is, have we got free speech and liberty of expression in this country, or not. That is the real question, over and above this indictment, over and above all the fool things that have been said by the District Attorney. It is up to you, as representing, on this occasion, the American people, it is up to you as the jury in this case to tell the world by your verdict whether you believe that free speech is necessary and sacred, or whether you believe that your forefathers, the founders of this Republic, sacrificed their lives in vain, and that we should throw on the dungheap all those things for which they fought, for which people have bled, for which the martyrs of all countries have died: Free speech and liberty of expression and freedom of conscience. That is, that will be, the meaning of your verdict. It is not a question of a few years in prison. It is not a question of conspiracy or registration. Will you say by your verdict that people shall not talk in this country, that people shall not think, that peop' ..ll not dare express an opinion? And if you say "We have war," I say to you, because of the war it is necessary for you to show that we do have liberty, that we do have some democracy here. Why, yes, the war, you say, is for the very purpose of carrying democracy and liberty to Europe. Will you proclaim to the world that you who carry liberty and democracy to Europe have no liberty here, that you who are fighting for democracy in Germany, suppress democracy right here in New York, in the United States? Are you going to suppress free speech and liberty in this country, and still pretend that you love liberty so much that you will fight for it five thousand miles away? Charity begins at home, gentlemen of the jury. Liberty begins at home. That is where you begin right now, to-day, to show that you stand for liberty. *We* have spoken for liberty all our lives. Now *you* are put to the test as men who believe in liberty; you are put to the test. It is for you to show whether you believe in liberty. And let me tell you, whether you think that we are right or whether we are wrong, one thing you know: the spirit that animates this woman, the spirit that animates these defendants, is the spirit that has in the past emancipated the bondman. It is the spirit that will in the future emancipate the slave from his slavery, the tyrant from his tyranny; the spirit that will abolish war, make us all brothers of one family, without the evils and crimes that darken the world to-day, without oppression and monopoly, and make the world a fit place to live in, with a real motto, actually applied: Liberty for all, well-being for every one, and happiness for humanity.

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Emma Goldman's Address to the Jury

GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY:

As in the case of my co-defendant, Alexander Berkman, this is also the first time in my life I have ever addressed a jury. I once had occasion to speak to three judges.

On the day after our arrest it was given out by the U. S. Marshal and the District Attorney's office that the "ringleader" of the No-Conscription activities had been caught, and that there would be no more trouble-makers and disturbers to interfere with the highly democratic effort of the Government to conscript the young manhood for the European slaughter. What a pity that the powerful servants of the Government, personified in the U. S. Marshal and the District Attorney, should have used such a weak and flimsy net for their big catch. The moment the anglers pulled their heavily laden net ashore, it broke, and all the labor was so much wasted energy.

The methods employed by Marshal McCarthy and his hosts of heroic warriors were sensational enough to satisfy the famous circus men, Barnum & Baily. A dozen or more determined dashing up two flights of stairs, prepared to stake their lives for their country, only to discover the two dangerous disturbers and trouble-makers, Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, in their separate offices, quietly at work at their desks, wielding not a sword, nor a gun or a bomb, but merely their pens! Verily, it required courage to catch such big fish.

To be sure, two officers equipped with a warrant would have sufficed to carry out the business of arresting the defendants Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman. Even the police know that neither of them is in the habit of running away or hiding under the bed. But the farce-comedy had to be properly staged if the Marshal and the District Attorney were to earn immortality. Hence the sensational arrests; hence also, the raid upon the offices of THE BLAST, MOTHER EARTH and the No-Conscription League.

In their zeal to save the country from the trouble-makers, the Marshal and his helpers did not even consider it necessary to produce a search warrant. After all, what matters a mere scrap of paper when one is called upon to raid the offices of Anarchists! Of what consequence is the sanctity of property, the right of privacy, to officials in their dealings with Anarchists! In our day of military training for battle, an Anarchist office is an appropriate camping ground. Would the gentlemen who came with Marshal McCarthy have dared to go into the offices of Morgan, or Rockefeller, or of any of those men without a search warrant? They never showed us the search warrant, although we asked them for it. Nevertheles

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EMMA GOLDMAN

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they turned our office into a battlefield, so that when they were through with it, it looked like invaded Belgium, with the only difference that the invaders were not Prussian barbarians but good American patriots bent on making New York safe for democracy.

The stage having been appropriately set for the three-act comedy, and the first act successfully played by carrying off the villains in a madly dashing automobile—which broke every traffic regulation and barely escaped crushing every one in its way—the second act proved even more ludicrous. Fifty thousand dollars bail was demanded, and real estate refused when offered by a man whose property is rated at three hundred thousand dollars, and that after the District Attorney had considered and, in fact, promised to accept the property for one of the defendants, Alexander Berkman, thus breaking every right guaranteed even to the most heinous criminal.

Finally the third act, played by the Government in this court during the last week. The pity of it is that the prosecution knows so little of dramatic construction, else it would have equipped itself with better dramatic material to sustain the continuity of the play. As it was, the third act fell flat, utterly, and presents the question, Why such a tempest in a teapot?

Gentlemen of the jury, my comrade and co-defendant having carefully and thoroughly gone into the evidence presented by the prosecution, and having demonstrated its entire failure to prove the charge of conspiracy or any overt acts to carry out that conspiracy, I shall not impose upon your patience by going over the same ground, except to emphasize a few points. To charge people with having conspired to do something which they have been engaged in doing most of their lives, namely their campaign against war, militarism and conscription as contrary to the best interests of humanity, is an insult to human intelligence.

And how was that charge proven? By the fact that MOTHER EARTH and THE BLAST were printed by the same printer and bound in the same bindery. By the further evidence that the same expressman had delivered the two publications! And by the still more illuminating fact that on June 2nd MOTHER EARTH and THE BLAST were given to a reporter at his request, if your please, and gratis.

Gentlemen of the jury, you saw the reporter who testified to this overt act. Did any one of you receive the impression that the man was of conscriptable age, and if not, in what possible way is the giving of MOTHER EARTH to a reporter for news purposes proof demonstrating the overt act?

It was brought out by our witnesses that the MOTHER EARTH magazine has been published for twelve years; that it was never held up, and that it has always gone through the U. S. mail as second-class mail matter. It was further proven

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that the magazine appeared each month about the first or second, and that it was sold or given away at the office to whoever wanted a copy. Where, then, is the overt act?

Just as the prosecution has utterly failed to prove the charge of conspiracy, so has it also failed to prove the overt act by the flimsy testimony that MOTHER EARTH was given to a reporter. The same holds good regarding THE BLAST.

Gentlemen of the jury, the District Attorney must have learned from the reporters the gist of the numerous interviews which they had with us. Why did he not examine them as to whether or not we had counseled young men not to register? That would have been a more direct way of getting at the facts. In the case of the reporter from the New York *Times*, there can be no doubt that the man would have been only too happy to accommodate the District Attorney with the required information. A man who disregards every principle of decency and ethics of his profession as a newspaper man, by turning material given him as news over to the District Attorney, would have been glad to oblige a friend. Why did Mr. Content neglect such a golden opportunity? Was it not because the reporter of the *Times*, like all the other reporters, must have told the District Attorney that the two defendants stated, on each and every occasion, they would not tell people not to register?

Perhaps the *Times* reporter refused to go to the extent of perjuring himself. Patrolmen and detectives are not so timid in such matters. Hence Mr. Randolph and Mr. Cadell, to rescue the situation. Imagine employing tenth-rate stenographers to report the very important speeches of dangerous trouble-makers! What lack of forethought and efficiency on the part of the District Attorney! But even these two members of the police department failed to prove by their notes that we advised people not to register. But since they had to produce something incriminating against Anarchists, they conveniently resorted to the old standby, always credited to us, "We believe in violence and we will use violence."

Assuming, gentlemen of the jury, that this sentence was really used at the meeting of May 18th, it would still fail to prove the indictment which charges conspiracy and overt acts to carry out the conspiracy. And that is all we are charged with. Not violence, not Anarchism. I will go further and say, that had the indictment been for the advocacy of violence, you gentlemen of the jury, would still have to render a verdict of "Not Guilty," since the mere belief in a thing or even the announcement that you would carry out that belief, can not possibly constitute a crime.

However, I wish to say emphatically that no such expression as "We believe in violence and we will use violence" was uttered at the meeting of May 18th, or at any other meeting.

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I could not have employed such a phrase, as there was no occasion for it. If for no other reason, it is because I want my lectures and speeches to be coherent and logical. The sentence credited to me is neither.

I have read to you my position toward political violence from a lengthy essay called "The Psychology of Political Violence."

But to make that position clearer and simpler, I wish to say that I am a social student. It is my mission in life to ascertain the cause of our social evils and of our social difficulties. As a student of social wrongs it is my aim to diagnose a wrong. To simply condemn the man who has committed an act of political violence, in order to save my skin, would be as unpardonable as it would be on the part of the physician, who is called to diagnose a case, to condemn the patient because the patient has tuberculosis, cancer or some other disease. The honest, earnest, sincere physician does not only prescribe medicine, he tries to find out the cause of the disease. And if the patient is at all capable as to means, the doctor will say to him, "Get out of this putrid air, get out of the factory, get out of the place where your lungs are being infected." He will not merely give him medicine. He will tell him the cause of the disease. And that is precisely my position in regard to acts of violence. That is what I have said on every platform. I have attempted to explain the cause and the reason for acts of political violence.

It is organized violence on top which creates individual violence at the bottom. It is the accumulated indignation against organized wrong, organized crime, organized injustice which drives the political offender to his act. To condemn him means to be blind to the causes which make him. I can no more do it, nor have I the right to, than the physician who were to condemn the patient for his disease. You and I and all of us who remain indifferent to the crimes of poverty, of war, of human degradation, are equally responsible for the act committed by the political offender. May I therefore be permitted to say, in the words of a great teacher: "He who is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone." Does that mean advocating violence? You might as well accuse Jesus of advocating prostitution, because He took the part of the prostitute, Mary Magdalene.

Gentlemen of the jury, the meeting of the 18th of May was called primarily for the purpose of voicing the position of the conscientious objector and to point out the evils of conscription. Now, who and what is the conscientious objector? Is he really a shirker, a slacker, or a coward? To call him that is to be guilty of dense ignorance of the forces which impel men and women to stand out against the whole world like a glittering lone star upon a dark horizon. The conscientious

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objector is impelled by what President Wilson in his speech of Feb. 3, 1917, called "the righteous passion for justice upon which all war, all structure of family, State and of mankind must rest as the ultimate base of our existence and our liberty." The righteous passion for justice which can never express itself in human slaughter—that is the force which makes the conscientious objector. Poor indeed is the country which fails to recognize the importance of that new type of humanity as the "ultimate base of our existence and liberty." It will find itself barren of that which makes for character and quality in its people.

The meeting of May 18th was held before the Draft Bill had actually gone into effect. The President signed it late in the evening of the 18th. Whatever was said at that meeting, even if I had counseled young men not to register, that meeting cannot serve as proof of an overt act. Why, then, has the Prosecuting Attorney dwelt so much, at such length, and with such pains on that meeting, and so little on the other meetings held on the eve of registration and after? Is it not because the District Attorney knew that we had no stenographic notes of that meeting? He knew it because he was approached by Mr. Weinberger and other friends for a copy of the transcript, which request he refused. Evidently, the District Attorney felt safe to use the notes of a patrolman and a detective, knowing that they would swear to anything their superiors wanted. I never like to accuse anyone—I wouldn't go so far as my co-defendant, Mr. Berkman, in saying that the District Attorney doctored the document; I don't know whether he did or not. But I do know that Patrolman Randolph and Detective Cadell doctored the notes, for the simple reason that I didn't say those things. But though we could not produce our own stenographic notes, we have been able to prove by men and women of unimpeachable character and high intelligence that the notes of Randolph are utterly false. We have also proven beyond a reasonable doubt, and Mr. Content did not dare question our proof, that at the Hunts' Point Palace, held on the eve of registration, I expressly stated that I cannot and will not tell people not to register. We have further proven that this was my definite stand, which was explained in my statement sent from Springfield and read at the meeting of May 23rd.

When we go through the entire testimony given on behalf of the prosecution, I insist that there is not one single point to sustain the indictment for conspiracy or to prove the overt acts we are supposed to have committed. But we were even compelled to bring a man eighty years of age to the witness stand in order to stop, if possible, any intention to drag in the question of German money. It is true, and I appreciate it, that Mr. Content said he had no knowledge of it. But, gentlemen of the jury, somebody from the District Attorney's office

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or someone from the Marshal's office must have given out the statement that a bank receipt for $2,400 was found in my office and must have told the newspapers the fake story of German money. As if we would ever touch German money, or Russian money, or American money coming from the ruling class, to advance our ideas! But in order to forestall any suspicion, any insinuation, in order to stand clear before you, we were compelled to bring an old man here to inform you that he has been a radical all his life, that he is interested in our ideas, and that he is the man who contributed the money for radical purposes and for the work of Miss Goldman.

Gentlemen of the jury, you will be told by the Court, I am sure, that when you render a verdict you must be convinced beyond a reasonable doubt; that you must not assume that we are guilty before we are proven guilty; and that it is your duty to assume that we are innocent. And yet, as a matter of fact, the burden of proof has been laid upon us. We had to bring witnesses. If we had had time we could have brought fifty more witnesses, each corroborating the others. Some of those people have no relation with us. Some are writers, poets, contributors to the most conventional magazines. Is it likely that they would swear to something in our favor if it were not the truth? Therefore I insist, as did my co-defendant Alexander Berkman, that the prosecution has made a very poor showing in proving the conspiracy or any overt act.

Gentlemen of the jury, we have been in public life for twenty-seven years. We have been haled into court, in and out of season—we have never denied our position. Even the police know that Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman are not shirkers. You have had occasion during this trial to convince yourselves that we do not deny. We have gladly and proudly claimed responsibility, not only for what we ourselves have said and written, but even for things written by others and with which we did not agree. Is it plausible, then, that we would go through the ordeal, trouble and expense of a lengthy trial to escape responsibility in this instance? A thousand times no! But we refuse to be tried on a trumped-up charge, or to be convicted by perjured testimony, merely because we are Anarchists and hated by the class whom we have openly fought for many years.

Gentlemen, during our examination of talesmen, when we asked whether you would be prejudiced against us if it were proven that we propagated ideas and opinions contrary to those held by the majority, you were instructed by the Court to say, "If they are within the law." But what the Court did not tell you is, that no new faith—not even the most humane and peaceable—has ever been considered "within the law" by those who were in power. The history of human growth is at

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the same time the history of every new idea heralding the approach of a brighter dawn, and the brighter dawn has always been considered illegal, outside of the law.

Gentlemen of the jury, most of you, I take it, are believers in the teachings of Jesus. Bear in mind that he was put to death by those who considered his views as being against the law. I also take it that you are proud of your Americanism. Remember that those who fought and bled for your liberties were in their time considered as being against the law, as dangerous disturbers and trouble-makers. They not only preached violence, but they carried out their ideas by throwing tea into the Boston harbor. They said that "Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God." They wrote a dangerous document called the Declaration of Independence. A document which continues to be dangerous to this day, and for the circulation of which a young man was sentenced to ninety days prison in a New York Court, only the other day. They were the Anarchists of *their* time—they were never within the law.

Your Government is allied with the French Republic. Need I call your attention to the historic fact that the great upheaval in France was brought about by extra-legal means? The Dantes, the Robespieres, the Marats, the Herberts, aye even the man who is responsible for the most stirring revolutionary music, the Marseillaise (which unfortunately has deteriorated into a war tune) even Camille Desmoulins, were never within the law. But for those great pioneers and rebels, France would have continued under the yoke of the idle Louis XVI., to whom the sport of shooting jack rabbits was more important than the destiny of the people of France.

Ah, gentlemen, on the very day when we were being tried for conspiracy and overt acts, your city officials and representatives welcomed with music and festivities the Russian Commission. Are you aware of the fact that nearly all of the members of that Commission have only recently been released from exile? The ideas they propagated were never within the law. For nearly a hundred years, from 1825 to 1917, the Tree of Liberty in Russia was watered by the blood of her martyrs. No greater heroism, no nobler lives had ever been dedicated to humanity. Not one of them worked within the law. I could continue to enumerate almost endlessly the hosts of men and women in every land and in every period whose ideas and ideals redeemed the world because they were not within the law.

Never can a new idea move within the law. It matters not whether that idea pertains to political and social changes or to any other domain of human thought and expression—to science, literature, music; in fact, everything that makes for freedom and joy and beauty must refuse to move within the law. How can it be otherwise? The law is stationary, fixed,

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mechanical, "a chariot wheel" which grinds all alike without regard to time, place and condition, without ever taking into account cause and effect, without ever going into the complexity of the human soul.

Progress knows nothing of fixity. It cannot be pressed into a delinite mould. It cannot bow to the dictum, "I have ruled," "I am the regulating finger of God." Progress is ever renewing, ever becoming, ever changing—*never is it within the law.*

If that be crime, we are criminals even like Jesus, Socrates, Gallileo, Bruno, John Brown and scores of others. We are in good company, among those whom Havelock Ellis, the greatest living psychologist, describes as the political criminals recognized by the whole civilized world, except America, as men and women who out of deep love for humanity, out of a passionate reverence for liberty and an all-absorbing devotion to an ideal are ready to pay for their faith even with their blood. We cannot do otherwise if we are to be true to ourselves—we know that the political criminal is the precursor of human progress—the political criminal of to-day must needs be the hero, the martyr and the saint of the new age.

But, says the Prosecuting Attorney, the press and the unthinking rabble, in high and low station, "that is a dangerous doctrine and unpatriotic at this time." No doubt it is. But are we to be held responsible for something which is as unchangeable and unalienable as the very stars hanging in the heavens unto time and all eternity?

Gentlemen of the jury, we respect your patriotism. We would not, if we could, have you change its meaning for yourself. But may there not be different kinds of patriotism as there are different kinds of liberty? I for one cannot believe that love of one's country must needs consist in blindness to its social faults, to deafness to its social discords, of inarticulation to its social wrongs. Neither can I believe that the mere accident of birth in a certain country or the mere scrap of a citizen's paper constitutes the love of country.

I know many people—I am one of them—who were not born here, nor have they applied for citizenship, and who yet love America with deeper passion and greater intensity than many natives whose patriotism manifests itself by pulling, kicking, and insulting those who do not rise when the national anthem is played. Our patriotism is that of the man who loves a woman with open eyes. He is enchanted by her beauty, yet he sees her faults. So we, too, who know America, love her beauty, her richness, her great possibilities; we love her mountains, her canyons, her forests, her Niagara, and her deserts—above all do we love the people that have produced her wealth, her artists who have created beauty, her great apostles who

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dream and work for liberty—but with the same passionate emotion we hate her superficiality, her cant, her corruption, her mad, unscrupulous worship at the altar of the Golden Calf.

We say that if America has entered the war to make the world safe for democracy, she must first make democracy safe in America. How else is the world to take America seriously, when democracy at home is daily being outraged, free speech suppressed, peaceable assemblies broken up by overbearing and brutal gangsters in uniform; when free press is curtailed and every independent opinion gagged. Verily, poor as we are in democracy, how can we give of it to the world? We further say that a democracy conceived in the military servitude of the masses, in their economic enslavement, and nurtured in their tears and blood, is not democracy at all. It is despotism—the cumulative result of a chain of abuses which, according to that dangerous document, the Declaration of Independence, the people have the right to overthrow.

The District Attorney has dragged in our Manifesto, and he has emphasized the pasage, "Resist conscription." Gentlemen of the jury, please remember that that is not the charge against us. But admitting that the Manifesto contains the expression, "Resist conscription," may I ask you, is there only *one kind* of resistance? Is there only the resistance which means the gun, the bayonet, the bomb or flying machine? Is there not another kind of resistance? May not the people simply fold their hands and declare, "We will not fight when we do not believe in the necessity of war"? May not the people who believe in the repeal of the Conscription Law, because it is unconstitutional, express their opposition in word and by pen, in meetings and in other ways? What right has the District Attorney to interpret that particular passage to suit himself? Moreover, gentlemen of the jury, I insist that the indictment against us does not refer to conscription. We are charged with a conspiracy against registration. And in no way or manner has the prosecution proven that we are guilty of conspiracy or that we have committed an overt act.

Gentlemen of the jury, you are not called upon to accept our views, to approve of them or to justify them. You are not even called upon to decide whether our views are within or against the law. You are called upon to decide whether the prosecution has proven that the defendants Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman have conspired to urge people not to register. And whether their speeches and writings represent overt acts.

Whatever your verdict, gentlemen, it cannot possibly affect the rising tide of discontent in this country against war which, despite all boasts, is a war for conquest and military power. Neither can it affect the ever increasing opposition to conscription which is a military and industrial yoke placed

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upon the necks of the American people. Least of all will your verdict affect those to whom human life is sacred, and who will not become a party to the world slaughter. Your verdict can only add to the opinion of the world as to whether or not justice and liberty are a living force in this country or a mere shadow of the past.

Your verdict may, of course, affect us temporarily, in a physical sense—it can have no effect whatever upon our spirit. For even if we were convicted and found guilty and the penalty were that we be placed against a wall and shot dead, I should nevertheless cry out with the great Luther: "Here I am and here I stand and I cannot do otherwise."

And gentlemen, in conclusion let me tell you that my co-defendant, Mr. Berkman, was right when he said the eyes of America are upon you. They are upon you not because of sympathy for us or agreement with Anarchism. They are upon you because it must be decided sooner or later whether we are justified in telling people that we will give them democracy in Europe, when we have no democracy here? Shall free speech and free assemblage, shall criticism and opinion—which even the espionage bill did not include—be destroyed? Shall it be a shadow of the past, the great historic American past? Shall it be trampled underfoot by any detective, or policeman, anyone who decides upon it? Or shall free speech and free press and free assemblage continue to be the heritage of the American pople?

Gentlemen of the jury, whatever your verdict will be, as far as we are concerned, nothing will be changed. I have held ideas all my life. I have publicly held my ideas for twenty-seven years. Nothing on earth would ever make me change my ideas except one thing; and that is, if you will prove to me that our position is wrong, untenable, or lacking in historic fact. But never would I change my ideas because I am found guilty. I may remind you of two great Americans, undoubtedly not unkonwn to you, gentlemen of the jury; Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. When Thoreau was placed in prison for refusing to pay taxes, he was visited by Ralph Waldo Emerson and Emerson said: "David, what are you doing in jail?" and Thoreau replied: "Ralph, what are you doing outside, when honest people are in jail for their ideals?" Gentlemen of the jury, I do not wish to influence you. I do not wish to appeal to your passions. I do not wish to influence you by the fact that I am a woman. I have no such desires and no such designs. I take it that you are sincere enough and honest enough and brave enough to render a verdict according to your convictions, beyond the shadow of a reasonable doubt.

Please forget that we are Anarchists. Forget that it is

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claimed that we propagated violence. Forget that something appeared in MOTHER EARTH when I was thousands of miles away, three years ago. Forget all that, and merely consider the evidence. Have we been engaged in a conspiracy? has that conspiracy been proven? have we committed overt acts? have those overt acts been proven? We for the defense say they have not been proven. And therefore your verdict must be not guilty.

But whatever your decision, the struggle must go on. We are but the atoms in the incessant human struggle towards the light that shines in the darkness—the Ideal of economic, political and spiritual liberation of mankind!

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Address of Harold A. Content, Assistant United States Attorney, to the Jury

GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY:

Unfortunately I am sadly lacking in that eloquence of words that has distinguished Miss Goldman's oration. I am paid to talk for a living, but I am sure that if Miss Goldman wanted to accept a position in the Government service she could secure the finest kind of position by reason of her oratorical gifts. But perhaps I have something in the nature of a confession to make to you, because there was a time in my youthful career when I offered myself as a candidate for the State legislature, and I told with all my sincerity the voters in my district why they should vote for me, and you can judge the degree of success I had, when I tell you that I failed to be elected. But I feel in this case, that whereas the Government forces may not be able to place before you that eloquence, that impassioned oratory, that use of words that has so distinguished Miss Goldman during the past twenty or thirty years, still on the other hand the Government has brought before you an eloquence of facts that cannot be disregarded by any juror who is conscientiously trying to decide a question of fact upon the evidence submitted to him and upon nothing else. Now, gentlemen of the jury, you were told somewhat in the opening speech to the jury just what the law in question was.

(The Prosecutor here again defined the charge of conspiracy, the meaning of overt acts and reviewed the evidence.)

And now, gentlemen of the jury, before I pass to the other witnesses I just want to refer to a few things that were brought out in the summation of the defendants, that I haven't really thought of specially when I prepared these few remarks that I am giving you. Mr. Berkman among other things tried to give you a definition of an Anarchist. You, gentlemen, I assume, don't speak Greek. But he gave you an incorrect translation of the word "Anarche." The word "arche" means government. It does not mean violence. That is not the interpretation. So that the word "Anarchy" instead of meaning "without violence," means "absence, abolition of government," or "chaos," every man to do as he feels like, without regard to the rights of his neighbor, without regard to law and order. That's the true translation of the Greek word "anarche." So, don't be deluded by their contention that government is violence, and that any effort to do away with government is not violence but is something that is done to destroy violence. That is their philosophy. And you had a very excellent sample of it when Mr. Abbott was on the stand and was inquired of as to the tenets of the Ferrer School in New York

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City. I didn't bring that out. You gentlemen recall, all this talk about Mr. Francisco Ferrer was brought out over my objection. I had nothing to do with that. I didn't bring out that they were Anarchists. They brought that out themselves when they were examining talesmen. So that Mr. Abbott told you that this school of which he is the noble head, and of which these two defendants have the honor to be founders, teaches young people—think of it!—that they are above the law; teaches them what they call "self-reliance," that is to say, if you feel strong enough to defy a law of your country, why go ahead and defy it; only—be sure that you can get away with it. That is the doctrine of the Ferrer School. I didn't bring that out. They brought it out. And it is perhaps just as well for you, gentlemen, who doubtless have relatives in the public schools of this country, to know that and to consider how this country would succeed if doctrines of that sort were permitted to be promulgated among the young in this society.

Now, gentlemen of the jury, it is part of your province to pass upon the credibility of witnesses and I do not propose to take up your time by referring to each witness. But I shall do somewhat like my adversary. I shall break them off into groups. We first had Miss Fitzgerald who was called as a hostile witness. Miss Fitzgerald told you what the No-Conscription League was. She would not say in so many words that Mr. Berkman and Miss Goldman were prominent members of the league; she would only say that they were the ablest speakers. But what did we elicit from her? We elicited from her that the money with which the so-called league of Emma Goldman, Berkman & Company was run, was supplied by voluntary contributions, some of these contributions being taken up, as you can tell from the minutes read to you, at meetings where poor deluded people put in coppers and nickels and dimes, some as high as a dollar. And this money was taken, and what was done with it? It was placed to Alexander Berkman's credit in the account in his name. And you have in evidence a letter to the bank telling them to do it, and you have the further fact that on the bottom of the form letters contributors are asked to send the money to Berkman and Goldman for obvious reasons, not to the No-Conscription League. So what have you got? You have got the money that is taken for the avowed objects of this movement, put into the personal bank account of Alexander Berkman, mingled with other funds, funds from THE BLAST perhaps, funds perhaps from his writings, if there are any; and checks drawn in common on this fund, no accounting to anybody. If a trustee of any society in the State of New York handled accounts in that way he would be indicted for grand larceny and convicted. So as you examine Government's Exhibits 18 and 19 you have certain

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Graphic Press bills and you have certain other payments, you have some money sent to Robert Minor for the San Francisco defense; and to be sure, they paid $25 deposit for the Hunts' Point Palace, and some other alleged bills. But you also have such significant items as a bill from a doctor who treated Mr. Berkman's foot.

Now gentlemen of the jury, you may say perhaps they had a right to support themselves because they were engaged in the work and didn't take any specific salary. But I call your attention to the fact that if Anarchy means that you can take poor people's money and mingle it with your own and give no accounting for it and use it for what you please including hotel checks, then I think a lot of us will be turning into Anarchists.

You had a lot of the gentlemen called who testified that they had known Mr. Berkman and Miss Goldman for a long while, that they were very ideal people and had never believed in violence and had always expressed themselves as opposed to violence. You had Mr. John Reed who got 30 days and doesn't know what for in Paterson, who told you in a very calm manner that God knows he was opposed to violence. And then you had Mr. Lincoln Steffens, and you had a psychological lady named Miss Boardman, if I recollect. And you had an Italian gentleman named Mr. Pietro Allegra who spoke at many meetings, and you had Mrs. Sloan, who had a very distinct recollection that Miss Goldman was unalterably opposed to violence. And you had a gentleman who formerly was a lawyer, but doesn't practice any more, Mr. Bolton Hall, who believes in free speech, whether it comes in conflict with the law or not, and he was sure that Miss Goldman was opposed to violence, although he once heard that she served time for unlawful assembly and inciting to riot. Now the theory of all these gentlemen was this: that she could not have used these words. The important part of that May 18th speech is not "We believe in violence and will use violence." The important part is "We will support all those who refuse to be conscripted."

Gentlemen of the jury, the scene in this court has been a quiet one. It has been the aim of the defendants to convey to your mind the impression that it would have been absolutely inconsistent that they should even have advocated such terrible things as they are charged with. Gentlemen of the jury, you have not been at the different mass meetings that I have been compelled to attend. But I think you have a pretty fair picture in your mind. You have at those mass meetings a very different Emma Goldman, for example, than the Emma Goldman who in this court says "Thank you" to witnesses. You have there the emotional Emma Goldman, something as you heard to-day, with all that fiery oratory that makes her so danger-

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ous to the peace and security of the United States. Anybody who underestimates Emma Goldman's oratory, anybody who underestimates Emma Goldman's intellectual qualities is a fool. She is the best speaker that you perhaps ever heard. And that is why her influence is so pernicious.

And the Alexander Berkman you have seen here—how he controlled himself in court! But you got a taste once of his other self: once he lost control of himself and protested against something that was "a damned outrage," as he termed it, but which was really a perfectly proper piece of legal procedure, the offer of something in Miss Goldman's handwriting, and His Honor admitted it. That is the Berkman who speaks at the meetings. Those are the people who are plotting from day to day against the peace and security of the United States and who impose their personalities upon the weak minds of ignorant foreigners who come to this country, come from persecution in Russia, and instead of being taught that they should give credit to this country for freedom of worship, freedom of education, they are taught that they ought to bring about a rebellion against this country, the same as they were taught in Russia to bring about rebellions against the tyrannous rule of the Czar.

Now, gentlemen of the jury, there is another element in this case injected by the defense. It really has nothing to do with the case, but it really calls for some explanation. You have been told by numerous witnesses that the soldiers and the police and the detectives tried to break up the meetings. Now, gentlemen of the jury, that has nothing to do with the question of fact as to whether these people conspired to cause people not to register, to aid and abet those who did not register. But it does show the psychology of the minds of these defendants, and I think it will interest you to bear this point in mind. But before I want to call it to your attention that these people came on the platforms and used expressions and indulged in attacks that they know are calculated to bring about a breach of the peace. They indulged in language that of itself constitutes disorderly conduct because it tends toward a breach of the peace.

Gentlemen of the jury, can you blame these young men in uniform who have enlisted in their country's service, who are ready to lay down their lives in defense of the principles upon which this Government is founded and for which it stands, who have to sit there and listen to people of this kind insult the President of the United States, defy the laws of the United States, desecrate the national emblem and heap ridicule upon the national anthem? Is it any wonder that the bonds of restraint must break when the people of this sort will presume beyond the endurance of a normal, free American citizen?

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There was injected into the evidence something of a personal nature that I am sorry crept in—of course it doesn't make any difference—because it puts my personality in the case, where it doesn't belong. Miss Fitzgerald told you that at the meeting at the Royal Lyceum, on June 11th, Miss Goldmann came out of the hall and told me they were holding up registration cards of men over the conscriptable age; and I told her I had nothing to do with it, that I wasn't the marshal nor a policeman. She did say to me, according to the conceded testimony, "Well, you act like a policeman." Then I replied, "Well, if I were I might lock you up," or something of that sort. Now, that has nothing to do with the case, but it is perfectly apparent that Miss Goldman was trying to get into an argument—because that is their stock in trade, to get the other fellow's goat. And I am sorry to confess that one day they did get my goat and I had to apologize to the Court, because I fell a victim to the snare they had been laying for twenty-five years. They want you to fall for their snare, and then they blame it on you.

Gentlemen of the jury, in conclusion I want to say that this is a representative government. Before a law becomes the final law of the land every citizen through his chosen representative in Congress has the undoubted right to write to his Congressman, to see his Congressman and to take a definite stand on any piece of proposed legislation. Further than that, after a law is passed, if it appears to be a pernicious law every citizen has the undoubted right to urge the repeal of that law. But will you please tell me where in all the literature that has been offered in evidence, in all the speeches that have been offered in evidence, is there one word about proposed repeal of the conscription law? If these meetings were held merely to bring about the repeal of the conscription law, then why don't they say so? Can't you see that these people's object was wilfully to violate a law that was passed? If you don't believe in capital punishment, as you have a right not to believe in it, you have a right to agitate in the State of New York, if you will, for a repeal of the death penalty. If you do believe in the abolition of capital punishment, does that entitle you to go out and tell John Jones to murder somebody? That's a poor way to have a law repealed. That's precisely what these people have done. They don't like the conscription law. They don't like any law. But they are banded together, not to secure the repeal of that law, not to petition Congress in an orderly fashion, but to set themselves and their cohorts above the law of the United States. You were asked, gentlemen of the jury, if you believed in democracy. And every one of you believes in democracy. So does every one in this country believe in democracy. On the field of Gettysburg the immortal Lincoln

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said, "This is a government of the people, by the people and for the people." And so it is. The shadow of the great conflict at Gettysburg has passed off, but to-day this country stands north and south alike united in the defense of our common liberties. It is a government of the people, by the people and for the people. But an orderly government, a government of decent men and organized society, founded upon order and not upon chaos and Anarchy. And I say to you, gentlemen of the jury, that the sort of democracy for which Washington and Jefferson and Madison and Jackson and Lincoln fought and bled, that great democracy, that great orderly republican government must not succumb to and shall not be destroyed by the attacks of people like these two defendants who seek to abolish that very democracy that our forefathers have laid down their lives in defense of. That is the point. Of course we believe in democracy; but we don't propose to have that glorious democracy destroyed by Anarchy and bloodshed and violence.

Now, gentlemen of the jury, this case is an important case. That's doubtless why you have been so patient. It's an important case from the point of view of the defense. Nobody wants to underestimate the importance. But, gentlemen of the jury, this case is very important for the United States of America. As I said before, the Government of the United States is the district in which you participate through your duly constituted representatives. And this case is of prime importance to that Government. Will you by your verdict say that people like these can go forth again, defy our laws, desecrate the Stars and Stripes, make fun of the national anthem and do that with impunity? Urge people wilfully to set themselves above the provisions of a definite law? Aid and abet people who will not register for conscription? Are you by your verdict going to say that to them?

Or rather, gentlemen of the jury, are you going to say this: It has been shown that you two people got together in a common unlawful plan; that the object of your plan was to bring about that young men of conscriptable age should wilfully refuse to register as provided by law, and that you aided and abetted them in their unlawful activities, and that in pursuance of that conspiracy you did many outward acts looking toward the accomplishment of your wicked designs? Are you not rather going to say by your verdict, in these times when men are willing to give their treasure in behalf of those principles for which we all stand, and are willing to lay down their lives in behalf of the nation we love:

Strike till the last armed foe expires!
Strike for your altars and your fires!
Strike for the green graves of your sires!
God and your native land!

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The Court's Charge

GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY: It is with real sincerity that I express to you my appreciation of the patience that you have displayed throughout this trial, and of the very close and intelligent attention that you have given to the testimony as it was adduced, and to the summing-up of the defendants and of the counsel for the prosecution. It is extremely important to concentrate your minds upon the particular question here involved, arising out of the indictment of these two defendants. They are charged by the grand jury with an offense which I shall more technically define later, which in effect is this: 'that they have knowingly and wilfully counseled, abetted and aided persons of the so-called "draft age" to violate a statute of the United States, against the peace and dignity of the United States. * * *

This is not a trial of political principles. This cannot be turned into a political or State trial in the political sense. You are not to be misled by any effort to digress your minds from the real issue, which simply is whether these defendants are guilty or not guilty of the crime charged in the indictment. This is not a question of free speech. Free speech is guaranteed to us under the Constitution. No American worthy of the name believes in else than free speech. But free speech means not license, not counseling disobedience of law. Free speech means that frank, fair, full and orderly expression which every man or woman in the land, citizen or alien, may engage in, in lawful and orderly fashion. And that free speech is guaranteed to us, and no court could deny it to anyone.

Prior to the enactment of the so-called selective service law, aptly designated such by the President, on the 18th day of May, 1917, any person could discuss in the fullest manner possible the provisions of the pending legislation. And any person in discussing that legislation could use even the most vehement language and present any and all arguments that seemed to him or to her best. But when that discussion becomes embodied into law, then it becomes the duty of every person living under this Government to obey that law. Individual opinion might still be fully expressed. Proper agitation for repeal might still continue. But the law itself thenceforth must be obeyed. This is a republic founded upon principles of democracy. It can remain a republic only as the law is obeyed. The obedience to law is the fundamental basis of American life. Once that basis disappears or is destroyed, the whole fabric is destroyed and the foundation upon which a government of free men rests, disappears. * * *

I may only say one thing more, concerning which there

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can be little difference of opinion. Whatever may have been the fate of persons of historical note, whether the acts that they committed were within or without the law, is quite immaterial in this case. This is a country of law and order. The law must be obeyed. We are not dealing with a discussion of abstract principles. We are not concerned with the views of the defendants, whether they are right or wrong, on matters foreign to this case. We are only concerned with the evidence in the case. If you believe them guilty beyond a reasonable doubt, it is a matter of no concern to you nor to the court what their views may be. If you believe them not guilty, then equally are we not concerned with their political views.

I repeat in conclusion and lay it upon you most earnestly that this is not a trial of free speech. This is an indictment for crime. And the duty which rests upon you is to determine on the evidence whether or not the defendants are guilty or innocent of the crime charged in the indictment. Much has been said by the defendants and by the counsel for the Government as to what the country may think of your verdict. Gentlemen, we are within the solemn confines of a court. All the country wants from you is a just verdict on the evidence, a verdict that I know you will render, because you have given such close attention. And confining yourselves to that, it is your duty by deliberate consideration to arrive at a conclusion on the evidence and not to permit yourselves, as I am sure you will not, to be diverted into any attack—to make it seem as if any person were here on trial for the expression of opinion. The sole question is, has the Government proved the guilt of the defendants beyond a reasonable doubt? If so, your verdict is guilty. If not, your verdict is not guilty.

The Verdict

The jury retired at 5:20 and at 6 o'clock returned a verdict of guilty.

EMMA GOLDMAN: We move to set aside the verdict as being against the weight of evidence.

THE COURT: The stenographer may note that the motion is made, with formalities to cover all grounds upon which a motion to set aside a verdict may be made.

EMMA GOLDMAN: I wish to ask that sentence be deferred for a few days and that the present bail be continued meantime, because we want to arrange our affairs, which we have not had time to do during the trial.

THE COURT: The motion to set the verdict aside is denied.

MR. CONTENT: The Government moves for sentence.

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And the Government feels in a case of public importance like this case that the judgment and mandate of the Court should be speedily handed down.

THE CLERK: Alexander Berkman to the bar! Is there any reason why the sentence of the Court should not now be pronounced upon you?

ALEXANDER BERKMAN: Well, I think that it is only fair to suspend sentence to give us a chance to arrange our affairs. And the fundamental reason why sentence should not be pronounced is that we are innocent of the charge and we are convicted as Anarchists, out of prejudice and bitterness. That's all.

THE CLERK: Miss Goldman, have you anything to say why sentence should not be imposed?

EMMA GOLDMAN: I wish to say that the very fact that we are refused to have sentence deferred for several days to arrange our affairs proves that the Court is prejudiced because we are Anarchists; because we were frank and because we stood by our opinions, and because we are going to stand by our opinions.

THE COURT: Gentlemen of the jury, I wish you would remain, for I desire to say before I may forget it that I think the appreciation of the Court and the community is due to you for the fearless and prompt manner in which you have discharged your duty.

It has undoubtedly been a source of regret to the gentlemen of the jury, as it has been to the Court and possibly to those who have sat in the courtroom for these many days, that the extraordinary ability displayed by the defendants has not been utilized in support of law and order. The magnetic power of one of the defendants, if thus utilized, might have been of great service, in forms legitimately advocated, for the betterment of conditions as the world goes on. That power might have been of tremendous service, and more especially among the millions of humbler people who come to our country in an aspiration for liberty. I understand, I think, what has been spoken of as the psychology of the defendants, and I am quite sure that they understand what might be called the psychology of the Court. We do represent the existing order of things, in-so-far as that means that progress must be accomplished in this country by lawful means. We regard as enemies of the Government in the most serious sense of that term those who advocate the abolition of this Government, those who counsel disobedience to our laws and those who induce the less strong-minded to disobey our laws. These may be very old and to some very tiresome sentiments. But they are the sentiments

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that from our point of view have become a part of our lives, won at great expense by the Revolutionary Fathers, by the men who fought in the great civil conflict and by the men who now are willing to stand by their country when their country needs them.

We have no place in this country for those who express the view that the law may be disobeyed in accordance with the thoughts of an individual. I am expressing not my view alone, I am expressing the view of what we in America understand to be the views of a true democracy and a true republic. The Government has thus far enacted no special statute to deal with those who counsel disobedience and who advise insurrection; who seek to reach and control the humbler people, some of whom don't understand things, by methods such as were disclosed in this case. And I desire, so far as I am concerned, that my words shall be perfectly understood, not merely by those who are here but by anyone else who has in his mind that he is stronger than the law. It makes very little difference what becomes of a single administrator of the law, whether he be officer, marshal, district attorney or judge. They come and go. But in this country the law is an imperishable thing that lives forever. And it merely uses for the moment as its administrators some human beings who may at any time give way to others. And so, when I impose this sentence I am imposing it on the one hand with regret that these abilities were not better used. I impose it on the other hand with profound conviction that I am speaking for organized law, for the kind of liberty that we know and we understand, who have been privileged to live in this country that we believe is a true democracy. The maximum sentence under the statute is two years and $10,000 fine. I sentence the defendant Alexander Berkman to the United States penitentiary in Atlanta for two years and fine him the sum of $10,000.

I sentence the defendant Emma Goldman to the State penitentiary at Jefferson City, Mo., for two years and fine her the sum of $10,000.

I further direct the District Attorney under the provisions of the immigration act to forward to the Commissioner of Labor the record of this conviction, in order to determine in due course whether or not either or both of the defendants are subject to the provisions as to deportation provided in that act. That is a matter which is under the statute, an administrative matter for the Commissioner of Labor. And the District Attorney is directed to forward the record of this conviction to the Commissioner of Labor.

The Court is now adjourned without day.

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EMMA GOLDMAN: Just one moment, please. We wish to ask—as we intend to appeal the case—whether we may have time to consult with counsel and to proceed with the preparation of the appeal.

THE COURT: Under our rule you have ninety days within which to sue out a writ of error. And in order that there may be no mistake or confusion on the subject, the stenographer will note that the defendants may have ninety days within which to sue out a writ of error.

EMMA GOLDMAN: We should however like to know more specifically whether we may, after we are taken away from here, consult regarding the appeal or whether we are to be spirited away in a speedy manner. We would like to know that, to be quite clear where we stand.

THE COURT: The fullest opportunity within the ninety days will be given to the defendants to consult counsel and prepare their assignments of error and their writ of error. If in the course of that period there is no such opportunity, the defendants can address a communication to the Court and the Court will see that such an opportunity is afforded them. As a matter of fact, such opportunity is your right at any time within ninety days.

EMMA GOLDMAN: May I just ask what the procedure is, regarding whether we can now—I mean within the next hour or two—consult with counsel about our appeal? We ought to know that.

THE COURT: The custody of the defendants is with the Marshal, and the Marshal will attend to the matter referred to. Court is now adjourned.

EMMA GOLDMAN: I wish to thank the Court for the marvelous fair trial we have received. History will record, Your Honor, that two people asked for an adjournment, or rather deferring of sentence, of two days to arrange their affairs, and yet the Court considered them so dangerous to the United States that it would not even give them two days—which are given to the most heinous criminal. Thank you very much.

Notwithstanding the Judge's statement that it was the defendants' right to have ninety days in which to prepare their appeal, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were taken away from New York on the same evening and rushed, on midnight trains, to the penitentiaries at Jefferson City, Mo., and Atlanta, Ga.

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Testimony for the Defense

During the examination of the numerous witnesses for the defense, excerpts from various essays and articles, written by Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, were read by them to the jury for the purpose of clarifying their attitude on Anarchism and related subjects. Among the matter read was the following:

PREPAREDNESS: THE ROAD TO UNIVERSAL SLAUGHTER

[Read by Emma Goldman, from her pamphlet on Preparedness]

With the cunning methods used by the scheming diplomats and military cliques of Germany to saddle the masses with Prussian militarism, the American military ring with its Roosevelts, its Garrisons, its Daniels, and lastly its Wilsons, are moving the very heavens to place the militaristic heel upon the necks of the American people, and, if successful, will hurl America into the storm of blood and tears now devastating the countries of Europe.

Forty years ago Germany proclaimed the slogan: "Germany above everything. Germany for the Germans, first, last and always. We want peace, therefore we must prepare for war. Only a well armed and thoroughly prepared nation can maintain peace, can command respect, can be sure of its national integrity." And Germany began to prepare, thereby forcing the other nations to do the same. The terrible European war is only the culminating fruition of the hydra-headed gospel—military preparedness.

Since the war began, miles of paper and oceans of ink have been used to prove the barbarity, the cruelty, the oppression of Prussian militarism. Conservatives and radicals alike are giving their support to the Allies for no other reason than to help crush that militarism, in the presence of which, they say, there can be no peace or progress in Europe. But though America grows fat on the manufacture of munitions and war loans to the Allies to help crush Prussianism, the same cry is now being raised in America which if carried into national action, would build up an American militarism far more terrible than German or Prussian militarism could ever be, and that because nowhere in the world has capitalism become so brazen in its greed and nowhere is the State so ready to kneel at the feet of capital.

The very proclaimers of "America first" have long before this betrayed the fundamental principles of real Americanism, of the kind of Americanism that Jefferson had in mind when he said that the best government is that which governs least; the kind of Americanism that David Thoreau worked for when he proclaimed that the best government is the one that doesn't govern at all; or the other truly great Americans who aimed to make of this country a haven of refuge, who hoped that all the disinherited and oppressed people in coming to these shores would give character, quality and meaning to the country. That is not the America of the politician and munition speculators. Their America is powerfully portrayed in the idea of a young New York sculptor I know: a hard cruel hand with long, lean, merciless fingers crushing in over the heart of the immigrant, squeezing out its blood in order to coin dollars and give the foreigner blighted hopes and stulted aspirations instead.

No doubt Woodrow Wilson has reason to defend these institutions. But what an ideal to hold out to the young generation! How is a military drilled and trained people to defend freedom, peace and happiness? This is what Major General O'Ryan has to say of an efficiently trained generation:

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"The soldier must be so trained that he becomes a mere automaton; he must be so trained that it will destroy his initiative; he must be so trained that he is turned into a machine. The soldier must be forced into the military noose; he must be racked up; he must be ruled by his superiors with pistol in hand."

This was not said by a Prussian Junker; not by a German barbarian; not by Treitschke or Bernhardi, but by an American Major General. And he is right. You cannot conduct war with equals, you cannot have militarism with free born men, you must have slaves, automatons, machines, obedient disciplined creatures, who will move, act, shoot and kill at the command of their superiors. That is preparedness, and nothing else.

I am no more pro German than pro Ally. As an Anarchist I refute both, as the "two thieves who are too cowardly to fight." Hence they force the people to do their criminal deed, hence they sacrifice "the boys from every village, hamlet and town."

That which has driven the masses of Europe into the trenches and to the battlefields is not their inner longing for war, it must be traced to the cut-throat competition for military equipment, for more efficient armies, for larger warships, for more powerful cannon. You cannot build up a standing army and then throw it back into a box like tin soldiers. Armies equipped to the teeth with weapons, with highly developed instruments of murder and backed by the military interests, have their own dynamic functions. We have but to examine into the nature of militarism to realize the truism of this contention.

Militarism consumes the strongest and most productive elements of each nation. Militarism swallows the largest part of the national revenue. Almost nothing is spent on education, art, literature and science, compared with the amount devoted to militarism in times of peace, while in times of war everything else is set at naught: all life stagnates, all effort is curtailed; the very sweat and blood of the masses are used to feed this insatiable monster—militarism. Under such circumstances, it must become more arrogant, more aggressive, more bloated with its own importance. If for no other reason, it is out of surplus energy that militarism must act to remain alive; therefore it will seek an enemy or create one artificially. In this civilized purpose and method, militarism is sustained by the State, protected by the laws of the land, is fostered by the home and the school, and glorified by public opinion. In other words, the function of militarism is to kill. It cannot live except through murder.

But the most dominant factor of military preparedness and the one which inevitably leads to war, is the creation of group interests, which consciously and deliberately work for the increase of armament whose purposes are furthered by creating the war hysteria. This group interest embraces all those engaged in the manufacture and sale of munition and in military equipment for personal gain and profit. The family Krupp, for instance, which owns the largest cannon munition plant in the world; its sinister influence in Germany, and in fact in many other countries, extends to the press, the school, the church and to statesmen of highest rank. Shortly before the war, Carl Liebknecht, one of the few brave public men in Germany now, brought to the attention of the Reichstag that the family Krupp had in its employ officials of the highest military position, not only in Germany, but in France and in other countries. Everywhere its emissaries have been

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at work, systematically inciting national hatred and antagonisms; creating invasion hysteria.

It is not at all unlikely that the history of the present war will trace its origin to the same international murder trust. But is it always necessary for one generation to wade through oceans of blood and heap up mountains of human sacrifice that the next generation may learn a grain of truth from it all? Can we of to-day not profit by the cause which led to the European war, can we not learn that it was preparedness, thorough and efficient preparedness on the part of Germany and the other countries for military aggrandizement and material gain; above all can we not realize that preparedness in America must and will lead to the same result, the same barbarity, the same senseless sacrifice of life? Is America to follow suit, is it to be turned over to the American Krupps, the American military cliques? It almost seems so when one hears the jingo howls of the press, the blood and thunder tirades of the bully Roosevelt, the sentimental twaddle of our college-bred President.

The more reason for those who still have a spark of libertarianism and humanity left to cry out against this great crime, against the outrage now being prepared and imposed upon the American people. It is not enough to claim being neutral; a neutrality which sheds crocodile tears with one eye and keeps the other riveted upon the profits from war supplies and war loans, is not neutrality. It is a hypocritical cloak to cover the country's crimes. Nor is it enough to join the bourgeois pacifists who proclaim peace among the nations while helping to perpetuate the war among the classes, a war which, in reality, is at the bottom of all other wars.

It is this war of the classes that we must concentrate upon, and in that connection the war against false values, against evil institutions, against all social atrocities. Those who appreciate the urgent need of co-operating in great struggles must oppose military preparedness imposed by the State and capitalism for the destruction of the masses. They must organize the preparedness of the masses for the overthrow of both capitalism and the State. Industrial and economic preparedness is what the workers need. That alone leads to revolution at the bottom as against mass destruction from on top. That alone leads to true internationalism of labor against Kaiserdom, Kingdom, diplomacies, military cliques and bureaucracy. That alone will give the people the means to take their children out of the slums, out of the sweat shops and the cotton mills. That alone will enable them to inculcate in the coming generation a new ideal of brotherhood, to rear them in play and song and beauty; to bring up men and women, not automatons. That alone will enable woman to become the real mother of the race, who will give to the world creative men, and not soldiers who destroy. That alone leads to economic and social freedom, and does away with all wars, all crimes, and all injustice.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE

[Read by Emma Goldman, from her pamphlet bearing the same title]

Björnstjerne Björnson, in the second part of *Beyond Human Power*, emphasizes the fact that it is among the Anarchists that we must look for the modern martyrs who pay for their faith with their blood, and who welcome death with a smile, because they believe, as truly as Christ did, that their martyrdom will redeem humanity.

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"There is a truism that the man in the street seems always to forget, when he is abusing the Anarchists, or whatever party happens to be his *bête noire* for the moment, as the cause of some outrage just perpetrated. This indisputable fact is that homicidal outrages have, from time immemorial, been the reply of goaded and desperate classes, and goaded and desperate individuals, to wrongs from their fellow-men, which they felt to be intolerable. Such acts are the violent recoil from violence, whether aggressive or repressive; they are the last desperate struggle of outraged and exasperated human nature for breathing space and life. And their cause lies not in any special conviction, but in the depths of that human nature itself. The whole course of history, political and social, is strewn with evidences of this fact. To go no further, take the three most notorious examples of political parties goaded into violence during the last fifty years: the Mazzinians in Italy, the Fenians in Ireland, and the Terrorists in Russia. Were these people Anarchists? No. Did they all three even hold the same political opinions? No. The Mazzinians were Republicans, the Fenians political separatists, the Russians Social Democrats or Constitutionalists. But all were driven by desperate circumstances into this terrible form of revolt. And when we turn from parties to individuals who have acted in like manner, we stand appalled by the number of human beings goaded and driven by sheer desperation into conduct obviously violently opposed to their social instincts.

Now that Anarchism has become a living force in society, such deeds have been sometimes committed by Anarchists, as well as by others. For no new faith, even the most essentially peaceable and humane the mind of man has yet accepted, but at its first coming has brought upon earth not peace, but a sword; not because of anything violent or anti-social in the doctrine itself; simply because of the ferment any new and creative idea excites in men's minds, whether they accept or reject it. And a conception of Anarchism, which, on one hand, threatens every vested interest, and, on the other, holds out a vision of a free and noble life to be won by a struggle against existing wrongs, is certain to rouse the fiercest opposition, and bring the whole repressive force of ancient evil into violent contact with the tumultuous outburst of a new hope.

Under miserable conditions of life, any vision of the possibility of better things makes the present misery more intolerable, and spurs those who suffer to the most energetic struggles to improve their lot, and if these struggles only immediately result in sharper misery, the outcome is sheer desperation. In our present society, for instance, an exploited wage worker, who catches a glimpse of what work and life might and ought to be, finds the toilsome routine and the squalor of his existence almost intolerable, and even when he has the resolution and courage to continue steadily working his best, and waiting until new ideas have so permeated society as to pave the way for better times, the mere fact that he has such ideas and tries to spread them, brings him into difficulties with his employers. How many thousands of Socialists, and above all Anarchists, have lost work and even the chance of work, solely on the ground of their opinions! It is only the specially gifted craftsman, who, if he be a zealous propagandist, can hope to retain permanent employment. And what happens to a man with his brain working actively with a ferment of new ideas, with a vision before his eyes of a new hope dawning for toiling and agonizing men, with the knowledge that his suffering and that of his fellows in misery is not caused

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by the cruelty of fate, but by the injustice of other human beings,—what happens to such a man when he sees those dear to him starving, when he himself is starved? Some natures in such a plight, and those by no means the least social or the least sensitive, will become violent, and will even feel that their violence is social and not anti-social, that in striking when and how they can, they are striking, not for themselves, but for human nature, outraged and despoiled in their persons and in those of their fellow sufferers. And are we, who ourselves are not in this horrible predicament, to stand by and coldly condemn these piteous victims of the Furies and Fates? Are we to decry as miscreants these human beings who act with heroic self-devotion, sacrificing their lives in protest, where less social and less energetic natures would lie down and grovel in abject submission to injustice and wrong? Are we to join the ignorant and brutal outcry which stigmatizes such men as monsters of wickedness, gratuitously running amuck in a harmonious and innocently peaceful society? No! We hate murder with a hatred that may seem absurdly exaggerated to apologists for Matabele massacres, to callous acquiescers in hangings and bombardments, but we decline in such cases of homicide, or attempted homicide, as those of which we are treating, to be guilty of the cruel injustice of flinging the whole responsibility of the deed upon the immediate perpetrator. The guilt of these homicides lies upon every man and woman who, intentionally or by cold indifference, helps to keep up social conditions that drive human beings to despair. The man who flings his whole life into the attempt at the cost of his own life to protest against the wrongs of his fellow-men, is a saint compared to the active and passive upholders of cruelty and injustice, even if his protest destroy other lives besides his own. Let him who is without sin in society cast the first stone at such a one."

* * * * *

That every act of political violence should nowadays be attributed to Anarchists is not at all surprising. Yet it is a fact known to almost everyone familiar with the Anarchist movement that a great number of acts, for which Anarchists had to suffer, either originated with the capitalist press or were instigated, if not directly perpetrated, by the police.

For a number of years acts of violence had been committed in Spain, for which the Anarchists were held responsible, hounded like wild beasts, and thrown into prison. Later it was disclosed that the perpetrators of these acts were not Anarchists, but members of the police department. The scandal became so widespread that the conservative Spanish papers demanded the apprehension and punishment of the gang-leader, Juan Rull, who was subsequently condemned to death and executed. The sensational evidence, brought to light during the trial, forced Police Inspector Momento to exonerate completely the Anarchists from any connection with the acts committed during a long period. This resulted in the dismissal of a number of police officials, among them Inspector Tressols, who, in revenge, disclosed the fact that behind the gang of police bomb-throwers were others of far higher position, who provided them with funds and protected them.

* * * * *

"Repression, tyranny, and indiscriminate punishment of innocent men have been the watchwords of the government of the alien domination in India ever since we began the commercial boycott of English goods. The tiger qualities of the British are much in evidence now in India. They think that by the strength of the sword they will keep down India! It is

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this arrogance that has brought about the bomb, and the more they tyrannize over a helpless and unarmed people, the more terrorism will grow. We may deprecate terrorism as outlandish and foreign to our culture, but it is inevitable as long as this tyranny continues, for it is not the terrorists that are to be blamed, but the tyrants who are responsible for it. It is the only resource for a helpless and unarmed people when brought to the verge of despair. It is never criminal on their part. The crime lies with the tyrant."

* * * * *

Even conservative scientists are beginning to realize that heredity is not the sole factor moulding human character.-Climate, food, occupation; nay, color, light, and sound must be considered in the study of human psychology.

If that be true, how much more correct is the contention that great social abuses will and must influence different minds and temperaments in a different way. And how utterly fallacious the stereotyped notion that the teachings of Anarchism, or certain exponents of these teachings, are responsible for the acts of political violence.

Anarchism, more than any other social theory, values human life above things. All Anarchists agree with Tolstoy in this fundamental truth: if the production of any commodity necessitates the sacrifice of human life, society should do without that commodity, but it cannot do without that life. That, however, nowise indicates that Anarchism teaches submission. How can it, when it knows that all suffering, all misery, all ills, result from the evil of submission?

Has not some American ancestor said, many years ago, that resistance to tyranny is obedience to God? And he was not an Anarchist even. I would say that resistance to tyranny is man's highest ideal. So long as tyranny exists, in whatever form, man's deepest aspiration must resist it as inevitably as man must breathe.

Compared with the wholesale violence of capital and government, political acts of violence are but a drop in the ocean. That so few resist is the strongest proof how terrible must be the conflict between their souls and unbearable social iniquities.

High strung, like a violin, they weep and moan for life, so relentless, so cruel, so terribly inhuman. In a desperate moment the string breaks. Untuned ears hear nothing but discord. But those who feel the agonized cry understand its harmony; they hear in it the fulfillment of the most compelling moment of human nature.

Such is the psychology of political violence.

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ASPIRATIONS OF THE BLAST

[Read by Alexander Berkman, from THE BLAST, Vol. 1, No. 2]

THE BLAST is not a decent, respectable paper. Decency and Respectability —Mother Grundy's bastard twins—change, like the fashions, with age, country and climate, mostly without rhyme or reason.

If you are a sissified mollycoddle of the good old kind that would put draping around a piano leg and go to bed in a night cap, drop this paper right now. It will surely shock you: for the truth is stark naked.

It is said: "The truth shall make you free." So it shall. But the truth is not a nugget found by luck. He who diligently searches will find grains of it now and then.

THE BLAST preaches no dogma. Its mission is more revolutionary: to arouse independence of feeling, thought and action, without which there is no road to human freedom.

Freedom is primarily a state of mind. It can neither be chained in a dungeon nor heralded from the throne. There is no royal road to it, though the pathways are many. THE BLAST proposes to discuss them.

Any man or movement enlisted in the battle for the right of the worker to the Earth and the fulness thereof will find in THE BLAST a fighting friend, regardless of regimental insignia.

THE BLAST has no time to split hairs over policies.

If an institution has the elements of slavery within it, we shall grill it, no matter how respectably moss-grown it has become with age.

If THE BLAST can aid in sweeping away the cobwebs of tradition, and call to life the vision of a better, freer world, without oppression and legalized theft, without soldiers and bloodshed, without priests and superstitions, without politicians and graft, plutocrats and paupers, we shall not have worked in vain.

We know our limitations.

We are not profound philosophers. Hence we refuse to be slaves to consistency.

We are not learned scholars. Therefore faulty rhetoric will not freeze the blood in our veins.

We are free from the blight of professional journalism. We shall not worry ourselves to death about style.

We are but workers with a passion for Freedom and with the determination to express it in the face of all difficulty and danger.

If you are with us, *now* is the time to prove your interest and solidarity.

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VIOLENCE AND ANARCHISM

[Read by Alexander Berkman, from his article published in THE BLAST, Vol. I, No. 17]

It is growing rather monotonous to hear the cry of "Anarchist conspiracy" raised whenever and wherever there happens an "unlawful" shot or bomb explosion.

Let us consider the matter dispassionately. Is violence specifically Anarchistic? Is the taking of human life such a very unusual occurrence among "civilized" peoples? Is our whole social existence anything but an uninterrupted series of murder, assassination, mutilation? All our honored institutions are rooted in the very spirit of murder. Do we build warships for educational purposes? Is the army a Sunday school? Our police, jails and penitentiaries—what purpose do they serve but to suppress, kill and maim? Is the gallows the symbol of our brotherhood, the electric chair the proof of our humanitarianism?

"All these things are necessary evils," we are told by the self-satisfied. True, they are necessary; necessary to preserve society *as it is*. But has it ever occurred to the "good citizen" whether it is really necessary to preserve things as they are? Is it indeed worth while?

Organized society can have but on *raison d'être;* namely, the greatest good of its members. Let us examine, then, whether society, as at present constituted, can be justly said to fulfill its mission.

No life, individual or collective, is possible without the means of subsistence. The social members supplying these means are, consequently, the life-givers of the community. And who are they? The question answers itself automatically: the producers of the country's wealth are the conservators of its life. All members and classes of society should equally benefit by the fact of our combined effort as a society. But if, for any reason, distinctions are to be made, the producing class, the real backbone of the social body, should have the preference.

In other words, the workers are the ones who should enjoy the greatest benefits arising from social organization. That is the true mission of human society. Does the latter accomplish it? Does it come anywhere near accomplishment?

By no means. The producers are the very ones on whose shoulders rests the whole burden of our social evils. They are the disinherited, the submerged. The products of their toil are the property of some one else; the land and machinery, without which no production is possible, are not owned by them; as a result, they are forced to sell their labor for whatever pittance the employers condescend to give. Hence poverty, starvation, and widespread misery among the very class which, as the sole producer, has the best claim to enjoy the blessings of organized social life.

To support, defend and perpetuate these unjust and terrible conditions it is necessary to have police, prisons, laws and government. For the disinherited are not content to forever starve in the midst of plenty, and the exploited are beginning to cry out against their cruel bondage.

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These cries, these signs of rebellious dissatisfaction must be stifled. That is the mission of law and government: to preserve things as they are; to secure to the rich their stolen wealth; to strangle the voice of popular discontent.

Such is the social life of "civilized" countries. A life of misery and degradation, of economic exploitation, governmental suppression, legal brutality and judicial murder. Sham, injustice and tyranny are the synonyms of organized society. Shall we preserve it as it is? Is it necessary and desirable? Is it even possible?

"But you can't regenerate society by violence, by a bomb," the well-meaning people argue.

Indeed, full well we know we cannot. Be fair; give ear. Do not confound the philosophy of a better, freer and happier life with an *act resulting from the very evils which that philosophy seeks to abolish.*

Anarchism is the science of social order, as opposed to existing disorder. of brotherhood, as against present Ishmaelitism; of individual liberty and well-being, as opposed to legal oppression, robbery and universal misery.

This condition of social regeneration cannot be achieved by the will or act of any man or party. The enlightenment of the workers regarding the evils of wage slavery, the awakening of the public conscience to a clearer understanding of liberty and justice—these are the forces which will abolish all forms of bondage, political, economical and social, replacing present institutions by free co-operation and the solidarity of communal effort.

"But the bomb?" cry the judges in and out of court. The bomb is the echo of your cannon, trained upon our starving brothers; it is the cry of the murdered striker; 'tis the voice of hungry women and children; the shriek of the maimed and torn in your industrial slaughter houses; it is the dull thud of the policeman's club upon a defenseless head; 'tis the shadow of the crisis, the rumbling of suppressed earthquake—it is Desperation's lightning out of an atmosphere of degradation and misery that king, president and plutocrat have heaped upon humanity. *The bomb is the ghost of your past crimes.*

You may foam and legislate, arrest, imprison and deport. You may still further tighten the thumb-screws of persecution, erect more gallows, and build electric chairs. Pitiful fools! Thus was Christ crucified as a disturber of "Caesar's peace." Did Golgotha suppress his teaching? Have the unspeakable tortures of the Inquisition eradicated free thought? Did Louis XVI save his crown—or his head—by *lettre de cachet?* Has the cause of the Abolitionists been defeated by the judicial murder of John Brown?

"Our graves will speak louder than the voices you strangle!" In spite of all the strenuous governmental, capitalistic and journalistic efforts to misrepresent and suppress Anarchists and Anarchism—because of those efforts—the people will yet learn the truth.

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A New Declaration of Independence

[Read by Emma Goldman, from her essay in MOTHER EARTH, Vol. IV., 1909-10]

When, in the course of human development, existing institutions prove inadequate to the needs of man, when they serve merely to enslave, rob, and oppress mankind, the people have the eternal right to rebel against, and overthrow, these institutions.

The mere fact that these forces—inimical to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—are legalized by statute laws, sanctified by divine rights, and enforced by political power, in no way justifies their continued existence.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all human beings, irrespective of race, color, or sex, are born with the equal right to share at the table of life; that to secure this right there must be established among men economic, social, and political freedom; we hold further that government exists but to maintain special privilege and property rights; that it coerces man into submission and therefore robs him of dignity, self-respect, and life.

The history of the American kings of capital and authority is the history of repeated crimes, injustices, oppression, outrage, and abuse, all aiming at the suppression of individual liberties and the exploitation of the people. A vast country, rich enough to supply all her children with all possible comforts, and insure well-being to all, is in the hands of a few, while the nameless millions are at the mercy of ruthless wealth gatherers, unscrupulous lawmakers, and corrupt politicians. Sturdy sons of America are forced to tramp the country in a fruitless search for bread, and many of her daughters are driven into the street, while thousands of tender children are daily sacrificed on the altar of Mammon. The reign of these kings is holding mankind in slavery, perpetuating poverty and disease, maintaining crime and corruption; it is fettering the spirit of liberty, throttling the voice of justice, and degrading and oppressing humanity. It is engaged in continual war and slaughter, devastating the country and destroying the best and finest qualities of man; it nurtures superstition and ignorance, sows prejudice and strife, and turns the human family into a camp of Ishmaelites.

We, therefore, the liberty-loving men and women, realizing the great injustice and brutality of this state of affairs, earnestly and boldly do hereby declare, That each and every individual is and ought to be free to own himself and to enjoy the full fruit of his labor; that man is absolved from all allegiance to the kings of authority and capital; that he has, by the very fact of his being, free access to the land and all means of production, and entire liberty of disposing of the fruits of his efforts; that each and every individual has the unquestionable and unabridgeable right of free and voluntary association with other equally sovereign individuals for economic, political, social, and all other purposes, and that to achieve this end man must emancipate himself from the sacredness of property, the respect for man-made law, the fear of the Church, the cowardice of public opinion, the stupid arrogance of national, racial, religious, and sex superiority, and from the narrow puritanical conception of human life. And for the support of this Declaration, and with a firm reliance on the harmonious blending of man's social and individual tendencies, the lovers of liberty joyfully consecrate their uncompromising devotion, their energy and intelligence, their solidarity and their lives.

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Prison Memoirs Of An Anarchist

By Alexander Berkman

Berkman's book is noteworthy as a human document, an analysis of human emotions and a study of the subtle influence of environment material and psychic. *Mother Earth*

For a quarter of a century past our standard of the misery of a prison life has been more or less definitely set by a record of a convict existence in Siberia. It may be that for those of us who read the new "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist" a new high-water mark will be reached in our understanding of prison wretchedness. * * * In the book of his experience Berkman has given us a record of horrors that comes near being unsurpassed. We have here a picture of a hideous existence, hideous in its physical conditions, hideous in its moral degradation, hideous most of all in its madness. It is not in Siberia; it is in Pittsburgh. *The Call*

Berkman was sent to the penitentiary and served his time. In this book he tells his story. And he tells it in a way that reminds you of Dostoyevsky and the other great Russian realists. Berkman is a staccato realist. He is an odd rationalist and emotionalist. But he gets himself over into your comprehension and does it completely. The writer is an artist—consciously or unconsciously. His big picture has an impressive background. And in the foreground is life, lighted by thought and moving in passion. Berkman is lyrical in his ecstasy. And yet in his ecstasy he sees clearly. His exposition of himself and his cause is a rare piece of psychology. Reading him, taking his point of view, you cannot call him a murderer. He knows how to tell his story. He tells it so you see it as a sort of working of something like Greek Fate. And it is that large conception of the drama of his deed that makes his book a big one. His narrative of his long years in prison is fascinating. What he suffered he makes plain. But he is never sorry for himself, always for his fellow-convicts, for mankind that has "sought out many inventions" that have brought prisons into existence. * * * Those who like the work of Tolstoy, of Turgenieff, of Gogol, of Dostoyevsky, of Gorky, of Andreyev, of Tchekov, will find in Berkman the brother of the men and women whose lives those authors tell. *The St. Louis Mirror*

Nothing could exceed the uncanny spell exercised by this story. A psychic and, whether conscious or not, a highly literary effect has been produced by the use throughout of the present tense. * * * Berkman has succeeded in making you live in his prison experiences with him, and his book is probably as complete a self-revelation as is humanly possible. *N. Y. Evening Post*

A story of prison life by an author who spent fourteen years behind the bars gathering his material ought to have value as a human document. When the writer, furthermore, wields his pen in the manner of the Slavic realists and is compared by critics with such men as Dostoyevsky and Andreyev, his work must possess a tremendous fascination as well as a social value.—*N. Y. Tribune*

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Anarchism and Other Essays

By Emma Goldman

WHAT THE REVIEWS SAY OF THIS BOOK

Emma Goldman—the notorious, insistent, rebellious, enigmatical Emma Goldman—has published her first book, "Anarchism and Other Essays." In it she records "the mental and soul struggles of twenty-one years," and recites all the articles of that strange and subversive creed in behalf of which she has suffered imprisonment, contumely and every kind of persecution. The book is a vivid revelation of a unique personality. It appears at a time when Anarchistic ideas are undoubtedly in the ascendant throughout the world.—Current Literature.

* * * *

The open-minded reader who devotes an hour or two to a perusal of "Anarchism and Other Essays," by Emma Goldman, will put down the book with a new respect for the author and perhaps also with some measure of respect for certain of her doctrines.—Baltimore Sun.

* * * *

Few people in this country outside democratic politics would recognize the name of Emma Goldman, or be able to give an application if it were mentioned to them. Yet for good or ill, Emma Goldman is likely to influence the future of the United States a great deal more than noisy Mr. Roosevelt or stout Mr. Taft. . . . For twenty years she has been the prophetess of revolt throughout the United States.—London (Eng.) Chronicle.

* * * *

Emma Goldman's book on "Anarchism and Other Essays" ought to be read by all so-called respectable women, and adopted as a text-book by women's clubs throughout the country. . . . For courage, persistency, self-effacement, self-sacrifice, in the pursuit of her object, she has hitherto been unsurpassed among the world's women. . . . Repudiating as she does practically every tenet of what the modern State holds good, she stands for some of the noblest traits in human nature.—Life.

* * * *

Every thoughtful person ought to read this volume of papers by the foremost American Anarchist. In whatever way the book may modify or strengthen the opinion already held by its readers, there is no doubt that a careful reading of it will tend to bring about greater social sympathy. It will help the public to understand a group of serious-minded and morally strenuous individuals, and also to feel the spirit that underlies the most radical tendencies of the great labor movement of our day.—Hutchins Hapgood in The Bookman.

* * * *

The volume contains an interesting biographical sketch by Hippolyte Havel, which throws new light on the character of this remarkable woman. It is a book well worth reading from start to finish, if only to change the ideas which the majority of people have on the subject.—San Francisco Call.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Despite Jehovah and the Police / Emma Goldman. – pp. 730-733 ; 22 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 11, no. 11 (Jan. 1917).

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DESPITE JEHOVAH AND THE POLICE

By Emma Goldman

IT IS written somewhere in the holy book of Israel that if the chosen children were permitted to travel the road of life without confronting an enemy, they would forget Jehovah. Applied to the Anarchist propagandists this would read as follows: If you can tour up and down the land without an arrest, you will forget the police. The moral of it is: Blessed be Jehovah! But for him most Jews would become contented pawn brokers. Blessed be the police! But for them many Anarchists would become "philosophic" and join the complacent living dead.

Chicago proved faithful again. Seventeen large meetings. Enthusiastic audiences. The comrades reenforced this year by our splendid workers Lucy and Bob Robins, Sophia Schumer, Sadie Bernstein, C. V. Cook, Walter Merchant and Sveda were helpful as ever. Many willing volunteers responded to the call for the distribution of birth control literature. Yet no race suicide in its wake. What more need one ask?

Milwaukee, which we have neglected for several years, continues to be heavy of mind. Not through beer, but through political socialism. Still we had four good meetings. The refreshing part was furnished by a group of young artists and writers. Like the spooks of dead past sins this group meets at midnight to discuss "ways and means" how to bring about the revolution. Reckless, irresponsible wonder-worker Youth! Again a number of eager volunteers distributed birth control literature and all continues to be dull in the stronghold of Socialism—Milwaukee.

Ann Arbor, Michigan. Six years ago we barely came away with our lives. This time one earnest eager, generous soul, Agnes Ingles, performed the miracle. As she is writing about it herself, I will only add that it was worth the effort of six years to have discovered Agnes.

Undisturbed, quiet, peaceful four weeks. No wonder we were beginning to forget the police. But like Jehovah who watcheth over Israel, the police watcheth over us. In Cleveland, Ohio, and Rochester, N. Y., they came, they saw, and they "conquered." Ben

Reitman was arrested in Cleveland for calling for volunteers to distribute birth control literature. After the arrest one hundred people, each carrying a birth control pamphlet in his hand, followed him to the station house. Ben was the only one held. He is out on $1,000 bail. His case has been set for trial for January 9th, but it is planned to ask for a continuance for February 6th. A Free Speech Defense League has been formed with Mrs. Ralph Mitchell as Secretary-Treasurer. Among the members are: Mrs. H. Wellman, Mrs. Peets, Mr. David Gibson of the Ground-Hog and others.

The law in Ohio is very severe. Unless an energetic campaign of publicity and protest be inaugurated at once, the outcome may prove serious. Ben Reitman's case is the first in Ohio. A victory for him would mean a triumph for the birth control issue in that state. Our readers owe it to themselves to help with the defense. **Communicate at once with Mrs. Ralph Mitchell, 2079 E. 90th St., Cleveland, Ohio. Write and induce others to write letters of protest to Judge Dan Cull, Municipal Court, Cleveland, Ohio.** Insist upon your right to birth control knowledge. Point out that if free speech and free press are suppressed, you must remain ignorant on the vital issues of birth control.

Rochester, N. Y., my "home town." The little ironies of life, how they play fast and lose with poor, helpless humans! Thirty-one years ago I came to Rochester—to the home of factories and the land of shop keepers. This time I came to Rochester—as to the home of social snobbery and the land of mental lethargy. Everything was to be exceptionally peaceful, but life's little ironies upset it all. At the second meeting, in the Fine Arts Hall, attended mostly by readers of such profound literature as the Woman's Home Journal, the bomb exploded.

Shortly before I arrived in the hall, Ben Reitman was arrested for selling Dr. Wm. J. Robinson's book "Limitation of Offspring" and Margaret Sanger's "What Every Girl Should Know" and "What Every Mother Should Know." Imagine the Rochester police

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knowing that these books are sold freely everywhere; that they go through the mails; that they are perfectly harmless! But even the Rochester police could have been made to see the folly of the arrest but for a strange coincidence. A birth control pamphlet was discovered by the detectives in one of the nine copies of Dr. Robinson's book confiscated by the police. No one knows how the pamphlet got there. But there it was. Ben was held for trial and is out on $250 bail each, on two charges. The case comes up on the 24th of January. It will no doubt be postponed to February.

At the hearing, the "criminal" made a fine stand. In referring to the two sections on which he was charged he said, among other things:

"These were placed on the statute more than forty-four years ago. It was never intended that they should cover such cases as I am being tried upon. It was done to prevent fake patent medicines and mechanical devices for bringing on abortions from falling into the hands of innocent people. Because the masses of women are now kept from birth control knowledge, many thousands of them die as a result of criminal operations. There are many thousands who positively refuse to bear children because they are either too exhausted or too poor to provide for them. The birth control agitation is to bring to these women knowledge and relief."

Ben made two motions for the dismissal of the cases against him. Judge Willis K. Gellett did not deny the motion but said that he would have to read the literature and would have to inform himself on the subject. He was, at any rate, willing to be informed so it is up to all of us to send him the necessary information. As in the case of Ohio the successful outcome of the arrest in Rochester does not concern only Ben Reitman. It concerns the thinking people of Rochester and the state of New York. Write to the Judge, care of Courthouse. Protest against the arrest. Point out the importance of birth control knowledge and the utter farce of talking of free speech and press when people are prohibited from talking and writing freely on vital subjects. If you wish to help with the defense, send all contributions direct to Dr. Ben L. Reitman, 20 E. 125th Street, New York City. Do it soon.

We had three meetings at the Labor Lyceum Forum in Rochester. At the last meeting a birth control league was organized with Mr. A. I. Howser as temporary secretary-treasurer. Get in touch with him. You can reach him at 227 Parsells Ave.

The good friend who arranged the two lectures on Ibsen and Strindberg, at the Fine Arts Hall, in Rochester, worked hard and incessantly for weeks to induce Rochester respectability to get out of its hot house atmosphere. But for a very few eager to learn for themselves, I doubt whether this kind friend did the Rochestarians any good. But I shall be eternally grateful to her because, through her efforts in my behalf, she has strengthened my conviction, if it needed strengthening, that there is no element in all of society so hopelessly stagnant as the idle, parasitic, sheltered females of the middle class.

Now to my return to New York. January 7th, at the Harlem Masonic Temple I will open a series of lectures which I hope to continue all through winter. The first meeting is also to serve as a reunion of all our friends and a send-off before my trial, which takes place at Special Sessions, Criminal Court Building, Centre and Lafayette Streets, Monday, January 8th, at 10 A. M.

While I am not guilty of the charge of distributing birth control leaflets on May 20th, and while there are scores of people who will go on the stand to testify in my behalf, one never knows to what lengths the prosecution may go. So I ask all our New York friends to be at the lecture Sunday, January 7th, and those who can spare the time to be in court Monday morning.

Despite Jehovah and the police, we shall go on.

An Event In Cleveland

Emma Goldman will speak Sunday, February 4th, 7:30 P. M., at the North Congregational Church, St. Clair and East 72nd Street.

Subject—"The Message of Anarchism."

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The Emma Goldman Papers
Birthday Greetings / Emma Goldman.— p. 6 ; 36 cm. *In* The Blast [San Francisco]. —Vol. 2, no. 1 (Jan. 15, 1917).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Regeneracion, and to pay for doctors, too. And if one or the other must die, it will be Ricardo, for Ricardo will not save himself at the expense of the work for which he has risked his life and repeatedly lost his liberty these many years. We hope that there is somewhere someone who can make a little sacrifice to secure the scientific treatment that will save the Kropotkin of Mexico.

DR. BEN REITMAN has been sentenced in Cleveland to serve six months in the workhouse and pay $1000 fine, for "giving information."

The particular kind of information does not matter—to tell the truth is a sin. Dr. Reitman's information was given on the subject of birth control hygiene. If he had given some vicious form of misinformation such as given by the myriad of charlatans that feed upon men's and women's ignorance, he'd not have been prosecuted. But it was proven in court that the printed matter that Reitman gave out told the truth—and so he feels the heavy hand of Law.

AGNES THEKLA FAIR is dead. Thekla was a genius in her own peculiar way. All genius has its peculiar ways.

Thekla's way made her known as a "soapboxer." Thekla rarely had railroad fare, and yet Thekla could not be kept away from where trouble brewed for Labor. So Thekla was known to many as the "Hobo Agitator." Her life expressed itself in another way, also, for her genius soared at times above the routine of breakbeams, strikes and soapboxes and expressed itself in verse. Thekla Fair's poems are not built on the usual line. In fact I have heard them described as "crazy," just as Whitman's were once described. In talking to an editor recently, he told me that he couldn't make up his mind whether Thekla's poems were utterly worthless or stupendously great. I saw the editor again a few days later and he said that they were probably "wild" but that he could not forget them—could not erase the picture they put into his mind—and that they had to be, must be published.

Thekla ran to meet death—a death as wild as the life she lived, on the rails beneath a flying train. A death that she preferred to the slow and stealthy death of tuberculosis, which reached its hand toward her.

R. M.

Wanted: A Blast

ARCH PERRIN

A BLAST is usually a prelude to action. Some of us hear the noonday whistle and start for the dinner pail. The traffic cop blows a blast and the motors move. The sound of the siren tells the ship that there are rocks near by in the fog and she moves away.

Why not blow a blast that will compel brain action?

Why not blow a blast to remove prejudice and allow clear thinking?

* * *

We hear the roars of destruction in Europe. The triumph of civilization means the mangling and maiming and murder of the best of Europe's sons. We see the culmination of frenzied preparedness. Are we to prepare for the same catastrophic climax?

Blow a blast somebody, that will startle us into thinking!

* * *

Our prisons are full to overflowing, and the stream of incoming convicts steadily swells. The damnable system is all wrong, has proved itself rotten, and still we are content to go on on the same old way. The position of warden is still a political plum instead of a vocation. Prison guards are still using loaded clubs instead of intelligence and understanding. No man is even taught a trade by which he can earn an honest living in the world outside the prison walls. Think that over!

Blow a blast that will force clear thinking! Let us forget catchwords, abolish old prejudices, destroy false sentimentality and do the thing most needed.

Birthday Greetings

New York, January 8, 1917.

Dear Blast:

GREETINGS and congratulations. What an eventful year you have just closed, and how wonderful that you have survived it all!

Every rebel who, like you, has launched out upon the path to undermine the citadel of Mammon has met with difficulties and hardships. They, like you, have had a thorny, up-hill road to travel. But none can boast to have crowded so much in so young a life as yours.

Think of having been suppressed by a mighty government of a hundred million people! To have been raided twice by the tools of the Chamber of Commerce and the United Railroads Company! To turn the peaceful sleep of the Law and Order Committee into a veritable nightmare; to harass the innocent dream of the prosecuting attorney! Think of having been the one lusty voice on the Coast to ring out powerfully against the vile and cruel conspiracy of Mammon's forces! At the same time to have brought cheer and hope to the victims of that conspiracy! Think of having brought together the bravest elements among labor from Coast to Coast to a realization of the dangers threatening the workers through this wide land!

What an achievement for *one year!* Verily, dear BLAST, you have good reason to rejoice and to begin your new year with justified pride and deep self-assurance.

Good luck, then, on your new journey. May it be more eventful than even the first year. May you grow ever stronger, ever more defiant, ever more powerful.

EMMA GOLDMAN

New York, January 5, 1917.

THE latest outrage of the authorities in raiding the offices of THE BLAST only serves to emphasize the very useful work that the paper is doing on the Pacific Coast.

It seems almost a miracle that THE BLAST has been able to survive for an entire year and to celebrate the anniversary of its founding. I know only too well the terribly difficult conditions under which it has been published, and I cannot recall that any other revolutionary Labor paper in the West has been able to live so long.

I have read every issue of THE BLAST since it was started, and I have always read it with interest. It has been a monument to the militant spirit of Alexander Berkman.

I know that Comrade Berkman does not want any bouquets, but I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration for his wonderful spirit. He has been almost alone in San Francisco. He has had to face the odium created by the bomb thrown at the preparedness parade last summer. He has had to meet and repel attacks that would surely have crushed a weaker man. And he has been absolutely fearless and absolutely uncompromising throughout the entire year.

Long live THE BLAST, and long live Alexander Berkman!

LEONARD D. ABBOTT

ATTENTION!

THE work I came to do in New York in behalf of our friends imprisoned in San Francisco, is about completed.

I am planning to leave New York the first week of February, and I shall be glad to address mass meetings in the large industrial cities, on my way to the Coast.

Labor organizations, Workmen's Circle Branches, Groups or individuals who are interested and willing to arrange meetings to aid the San Francisco labor victims, please communicate with me at once.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN,
20 East 125th Street,
New York, N. Y.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Dear Friend / Emma Goldman. – p. 128 ; 40 cm. *In* The Spur [London]. (March 1917).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

[illegible] Place. [illegible] the spirit of [illegible] the abolition of governments, as [illegible] incompatible with the right of workmen to [illegible] and so credit. On the 9th of May it [illegible] destruction of the chapel erected in expiation of the execution of Louis XVI."

The motion to destroy the column on the Place Vendome, which was carried with acclaim, read as follows:

"Considering that the imperial column in the Place Vendome is a monument of barbarity, a symbol of brutal force and false glory, an affirmation of Chauvinism, a negation of international rights, a permanent insult of the victor to the vanquished, a perpetual outrage against one of the three great principles of the French Republic, Fraternity, therefore the column on the Place Vendome shall be demolished."

The powers which were destined to overthrow this first working class administration had been gathering in April, and they burst forth in May.

Vesinier, editor of the "Official Journal" of the Commune, thus describes the forces hurled against the Commune by the tigerish bourgeoise.

"The old Municipal Guard of the monarchy, all the ex-sergeants de ville of the Empire Corsican bravos, slaughterers and garroters of the people for twenty years, Chouans, Vendeans, and the Pontifical zouaves of Charrette, rough and fanatical Bretons, half-savage Turcos, a few regiments of the line, forced to march in the midst of these reactionary hordes, and corps of cavalry under the command of the Marquis de Galifet, an old friend of the Tuileries, and a ferocious and bloodthirsty officer, full of valour when women and children are disarmed and chained-up prisoners were to be butchered, but a coward in the face of a foreign enemy invading our country."

Such was the army of Versailles that overthrew the Commune. Even in its methods of warfare it was despicable. One of its tricks was for companies, when approaching the Communards, to pretend to wish to change sides and show its wish by advancing with muskets reversed. Then, when at close quarters, and the Communards had been taken off their guard, to suddenly swing their weapons around and mow down their unsuspecting victims.

The infamous Galifet, after the defeat of the Commune, shot, in cold blood, some 40,000 National Guards, and about 10,000 women and children. His contention was that the men might rebel again; such women would breed rebellious children; and such children would perpetuate the revolutionary ideas of their fathers.

And so ended this premature attempt of the working class to emancipate itself from wage slavery; drowned by the ferocious bourgeoise in blood of its brave defenders. But the victory of the working class was only postponed. We wait until, in the evolutionary process, the hour of our release shall strike.

[Slightly abridged from "Vital problems in Social Evolution].

Communist Club Lectures in Ammanford.

(By JIM GRIFFITHS).

During the past two months a most successful series of meetings have been held at the above club. A series of excellent educational lectures having been given by friends and comrades in the neighbourhood.

The aim of these meetings has not been to propagate any particular brand of Socialism or Communism. They have aimed rather at providing a common platform—a worker's Forum—where all who are interested in social problems can meet, and freely and frankly exchange opinions on vital social questions, the members of the club being convinced that the providing of opportunities for such meetings is the greatest service they can render to the working class movement at the present time. If the movement is to survive the hard times ahead, it must cease wasting its energies in fruitless wrangles over this, that or the other policy. It must return to first principles. It must try, by some means, to reach the great mass of the workers, who at present are an easy prey to the whiles of the Capitalist Class, and what is worse, to the ineptitude of their self-appointed leaders. We must aim at securing an intelligent class-conscious rank and file. In order to achieve this the paramount need is knowledge. Educate! Educate! Educate! must be our first work. Then we can discuss the question of organisation; an Organisation not composed of "jolly fellows." But first we must have intelligent [illegible] to the lectures. The first of the series was given on Saturday, January 6th, by Mr. Dan. F. Griffiths, Llanelly, on "The Education of the Workers." It was a most appropriate theme for the initial meeting, and comrade Griffiths dealt in a comprehensive manner with the subject. He emphasised the need for education in the Social Sciences. The aim of education should be to create [illegible] would think for themselves and act in [illegible]

[illegible] Sunday, January 13th and 20th, [illegible] with a visit from Mr. S. G. Hobs[illegible] Mr. Starr, is one of a number of [illegible] who are at present engaged on work of [illegible] importance. His given were [illegible] on the important subject of "Star [illegible]." The first dealt with the need for such education followed by a second on suggestions as to methods of imparting our knowledge. It would be unfair to attempt to give an outline of these two lectures in a brief space. Mr. Starr is a keen student of the subject and his lectures were really brilliant. They were voted by those who heard them among the finest ever given in Ammanford. These were followed most appropriately with a lecture on the "Evolution of Motherhood" by Henry F. Northcote, whom most of the readers of the "Spur" will probably have heard. He is one of the finest, popular scientific lecturers in the country.

On Saturday, February 10th, another of the C.O. comrades referred to, spoke at the Club. Mr. Beard, who hails from Bristol, gave a splendid address on the "Nationalisation of the Drink Traffic." Most of those present, while agreeing with the speaker as to the seriousness and importance of the drink problem, could not agree, however, that nationalisation was the best solution. A suggestion was made that the Trades Unions and Socialist Parties should institute clubs, not on a drinking basis, but as places of Recreation and Fellowship, which would in time supersede the present "Booser" system which is ugly and degrading, and constitutes a bulwark of Capitalism.

On Saturday, February 17th, Mr. Jim Colton, a veteran of 35 years service in the socialist movement favoured the club with a recital of his experiences in the movement.

These meetings will be continued right up to the end of April. The club members are gratified at the success of this venture. The audiences have been most cheering in these dark days.

Another most pleasing feature of the meetings has been the splendid discussions which have followed each lecture. The speaker is not allowed to monopolise the time which is allotted and that being so, each one expresses his own views freely, without restraint. A quantity of literature has been disposed of—the "Spur" having been introduced to a wider circle or readers in this populous mining district

Correspondence.

I am pleased to receive your letter, and the fact that it cost midnight oil is not lost upon me. You will notice by the address that I have been shifted out of the Police Station; that took place on Thursday, the 25th January, the day on which I had my court-martial. MacDongal has been sentenced to two years, so I am expecting the same. The sentence does not matter very much under the circumstances. I think things will be quiet until next April or May; after then matters may take a turn. We must expect some kind of Industrial Conscription—how the people take that will affect us largely. If a scheme of internment is introduced it will be better than imprisonment because the boys will be able to get together and discuss, thus the mental stagnation difficulty will be got over. During the week Nellie Best paid us a visit, but they did not allow her to stay long. Remember me to Teddy Knight when writing, and express my sympathy over his unwell feeling. That he remains determined is good news. The disappointments that I have had over personal chums getting entangled in the mesh of the war game have caused me many a troubled hour, but to have others to offset them is a help; and whilst there is no pleasure in seeing a pal in prison, to come across Dick and Teddy under conditions which meant a fight against oppression was a pleasure. To offer Dicky the engineering job is typical of our master's brains. Your information about sending men to Wandsworth is partly correct, but it only applies to "extremists" if you know what they are. . . I shall probably be sent to Exeter because I am only a mild sort of a bloke. I wouldn't incite anybody to do anything to hinder authority. Of course I may go to Wandsworth. It is bitterly cold in the guard-room, but we have warm discussions. . . . Last night we sang, around a fire—pinched the coals off the guard—until eleven o'clock, "Red Flag," "England arise," etc., etc., in which the other prisoners (soldiers) joined in. Over the Police Station I had a fine time, meeting seven C.O.s in all. I do not suppose that I shall be able to write again, but although you will not hear from me you can depend upon it that my thoughts are ever with the movement, that as each Sunday comes round the park is thronged, the audience, the platform, the serving out of literature and last but not least, Knight telling the tale about the blacks and the bad pork. Ah well! we shall get over it; and when the boys get together again we may expect a live mob. Talk about passionate oratory, the audience will get something more than that! They will have a chance of listening to things that will burn themselves into their brain. Not fireworks, but facts, and incontrovertable ones at that. An revoir for a brief spell. Rest assured that I am building myself up, not physically I know, rather otherwise—but in a revolutionary sense. Hoping that the movement grows stronger and sturdier as the results of the attempts of oppression.

The court-martial passed off alright yesterday. I did not make any statement other than that I was a C.O. to Military Service and War.

A consultation with the Regulations convinces me that a man who doesn't take army pay, is entitled to his discharge by Court-martial. I thought at first of taking up this line, but I prefer to abide by my decision to "resist the act."

January 26th, 1917.

My sentence was announced this morning, two years' hard labour. The destination will be either Exeter or Wandsworth. I expect it will be Exeter, because of its distance from London, which will prohibit people visiting conscientious objectors. Shall not be sorry to get back [illegible] cleanliness.

I suppose the internment scheme will be developed shortly. But even supposing they do intern all the C.O.s in camps, there is still a shutting off from propaganda. However, it is a case of [illegible] what we shall see).

To my mind there is nothing [illegible] sentence of two years; whether one does it or [illegible] try to send a notification form from the place [illegible] February 6th.

H. M.

[illegible]ry, 15th, 1917
[illegible]od health. If [illegible]other letter [illegible]ut no reply

[illegible] No. 647.

I [illegible] the great risk we must [illegible] Sooner will every personal claim with this [illegible] need [illegible] from us in [illegible] a [illegible] of humour, which [illegible] wounds make the [illegible]

[illegible] we heard that the National Service Scheme was to [illegible] enforced, he observed that this was necessary for people, [illegible] a couple of days." I thought it was rather [illegible]

I find prison rather irksome, but as I [illegible] is no [illegible] strain, and when I compare the [illegible] of our [illegible], and the value of our principle, with the [illegible] suffering of the soldiers combined with the [illegible] of their wives, I am quite content to carry on the fight.

Of course the suffering of the soldiers is no valid reason for denying us justice, but it should, I think, serve us for the struggle, and make us take our troubles lightly.

The issue between slavery and freedom is very plain now, and it is astonishing that so many people outside don't see it.

I may meet Guy at Wandsworth in a week or two, as I fully expect to go there.

Fraternally yours, E. H. FOX.

Dear friend,

I am addressing you as one who has shown active interest in our fight for Birth Control. It is certain that the issue is of great importance. Otherwise the reactionary forces would not use the methods they are employing against the advocates of free speech and free press who dare to impart birth control knowledge to the masses.

In the fight with the persecution in New York, we have in a measure compelled the authorities to make the sentence imposed upon us the smallest possible. But now comes the case of Dr. Ben Reitman, in Cleveland, the first of its kind in that State. He was tried before a jury during the whole week beginning, January 10th, was found guilty chiefly because he is an Anarchist, and sentenced to six months in the workhouse, $1,000 fine and the cost of the trial. This would mean over five years in jail.

It will interest you to know that after the jury deliberated seven hours and wanted to return a disagreement, Judge Dan Cull, a prominent member of the Knights of Columbus, ordered the jury back, and would not content himself until a verdict of Guilty was returned after another six hours' deliberation. Then he imposed upon the Doctor the limit possible under the Ohio statute.

We will appeal the case, for we hope that if it is taken up to the higher courts the decision will be reversed or a new trial ordered. We feel the time has come when all who believe that men and women should have the right to obtain the fullest information in regard to all matters affecting their welfare, including birth control methods, should show their colors.

The Rochester case against Ben Reitman for Birth Control propaganda, came up in the Police Court, January 24th, and was postponed until February 26th. Although Reitman is absolutely innocent in this case, unless we are able to put up a vigorous defence there is a possibility of his being convicted.

Fraternally,
New York, January 29th, 1917 EMMA GOLDMAN.

THE SPLIT HAIR.

I am an out and out Materialist and *Marxian* Socialist believing in the doctrine of "Historic Materialism" and "Economic Determinism."

Consequently I peruse the unscientific and illogical article by R. Morlett in last month's issue, with the same sense of æsthetic enjoyment that I would listen to a beautiful hymn. I admire the "sound" but not the "sense."

From the determinist standpoint, his perfervid dilation upon the supremacy of "conscience" (?) is simply a riot of fantastic imagination; a conglomeration chaotic meaningless phrases, which sound beautiful, but, in reality, have no more bearing on actual life than "the flowers that bloom in the spring."

Is it not apparent to every intelligent truth-seeker, sufficiently emancipated from the dogmatic fallacies of his childhood, that man is what his inherited potentialities plus environmental forces have made him?

That being so, is it not sheer incoherent imbecility to prate about the supremacy of conscience?

Man's actions are not guided by an ephemeral conscience (which after all is but a philosophical abstraction of the crude half-civilised conception of an angel on one shoulder and a devil on the other); but are the necessary outcome of "feeling" expressing itself in the human brain as "desire" which, if sufficiently powerful and "capable of realisation" will become a "motive" for ACTION.

I must apologise for this elementary lesson in "dialectic" as opposed to the metaphysical mode of reasoning; but, really, when you Anarchists claim to be the intellectual advance guard of the revolutionary movement and are continually hurling your shafts of satire upon the common or garden revolutionary socialist (who generally speaking is an actual worker under modern industrial conditions—the type H. G. W. Wells, in a heroic attempt to appear a bigger cad than he really is, termed the "Resentful employee—"), then a little iconoclastic criticism may not be out of place.

Your senseless raillery against LAW is futile and unnecessary.

I venture to assert that 99 per cent. of our laws are there to protect private property; and would *ipso facto*, disappear with the abolition of private ownership and the substitution of communal ownership.

Then that other bogey of yours the STATE. This is but a reflex of the dominant class in society—destroy the class barriers and the State dies, for the very simple reason that there is no economically dominant power at the back of it.

If you scorn the idea of a body of men committing political "hari kari," I will give you an example from history, namely the "Central Committee of the Paris Commune."

Their first act upon the taking of the "Hotel de Ville" was to fix the earliest possible date for a plebicite of citizens.

This augers well for the coming revolution.

Nottingham. J. H. CLAY.

Deficit Fund.

J. Smith	£0	5	0
A Glasgow Comrade	0	5	0
J. Haddow	0	10	0
G. Robertson	0	2	6
A. H. Louis	0	10	0
Mrs. B.	0	5	0
G. D.	0	1	0
F. S.	0	2	0
George Parr	0	10	0
G. H. Pratt	0	5	0
[illegible]			
College Branch, I.L.P.	0	7	0
Edinburgh Branch, B.S.I.S.L.P.	0	3	6
G. Stewart	0	2	0
D. and J. Kennedy	0	3	0
F. C.	0	2	0
J. Finney	0	2	0
Sympathiser	0	0	1
J. Maclean	0	0	6
J. H. P. and L. M.	0	1	0
Jas. McLeish	0	2	0
D. McLeish	0	1	0

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The Emma Goldman Papers

The Promoters of the War Mania / Emma Goldman. – pp. 5-11 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 12, no. 1 (March 1917).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

booths for the purpose of propagating patriotism and love for the country. But no success, it is reported, has so far crowned the great patriotic effort.

Could not Billy Sunday and his mamma be persuaded to go into this alluring business? They are such wonderful experts in driving people into a dull heaven. Why should they not just as well be successful in driving them into hell? Let the patrons of Billy's vomiting-campaign, the Wanamakers, Rockefellers, etc., attend immediately to this very important national business.

* * *

BIRTH Control Propaganda is continually disturbing peace and stagnation in Cleveland, O. Were it not for the fact that the morals of the town are taken care of by a "vice squad," people would be inclined to think that the ideas of birth control well sustained by independent science, reason and good sense had gained full sway. There are some very quiet aristocratic avenues in Cleveland, where it is not much spoken of. One does not meet crowds of children there as in the poorer districts. The ladies who live there do not bother about the repeal of the law which makes the distribution of information a crime because they practice birth control in their own way without asking Judge Dan Cull for his permission. In the other quarters it's different, there thousands of women would like to know all about it.

But the Catholic priests and the judges keep good watch and the vice squad supplies the detectives.

After Judge Dan Cull had sentenced Dr. Ben. Reitman to serve 6 months in the workhouse and pay $1,000 fine, stretching the law to the extreme limit, another trail was taken up.

On the charge of having distributed "immoral literature" Mrs. Ralph D. Mitchell has been arrested and placed under $500 bail. At the home of Mrs. Mitchell a police lieutenant and two patrolmen ransacked the corners, cabinets and drawers for birth control literature and really succeeded in finding such dangerous writings as Dr. William J. Robinson's "Limitation of Offspring" and Emma Goldman's "Marriage and Love," sold everywhere for the asking.

THE PROMOTERS OF THE WAR MANIA

BY EMMA GOLDMAN

AT THIS most critical moment it becomes imperative for every liberty-loving person to voice a fiery protest against the participation of this country in the European mass-murder. If the opponents of war, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, would immediately join their voices into a thunderous No!, then the horror that now menaces America might yet be averted. Unfortunately it is only too true that the people in our so-called Democracy are to a large extent a dumb, suffering herd rather than thinking beings who dare to give expression to a frank, earnest opinion.

Yet it is unthinkable that the American people should really want war. During the last thirty months they have had ample opportunity to watch the frightful carnage in the warring countries. They have seen universal murder, like a devastating pestilence, eat into the very heart of the peoples of Europe. They saw cities destroyed, entire countries wiped off the map, hosts of dead, millions of wounded and maimed. The American people could not help witnessing the spread of insane, motiveless hatred among the peoples of Europe. They must realize the extent of the famine, the suffering and anguish gripping the war stricken countries. They know, too, that while the men were killed off like vermin, the women and children, the old and the decrepit remained behind in helpless and tragic despair. Why then, in the name of all that is reasonable and humane, should the American people desire the same horrors, the same destruction and devastation upon American soil?

We are told that the "freedom of the seas" is at stake and that "American honor" demands that we protect that precious freedom. What a farce! How much freedom of the seas can the masses of toilers, or the disinherited and the unemployed, ever enjoy? Would it not be well to look into this magic thing, "the freedom of the seas," before we sing patriotic songs and shout hurrah?

The only ones that have benefitted by the "freedom of the seas" are the exploiters, the dealers in munition and food supplies. The "freedom of the seas" has served these unscrupulous American robbers and monopolists as

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a pretext to pilfer the unfortunate people of both Europe and America. Out of international carnage they have made billions; out of the misery of the people and the agony of women and children, the American financiers and industrial magnates have coined huge fortunes.

Ask young Morgan. Will he dare admit his tremendous pecuniary gain from the export of munition and food supplies? Of course not. But the truth will out, sometimes. Thus a financial expert recently proved that even old Pierpont Morgan would be astounded could he see the dazzling profits gathered in by his son through war speculations. And, incidentally, do not let us forget that it is this speculation in murder and destruction which is responsible for the criminal increase in the cost of living in our own land. War, famine and the capitalist class are the only gainers in the hideous drama called nationalism, patriotism, national honor and freedom of the seas. Instead of putting a stop to such monstrous crimes, war in America would only increase the opportunities of the profit mongers. That and only that will be the result if the American people will consent to thrust the United States into the abyss of war.

President Wilson and other officials of the administration assure us that they want peace. If that claim held even one grain of truth, the government would have long ago carried out the suggestion of many true lovers of peace to put a stop to the export of munition and food stuffs. Had this shameful trade with the implements of slaughter been stopped at the beginning of the war, the good results for peace would have been manifold.

First, the war in Europe would have been starved out through the stoppage of food exports. Indeed, it is no exaggeration when I say that the war would have been at an end long ago, had the American financiers been prevented from investing billions in war loans and had the American munition clique and food speculators not been given the opportunity to supply warring Europe with the means to keep up the slaughter.

Second, an embargo on exports would have automatically taken out American ships from the war and submarine zones, and would have thus eliminated the much discussed "reason" for war with Germany.

Third, and most important of all, the brazen, artificial increase in the cost of living, which condemns the toiling masses of America to semi-starvation, would be an impossibility were not the great bulk of American products shipped to Europe to feed the fires of war.

Peace meetings and peace protests have no meaning whatever unless the government is challenged to stop the continuance of exports. If for no other reason, this ought to be insisted upon, be it only to prove that Washington is capable of nice phrases, but that it has never made a single determined step for peace. That will help to demonstrate to the American people that the government represents only the capitalists, the International War and Preparedness-Trust, and not the workers. Are then, the people of America good enough only to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the thieving trusts? That is all this wild clamor for war means as far as the masses are concerned.

The attempt to light the torch of the furies of war is the more monstrous when one bears in mind that the people of America are cosmopolitan. If anything, America should be the soil for international understanding, for the growth of friendship between all races. Here, all narrow, stifling national prejudices should be eradicated. Instead, the people are to be thrown into the madness and confusion of war, of racial antagonism and hatred.

True, there never was much love wasted in this country on the unfortunate foreigner, but what about the boast that the Goddess of Liberty holds high the beacon to all oppressed nations? What about America as the haven of welcome? Should all this now become the symbol of national persecution? What can result from it but the pollution of all social relationship? Think of it, war in this country is at present only a possibility, and already the Germans and the Austrians are being deprived of employment, ostracized and spied upon, persecuted and hounded by the jingoes. And that is only a small beginning of what war would bring in its wake.

I do not have to emphasize that I entertain not a particle of sympathy with the Germany of the Hohenzollern or the Austria of the Hapsburgs. But what have the Germans and the Austrians in America—or in their own country, for that matter—to do with the diplomacy and

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politics of Berlin or Vienna? It is nothing but blind, cruel national and patriotic madness which would make these people, who have lived, toiled and suffered in this country, pay for the criminal plans and intrigues in Berlin and Vienna palaces.

These millions of Germans and Austrians who have contributed more to the real culture and growth of America than all the Morgans and Rockefellers are now to be treated like enemy aliens, just because Wall Street feels itself checked in its unlimited use of the seas for plunder, robbery and theft from suffering America and bleeding Europe.

Militarism and reaction are now more rampant in Europe than ever before. Conscription and censorship have destroyed every vestige of liberty. Everywhere the governments have used the situation to tighten the militaristic noose around the necks of the people. Everywhere discipline has been the knout to whip the masses into slavery and blind obedience. And the pathos of it all is that the people at large have submitted without a murmur, though every country has shown its quota of brave men that would not be deluded.

The same is bound to take place in America should the dogs of war be let loose here. Already the poisonous seed has been planted. All the reactionary riff-raff, propagandists of jingoism and preparedness, all the beneficiaries of exploitation represented in the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, the Chambers of Commerce, the munition cliques, etc., etc., have come to the fore with all sorts of plans and schemes to chain and gag labor, to make it more helpless and dumb than ever before.

These respectable criminals no longer make a secret of their demand for compulsory military training. Taft, the spokesman of Wall Street, expressed it cynically enough that now, in face of the war danger, the time has come to demand the introduction of compulsory militarism. Subserviently echoing the slogan, principals and superintendants of our schools and colleges are hastening to poison the minds of their pupils with national "ideals" and patriotic forgeries of history to prepare the young generation for "the protection of national honor," which really means the "glory" of bleeding to death for the crooked transactions of a gang of legalized, cowardly

thieves. Mr. Murray Butler, the lick-spittle of Wall Street, is in the lead and many others like him are crawling before the golden calf of their masters. Talk about prostitution! Why, the unfortunate girl in the street is purity itself compared with such mental degeneration.

Added to this process of poisoning are the huge appropriations rushed through by Congress and the state legislatures for the national murder machinery. Sums reaching into the hundreds of millions for the Army and Navy fly through the air within such enticing reach that the Steel Trust and other corporations manufacturing ammunition and war supplies are dissolving in patriotic sentiment and enthusiasm and have already offered their generous services to the country.

Hand in hand with this military preparedness and war mania goes the increased persecution of the workers and their organizations. Labor went wild with enthusiasm and gratitude to the President for his supposed humanity in proclaiming the eight-hour law before election, and now it develops that the law was merely a bait for votes and a shackle for labor. It denies the right to strike and introduces compulsory arbitration. Of course it is common knowledge that strikes have long since been made ineffective by anti-picketing injunctions and the prosecution of strikers, but the Federal eight-hour law is the worst parody on the right to organize and to strike and it is going to prove an additional fetter on labor. In connection with this arbitrary measure goes the proposition to give the President full power in case of war to take control of the railroads and their employees, which would mean nothing less than absolute subservieney and industrial militarism for the workers.

Then there is the systematic, barbarous persecution of radical and revolutionary elements throughout the land. The horrors in Everett, the conspiracy against labor in San Francisco, with Billings and Mooney already sacrificed,—are they mere coincidences? Or do they not rather signify the true character of the war which the American ruling class has been waging against labor?

The workers must learn that they have nothing to expect from their masters. The latter, in America as well as in Europe, hesitate not a moment to send hundred thousands of the people to their death if their interests

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The Emma Goldman Papers

The Promoters of the War Mania / Emma Goldman. – pp. 5-11 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. – Vol. 12, no. 1 (March 1917).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

demand it. They are ever ready that their misguided slaves should have the national and patriotic banner over burning cities, over devastated country-sides, over homeless and starving humanity, just as long as they can find enough unfortunate victims to be drilled into man-killers, ready at the bidding of their masters to perform the ghastly task of bloodshed and carnage.

Valuable as the work of the Women's Peace Party and other earnest pacifists may be, it is folly to petition the President for peace. The workers, they alone, can avert the impending war; in fact, all wars, if they will refuse to be a party to them. The determined anti-militarist is the only pacifist. The ordinary pacifist merely moralizes; the anti-militarist acts; he refuses to be ordered to kill his brothers. His slogan is: "I will not kill, nor will I lend myself to be killed."

It is this slogan which we must spread among the workers and carry into the labor organizations. They need to realize that it is monstrously criminal to voluntarily engage in the hideous business of killing. It is terrible enough to kill in anger, in a moment of frenzy, but it is still more so to blindly obey the command of your military superiors to commit murder. The time must come when slaughter and carnage through blind obedience will not only not receive rewards, monuments, pensions and eulogies, but will be considered the greatest horror and shame of a barbaric, blood-thirsty, greed-obsessed age; a dark, hideous blotch upon civilization.

Let us understand this most valuable truth: A man has the power to act voluntarily only as long as he does not wear the uniform. Once you have donned the garb of obedience, the "voluntary" soldier becomes as much a part of the slaughter machine as his brother who was forced into military service. It is still time in our land to decide against militarism and war, to hold out determinately against compulsory military service for the murder of your fellow men. After all, America is not yet like Germany, Russia, France or England in the throes of a military regime with the mark of a Cain upon her brow. The determined stand which the workers can take individually, in groups and organizations against war will still meet with ready and enthusiastic response. It would arouse the people all over the land. As a matter

of fact, they want no war. The cry for it comes from the military cliques, the munition manufacturers and their mouthpiece, the press, this most degenerate criminal of all criminals. They all stand by the flag. Oh, yes; it's a profitable emblem that covers a multitude of sins.

It is still time to stem the bloody tide of war, by word of mouth and pen and action. The promoters of war realize that we have looked into their cards and that we know their crooked, criminal game. We know they want war to increase their profits. Very well, let them fight their own wars. We, the people of America, will not do it for them. Do you think war would then come or be kept up? Oh, I know it is difficult to arouse the workers, to make them see the truth back of the nationalistic, patriotic lie. Still we must do our share. At least we shall be free from blame should the terrible avalanche overtake us in spite of our efforts.

I for one will speak against war so long as my voice will last, now and during war. A thousand times rather would I die calling to the people of America to refuse to be obedient, to refuse military service, to refuse to murder their brothers, than I should ever give my voice in justification of war, except the one war of all the peoples against their despots and exploiters—the Social Revolution.

A LYNCH JURY IN SAN FRANCISCO CONVICTS THOMAS MOONEY—

That is the consequence of being bribed to murder honest people in their sleep.

FIVE courageous fighters for Labor's birthright of noble character and intellect, one of them a woman, are to be led to the gallows in San Francisco if the outrages committed in the trials of Billings and Mooney against truth, right, justice, find no redress. All the paraphernalia of that justice which serves the powerful and tramples the under-dog into the mud, has been on exhibition in the Mooney trial, ending with the death sentence.

The police, spies, detectives, who "collect" the evidence and "fix up" the material for the prosecution. Then the State and its attorneys, acting openly and brazenly as the servants of the wealthy classes, who furnish the money

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Notice / Emma Goldman.– p. 33 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 12, no. 2 (April 1917).

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NOTICE

We regret to notify those of our readers who have failed to renew MOTHER EARTH after repeated requests that this is the last number we will be able to send them. The high cost of paper has forced nearly all other publishers to increase their subscription price. MOTHER EARTH has not done so, although our struggle to maintain the magazine has always been great, even when paper and other expenses were at the normal rate. You will therefore realize the efforts we have to make to keep MOTHER EARTH alive and our work going. Under the circumstances we simply must cancel expired subscriptions sometime. This will have to be the time.

However, if you will renew at once, we will be glad to continue your name on our list and will send you a copy of "War—What For?" by George R. Kirkpatrick, or "God and the State," by Michael Bakunin; for one dollar and a half, a renewal for a year and "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist," by Alexander Berkman, or "The Selected Works," by Voltairine de Cleyre, or "Family Limitation," by Wm. J. Robinson and "What Every Girl Should Know," by Magaret Sanger; for two dollars, a renewal for a year and a new edition of "Leaves of Grass" with autobiography by Walt Whitman. It is needless for me to say at this late day that more than any other writer in America, Walt Whitman has undermined puritanism and helped to free people from the oppressive prejudice pertaining to sex. For five dollars, a renewal for a year and "The Sexual Crisis," by Grete Meisel-Hess with an introduction by Dr. Wm. J. Robinson and "Sex Knowledge for Women and Girls," by Dr. Wm. J. Robinson.. "The Sexual Crisis" is a deep, illuminating study of the complicated questions on sex by one of the foremost women of Germany. The price is $3.00.

Hoping that you will find it possible to continue your interest in MOTHER EARTH and our work and that you will renew by return mail,

Sincerely,
EMMA GOLDMAN.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

The Woman Suffrage Chameleon / Emma Goldman.– pp. 78-81 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 12, no. 3 (May 1917).

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THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE CHAMELEON

BY EMMA GOLDMAN

FOR well-nigh half a century the leaders of woman suffrage have been clamning that miraculous results would follow the enfranchisement of woman. All the social and economic evils of past centuries would be abolished once woman will get the vote. All the wrongs and injustices, all the crimes and horrors of the ages would be eliminated from life by the magic decree of a scrap of paper.

When the attention of the leaders of the movement was called to the fact that such extravagant claims convince no one, they would say, "Wait until we have the opportunity; wait till we are face to face with a great test, and then you will see how superior woman is in her attitude toward social progress."

The intelligent opponents of woman suffrage, who were such on the ground that the representative system has served only to rob man of his independence, and that it will do the same to woman, knew that nowhere has woman suffrage exerted the slightest influence upon the social and economic life of the people. Still they were willing to give the suffrage exponents the benefit of doubt. They were ready to believe that the suffragists were sincere in their claim that woman will never be guilty of the stupidities and cruelties of man. Especially did they look to the militant suffragettes of England for a superior kind of womanhood. Did not Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst make the bold statement from an American platform that woman is more humane than man, and that she never would be guilty of his crimes: for one thing, woman does not believe in war, and will never support wars.

But politicians remain politicians. No sooner did England join the war, for humanitarian reasons, of course, than the suffrage ladies immediately forgot all their boasts about woman's superiority and goodness and immolated their party on the altar of the very government which tore their clothing, pulled their hair and fed them forcibly for their militant activities. Mrs. Pankhurst and her hosts became more passionate in their war mania, in their thirst for the enemy's blood than the most hardened militarists. They consecrated their all, even their sex attraction, as a means of luring unwilling men into the military net, into the trenches and death. For all this they are now to be rewarded with the ballot. Even Asquith, the erstwhile foe of the Pankhurst outfit, is now convinced that woman ought to have the vote, since she has proven so ferocious in her hate, and is so persistently bent on conquest. All hail to the English women who bought their vote with the blood of the millions of men already sacrificed to the monster War. The price is indeed great, but so will be the political jobs in store for the lady politicians.

The American suffrage party, bereft of an original idea since the days of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, and Susan Anthony, must needs ape with parrot-like stupidity the example set by their English sisters. In the heroic days of militancy, Mrs. Pankhurst and her followers were roundly repudiated by the American suffrage party. The respectable, lady-like Mrs. Catt would have nothing to do with such ruffians as the militants. But when the suffragettes of England, with an eye for the flesh pots of Parliament, turned sommersault, the American suffrage party followed suit. Indeed, Mrs. Catt did not even wait until war was actually declared by this country. She went Mrs. Pankhurst one better. She pledged her party to militarism, to the support of every autocratic measure of the government long before there was any necessity for it all. Why not? Why waste another fifty years lobbying for the vote if one can get it by the mere betrayal of an ideal? What are ideals among politicians, anyway!

The arguments of the antis that woman does not need the vote because she has a stronger weapon—her sex—was met with the declaration that the vote will free woman from the degrading need of sex appeal. How does this proud boast compare with the campaign started by the suffrage party to lure the manhood of America into the European sea-blood? Not only is every youth and man to be brazenly solicited and cajoled into enlisting by the fair members of the suffrage party, but wives and sweethearts are to be induced to play upon the emotions and feelings of the men, to bring their sacrifice to the Moloch of Patriotism and War.

How is this to be accomplished? Surely not by argu-

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ment. If during the last fifty years the women politicians failed to convince most men that woman is entitled to political equality, they surely will not convince them suddenly that they ought to go to certain death while the women remain safely tucked away at home sewing bandages. No, not argument, reason or humanitarianism has the suffrage party pledged to the government; it is the sex attraction, the vulgar persuasive and ensnaring appeal of the female let loose for the glory of the country. What man can resist that? The greatest have been robbed of their sanity and judgment when benumbed by the sex appeal. How is the youth of America to withstand it?

The cat is out of the bag. The suffrage ladies have at last proven that their prerogative is neither intelligence nor sincerity, and that their boast of equality is all rot; that in the struggle for the vote, even, the sex appeal was their only resort, and cheap political reward their only aim. They are now using both to feed the cruel monster war, although they must know that awful as the price is which man pays, it is as naught compared with the cruelties, brutalities, and outrage woman is subjected to by war.

The crime which the leaders of the American woman suffrage party have committed against their constituency is in direct relation of the procurer to his victim. Most of them are too old to effect any result upon enlistment through their own sex appeal, or to render any personal service to their country. But in pledging the support of the party they are victimizing the younger members. This may sound harsh, but it is true nevertheless. Else how are we to explain the pledge, to make a house to house canvass, to work upon the patriotic hysteria of women, who in turn are to use their sex appeal upon the men to enlist. In other words, the very attribute woman was forced to use for her economic and social status in society, and which the suffrage ladies have always repudiated, is now to be exploited in the service of the Lord of War.

In justice to the Woman's Political Congressional Union and a few individual members of the suffrage party be it said that they have refused to be cajoled by the suffrage leaders. Unfortunately, the Woman's Political Congressional Union is really between and betwixt in its

position. It is neither for war nor for peace. That was all well and good so long as the monster walked over Europe only. Now that it is spreading itself at home, the Congressional Union will find that silence is a sign of consent. Their refusal to come out determinedly against war practically makes them a party to it.

In all this muddle among the suffrage factions, it is refreshing indeed to find one woman decided and firm. Jannette Rankin's refusal to support the war will do more to bring woman nearer to emancipation than all political measures put together. For the present she is no doubt considered anathema, a traitor to her country. But that ought not to dismay Miss Rankin. All worth-while men and women have been decried as such. Yet they and not the loud mouthed, weak-kneed patriots are of value to posterity.

* * *

COLUMBIA HAS AWAKENED

BY W. S. VAN VALKENBURGH

HOW sad must be the shock to those of innocent faith in America's noble purpose toward the goal of peace occasioned by the declaration of war by the United States upon Germany!

How shallow the specious pleas of those spineless politicians, few though they were, who, declaring that they were against the entrance of the United States in this mercantile massacre, yet if the worst should come to the worst and war should be declared over their protests, that they would stand by the country to the last ditch!

Posterity is destined to record this latest event as an incomparable international infamy. We cannot speak now: we are admonished even not to think with reason, for to think with reason means to cry out to the heavens against this monumental outrage.

We have ample opportunity here and now to witness what a frightful thing is Prussian Militarism. Nor do we have to go to Germany to see it in operation. It is thrust upon us. It stares at us in the theatres: it challenges us on the street corners: it is flaunted at us in the newspapers and, doubtless, it is preached from the pulpits, though this latter must be taken on hearsay evi-

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Speech, "We Don't Believe in Conscription", at the Harlem River Casino, New York] / Emma Goldman. – [1917 May 18, government transcript]. – 9 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

SPEECH BY EMMA GOLDMAN IN HARLEM RIVER CASINO, 127th STREET,
9:45 P.M., May 18, 1917.

---oOo---

We don't believe in co nscription, this meeting tonight being a living proof. This meeting was arranged with limited means. So, friends, we who have arranged the meeting are well satisfied if we can only urge the people of entire New York City and America, there would be no war in the United States- there would be no conscription in the United S tates- (applause)- if the people are not given an opportunity to have their say. Therefore, we hope at least that a small portion of the population of New York City tonight is having its say.

Friends, what I have to tell you tonight I want to impress upon your minds with all the intensity of my being, that we have with us people who came to break up this meeting, and therefore, friends, I ask you, friends, in the name of peace, in the name of freedom, and all that is dear to you, to be perfectly quiet, and when the meeting is over to leave the hall quietly, for that is a better argument t han by the provocators who came here tonight to break up the meeting. Therefore, friends, I repeat once more, that after our speakers will be through, I hope you will leave the hall quietly, and, if t here is the slightest trouble, we will hold the troublemakers, t he provocators and the police responsible for the trouble (applause).

Friends, I know perfectly well that tomorrow morning the daily papers will say that the German Kaiser paid for this meeting. I know that they will say that those employed in the German service have arranged this meeting. But there is all of us, friends, who have something serious at hand- those of us to whom liberty is not

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a mere shadow- and found to be celebrated on the 4th of July, and to be celebrated with fire crackers- that we will not only speak for it, but die for it if necessary (applause).

We are concerned in our own conscience, and we know that the meeting tonight has been arranged by working men and working women, who probably gave their last cent from their wages which the capitalistic regime is granting them.

And so, friends, we do not care what people will say about us, we only care for one thing, and that is to demonstrate tonight and to demonstrate as long as we can be able to speak, that when America went into war, ostensibly for the purpose of fighting for democracy - because it is a dastardly lie - it never went into war for democracy. If it is true that America went into war in order to fight for democracy- why not begin at home? We need democracy (applause). We need democracy even more than Germany, and I will tell you why. The German people were never brought up with the belief that they lived in [redacted] democracy. The German people were nursed from their mothers' breasts that they we re living in liberty and that they had all the freedom they desired. Therefore, the German people are not disappointed in the Kaiser. They have a Kaiser, the kind of a Kaiser they want and are going to stand for.

We in America have been brought up, we have been told that this is a free Republic. We have been told that free speech and free press and free assembly are guaranteed by the Constitution. Incidentally, friends, the only people who still believe in the Constitution are you poor fools for the other fellows (applause). We are rather disappointed. When suddenly, out of the clear sky, a few months after

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we have been told he kept us out of war- we are now told he drew us into war. (applause)

We, who came from Europe, came here looking to America as the promised land. I came believing that liberty was a fact. And when we today resent war and resent conscription, it is not that we are foreigners and don't care, it is precisely because we love America and we are opposed to war. (applause)

My friends, when I say we love America, I wish you to remember that we don't love the American Wall Street, that we don't love the Am erican Morgan, that we don't love the American Rockefeller, we don't love the American Washington, we don't love the American ammunition manufacturers, we don't love the American National Security League-- for that America is Russia transferred to America. (applause).

We mean the America of Wendell Phillips, we mean Emerson, we mean America of great pioneers of liberty. We mean writers, and great men and women, who have fought for years to maintain the standard of effort. I, for one, am quite willing to stand up face to face with patriots every night- patriots blind to the injustice committed in this country- patriots who didn't care a hang. We are willing to stand up and to say to them: "Keep your dirty hands off A merica." You have no right to tell the people to give their lives in behalf of democracy, when democracy is the laughing stock before all Europe. And therefore, friends, we stand here and we tell you t hat the war which is now declared by America in the last six weeks is not a war of democracy and is not a war of the urging of the people. It is not a war of economic independence. It is a war

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for oonquest. It is a war for military power. It is a war for money. It is a war for the purpose of trampling under foot every vestige of liberty that you people have worked for, for the last forty or thirty or twenty-five years and, therefore, we refuse to support such a war- (Hurray-- applause).

We are told, friends, that the people want war. If it is true t hat the American people want war, why not give the American people a chance to say whether they want war. Friends, we werertold that the American people have a chance to say whether they want war through Congress and through the Senate. Congress is in the hands of those who pull the string. It is a jumping jack. (applause)

Friends, in Congress there are a few men in the Senate (mentioning some names) who wanted to keep America out of war. They have been hounded and persecuted and abused and insulted and degraded because they stood up for a principle. And so it was not true that t he people of America have a chance to express its views. It was impossible, because each Congressman and each Senator is taken into a private room where spiritualistic mediums are being used, and th ey are mesmerized and massaged until every revolutionary fibre is out of them, and then they oo me out and do as they're told by t he administration in Washington.

The same is true about conscription. What chance have you men, to say, if you men are to be conscripted. It took England eighteen months- a monarchy- to decide whether she shall have conscription. Up on the people born under a free sky- conscription has been imposed upon you. You cannot have democracy and have compulsory military training. You have become Russia. (applause)

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Friends, I suggest that Wall Street and the [illegible]

invite the Russian Czar to A merica- he belongs here,- and tell them ho w to deal with the revolution, with the anti-militarists- the Czar ought to know, he handled them. He used every method in his power in order to subdue all human beings. But he succeeded- I should say not. He is now sitting in his palace, that the revolution may go a little further. (applause) Americans evidently are working for the Czar. We already have the beginning of the Czar, who wants to employ all of the liberties of the American people.

Now, friends, do you suppose for one minute that this Government is big enough and strong enough and powerful enough to stop men who will not engage in the war because they don't want the war, because they don't believe in the war, because they are not going to fight a war for Mr. Morgan? What is the Government going to do with them? They're going to look them up- You haven't prisons enough to look up all the people. (applause)

We believe in violence and we will use violence. Remember, friends, that the very Government which worships at the altar of the Christian religion, that this very Government knows perfectly well, t hat they attempted to silence them. And so, if it is their intention to make us quiet, they may prepare the noose, they may prepare the gallows, they may build more prisons- for the spread of revolt and conscience. (applause)

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How many people are going to refuse to conscript, and I say t here are enough. I would count at least 50,000, and there are enough to be more, and they're not going to when only they're conscripted. They will not register. (applause)

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I realize perfectly, that it is possible to gather up 50 and 100 and 500 people- and what are you going to do if you have 500,000 people? It will not be such an easy job, and it will compel the government to sit up and take notice and, therefor, we are going to support, with all the means at our support with money and publicity- we are going to support all the men who will refuse to register and who will refuse to fight. (applause)

We want you to fill out these slips and as you go out drop them into the baskets at the door. we want to know how many men and women of conscriptive age- and they're going to take women and not soldiers. It is the same thing as if you fight in the war. Don't let them tell you that they will send you to the farm. Every stroke of what you do you are supporting the war, and the only reply that you can make against the war is that you are making men- that you are busy fighting your internal enemy, which is the capitalistic class. (applause)

I hope that this meeting is not going to be the first and last. As a matter of fact, we are planning something else.

Friends, listen, think of it. Not only are you going to be compelled-coerced- to wear the soldiers uniform, but on the day when you leave to be educated to the monster war, on the day when it will be decided that you shall be driven into the trenches and battlefield, on that day we are going to have a demonstration (applause), but be careful whom (applause)- you might bury yourself and not the working class (applause). We will have a demonstration of all the people who will not be consoripted and who will not register. We are going to have the largest demonstration this city has over seen, and no power on earth will stop us.

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I will say, in conclusion, [illegible]
to take the consequences of every word I said and am going to say on the stand I am taking. I am not afraid of prison-I have been there often. It isn't quite so bad. I am not afraid of the authorities- I have dealt with them before- and rather, they have dealt with me, and am still living and stand here before you. I am not afraid of death. I would rather die the death of a lion than live the life of a dog. (applause)

For the cause of human liberty, for the cause of the working class, for the cause of men and women who live and till the soil- if I am to die for them, I could not wish a more glorious death ever in my wildest dreams. And so, patriots, and police, and gentlemen, who represent wealth and power, help yourself- you cannot stop the revolutionary spirit. It may take as long as one year or two. You cannot do it, because the spirit of revolution has a marvelous power of liberty. It can break through bars- it can go through safely. It can come out stronger and braver. If there is any man in this hall that despairs- let's look across Russia- let's look across (applause), Als- who was tortured by the Russian soldiers, who never believed that she would see Russia and see her people alive, and yet see the wonderful thing that revolution has done. It has thrown the Czar and his clique and his ever staunch henchmen into prison. It has opened Siberia and all the dungeons, and the men and women are going to be free. They are not going to be free according to American democracy (applause)

Friends, I insist it is a good place for them in Russia. Let's go back home tomorrow. So, friends, don't be afraid. Take this

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marvelous meeting, take this wonderful spirit, and remember that you are not alone- that tonight, in every city, in every hamlet and in every village and town, ther are hearts beating that they don't want war, that they don't want conscription- that they are not going to be conscripted.

The ruling classes fight a losing game. The Wall Street men are fighting a losing game. They represented the past and we represent the future. (applause)

The future belongs to the young men, who are barely of age and barely realizing their freedom. The future belongs tothe young girls and young boys. They must be free from militarism. They must be free from the military yoke. If you want war, help yourself. Fight your own battle. We are not going to fight it for you (applause)

So, friends, it is our decision tonight. We are going to fight for you. We are going to assist you and cooperate with you, and have the grandest demonstration this country has ever seen against militarism and war. What's your answer? Your answer to war must be a general strike, and then the governing class will have something on its hands.

So, friends, before I close, I want to make an appeal to you. I want to make you know that this meeting sprang simultaneously from a group of people. It cost money and therefore I ask you to contribute as much as you can. I wish to say that Mother Earth is opening pledges with $50. I hope that those who can do so will do so. We want to have money, we want to have more literature,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Speech, "We Don't Believe in Conscription", at the Harlem River Casino, New York] / Emma Goldman. – [1917 May 18, government transcript]. – 9 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.
Obtained from the Immigration and Naturalization Service via FOIA.

we want to have a demonstration, and we want to prove that with little money, no public support, with no militia, with no soldiers, we can support the point of real freedom and liberty and brotherhood.

(Finished speaking about 10:15 P.M.)

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Lists 5,000 As Against Draft / Emma Goldman.— 28 cm.
In The Sun [New York]. —(May 30, 1917).

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Th[illegible] Sun
ND NEW YORK PRESS.
WEDNESDAY, MAY 30, 1917.

EMMA GOLDMAN LISTS 5,000 AS AGAINST DRAFT

Bitter Propaganda Through Mails by Anarchists, I. W. W. and Pacifists.

CALLS MASS MEETING

"No Conscription" Gathering to Be Held at Hunt's Point on Eve of Registration.

Under the leadership of Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Leonard D. Abbott and other radical I. W. W.'s and pacifists, a bitter propaganda has been started against conscription and circulars and handbills denouncing the selective draft law are being sent through the mails. Emma Goldman, at the headquarters of the No Conscription League, 20 East 125th street, asserted that instead of the people of this country being back of the war, 5,000 men of draft age who will not register June 5 can be counted on.

In the circular sent through the mail relative to anti-conscription activities the circular is cleverly worded so as to actually to elude any menace not to register, but it is suggested, however, by the officers of the league that those who will not register will be asked to leave the country as soon as possible after the draft begins, early in July and more.

Federal Inquiry Begun.

While no arrests [illegible] Emma Goldman last night, but we leave it to each individual to decide for [illegible] whether [illegible] or not. We intend to place our cause before every one who will listen. Already we know of [illegible] who will not register and we will stand behind those who do so and give them every possible aid.

In the meantime [illegible] the league [illegible] Miss Goldman said.

"We would [illegible] not [illegible] shoot."

The circular is now receiving the attention of the various local and Federal authorities and the most strict watch has been set upon the members of the league.

That the subtleties of the circular in no way make the writer or distributers immune from prosecution was the opinion expressed last night by Federal officials, who intimated that immediate action will be taken on the matter. The No Conscription League is one of forty cults in this city which are under surveillance by Government agents, and the activities of Miss Goldman have been the subject of Federal attention for a long time past.

May Be Indicted by Jury.

As the rule laid down by Attorney-General Gregory forbid the [illegible] by members of his staff of cases of this nature before action is taken no statement could be obtained as to just what course will be pursued, but it is expected that the matter may be placed with other pacifist activities before the Federal Grand Jury.

The league has arranged a mass meeting on the night of June 4 at Hunts Point Palace, The Bronx, to protest against conscription. Among the speakers will be Miss Gohlman, Berkman, "Mother" Yuster, Miss Shapiro, Leonard D. Abbott, Winter Russel and other radical Socialists and anarchists. The notices of the meeting advise "Fathers, mothers, sons to turn out in protest against conscription."

Platform of League.

In the circular letter sent out yesterday the following platform of the league is given as follows at the top of the letter:

"We oppose conscription because we are internationalists, anti-militarists and oppose [illegible] wars waged by capitalistic governments.

"We will fight for what we choose to fight for, we will never fight simply because we are ordered to fight.

"We believe that the militarization of America is an evil that far outweighs in its social and anti-libertarian effects any good that may come from America's participation in the war.

"We will resist conscription by every means in our power and we will sustain those who, for similar reasons, refuse to be conscripted."

Text of the Letter.

Then follows this letter:

Dear Friend: We are sure that you are interested in the anti-war agitation. You cannot fail to realize that the patriotic claptrap which is now propagated on such a huge scale by the press, the pulpit and the authorities only represents a desperate effort to blind the people to the real issue confronting them. The vital issue now is the Prussianizing of America.

"Already America has demonstrated its autocratic tendencies in passing the conscription bill without making even the slightest proviso for conscientious objectors to human slaughter. There are thousands of men who will not under any circumstances allow themselves to be conscripted. First, they consider all war a fight between thieves who are too cowardly to do their own fighting, and force the masses to do the cruel killing for them. Secondly, they will not be conscripted because they refuse to be forced into taking human life at the behest of their masters. Something must be done to sustain these men, to whom the ideal of liberty and human solidarity is not a mere phrase but a vital, living fact.

5,000 Already Pledged.

With that in view we have organized the No Conscription League. Its first public activities took place on Friday evening, May 18—a mass meeting attended by 5,000 men and women who pledged their decision not to register or to be conscripted into killing. It was an inspiring demonstration and so tremendous in its scope that all the dailies were stirred from their usual attitude of silence.

"More than any other Government (perhaps [illegible]) the Washington authorities are very sensitive to publicity and criticism, especially on the part of those who can reach [illegible] sections of the people both here and abroad. The American Government cannot afford to have the world know that while it pretends to be interested in democracy and to fight against [illegible] in Germany it is at the same time [illegible] Prussianizing America.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

The No Conscription League / Emma Goldman.— pp. 112-114 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 12, no. 4 (June 1917).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Since war is hell and we all are now in it, we might as well make the most of it. And if war means that we must maintain our honor and take revenge upon our enemy, let us stop and consider who our real enemies are.

Many of the men who join the army will suffer and be killed. It is estimated that a horse lasts sixteen days on the front and a soldier will average about eight weeks in the trenches. And so if we have to suffer and die, let us die for the things we believe in, and suffer for a cause that will make the world a better place in which to live, and future wars impossible.

You have a life,—you have brains and courage. Will you use them to make the greedy manufacturers richer and the government more powerful and tyrannical? Or will you use your life and intelligence to demonstrate that you believe in humanity and brotherhood and that you are opposed to wars, poverty and injustice?

* * *

THE NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE

CONSCRIPTION has now become a fact in this country. It took England fully 18 months after she engaged in war to impose compulsory military service on her people. It was left to free America to pass a conscription bill six weeks after war was declared.

What becomes of the patriotic boast of America to have entered the European war in behalf of the principle of democracy? But that is not all. Every country in Europe has recognized the right of conscientious objectors—of men who refuse to engage in war on the ground that they are opposed to taking life.

Yet this democratic country makes no such provision for those who will not commit murder at the behest of the profiteers through human sacrifice. Thus the "land of the free and the home of the brave" is ready to coerce free men into the military yoke.

Liberty of conscience is the most fundamental of all human rights, the pivot of all progress. No human being may be deprived of it without losing every vestige of freedom of thought and action. In these days when every principle and conception of democracy and individual liberty is being cast overboard under the pretext of democratizing Germany, it behooves every liberty loving

man and woman to insist on his or her right of individual choice in the ordering of his life or action.

The NO-CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE has been formed for the purpose of encouraging conscientious objectors to affirm their liberty of conscience and to translate their objection to human slaughter by refusing to participate in the killing of their fellow men. The NO-CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE is to be the voice of protest against war and against the coercion of conscientious objectors to participate in the war. Our platform may be summarized as follows:

We oppose conscription because we are internationalists, anti-militarists, and opposed to all wars waged by capitalistic governments.

We will fight for what we choose to fight for: we will never fight simply because we are ordered to fight.

We believe that the militarization of America is an evil that far outweighs, in its anti-social and anti-libertarian effects, any good that may come from America's participation in the war.

We will resist conscription by every means in our power, and we will sustain those who, for similar reasons, refuse to be conscripted.

The first important public activity of the NO-CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE took the form of a large mass-meeting on May 18th, attended by 8,000 people. The enthusiasm was so great that the uniformed patriots who came to break up the meeting, soon slunk courageously away. A Mothers' No-Conscription meeting has been arranged for June 4th. Besides, 100,000 No-Conscription manifestos have been circulated broadcast.

We are not unmindful of the difficulties in our way. But we have resolved to go ahead and spare no effort to make the voice of protest a moral force in the life of this country. The initial efforts of the conscientious objectors in England were fraught with many hardships and danger but finally the government of Great Britain was forced to give heed to the steadily increasing volume of public protest against the coercion of conscientious objectors. So we, too, in America will doubtless meet the full severity of the government and the condemnation of the patriotic jingoes, but we are nevertheless determined

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to go ahead. We feel confident in bringing out thousands of people who are conscientious objectors to the murder of their fellow men and to whom a principle represents the most vital thing in life.

Will you help us in this great undertaking? Will you enable us to carry on the fight? Send your contribution to me at once, to 20 E. 125th St., New York. Send for manifestos.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

THE TURNING OF THE TIDE

By S. W. VAN VALKENBURGH

THAT time and events produce miraculous mental transformations becomes quite clear to all who care to observe any of the great lessons being enacted, here and abroad.

In the beginning, it was common phrase with most of us that the German Socialists could have prevented the war's inception. To be sure, they at least could have tried to make some effort to block the initial, German drive, but they did not. They failed, ignobly and completely. Not so much was expected of the Socialists of any other country, but the world did look with keen expectancy at the millions of Socialists in Kaiserland. It looked in vain.

As time progresses, we begin to appreciate the reason.

War develops a curious psychology in a wonderfully short period of time.

During the early months of the struggle, the people in this country glibly referred to it as a battle of Kings and Rulers with the people as merely pawns, and the first reports of the terrible devastation and tremendous loss of life were met with gasps of horror. It is different now: we have grown calloused to the significance of the death lists and starving populations.

We hear no more of this party or that party, nor of the failings of anyone to prevent this frightful thing.

This sudden silence on our part is ominous. It portends some dreadful calamity to another nation of people.

The war spirit has invaded and captured Ameriea!

All former slogans have been relegated to the discard and the most elusive dream of man from time immemorial

has been resurrected and made the urge to goad men on to kill.

Democracy! The rule of the ruled! O, how gullible, these sheep being fattened for the slaughter! Russia rises, as from a trance and proceeds to establish a semblance of popular government and bring the people back to the land—their own land—only to have this much heralded republic dispatch uninvited advisers, headed by that arch-American-autocrat, Elihu Root, to tell a people born and reared in revolution what they want and how to get it! Democracy! A country wherein the President has more absolute power bestowed him through the recent Congressional enactments than any other living ruler: a country where the conscientious objector has no legal status whatever; where the young men happening to marry after a given time are publicly branded as "traitors;" where one might not go to a theatre or other public place without having to prostrate one's self before the National emblem and to stand attention as the music peels off the squeaky National air: where one dare say nothing, do nothing and think nothing, unless it conforms to the hysteria of the times: where a victim of the patriotic mob is told by an unfeeling brute, called a judge, that if the mob had lynched him, he would have received his just deserts; where one's mail is now subject to the prying post-office pests whose arbitrary decisions as to what is "seditious and anarchistic" mean imprisonment of the alleged offender: in such a country, presuming to call itself free, and, not only tolerating such infamies, but continually adding to them, in such a country, the cry of Democracy were enough to make old Pericles awake and congratulate himself!

Oh, the sham and the cant of it all!

How sad and discouraging that the great American people should succumb to this blatant bugling of the mercenaries of money.

There are no issues, no ideals, no danger nor even the threat of danger involved between this country and Germany, and yet, America enters the war. Did I say there were *no* issues? Yes, there are *some* issues, but not of the character for which Democrats should consider bloodshed. The issues are TRADE and FINANCE. U-boats

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The Emma Goldman Papers

The Holiday / Emma Goldman.– p. 97 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. –Vol. 12, no. 4 (June 1917).

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Vol. XII JUNE, 1917 No. 4

THE HOLIDAY

By Emma Goldman

ON JUNE 5th the Moloch Militarism will sit in pompous state awaiting its victims who are to be dedicated to its gluttonous appetite.

Surrounded by its high dignitaries, courtiers, vassals and lackeys, the monster will reach out for the youth of the land to be sacrificed on the altar of blood and iron, to the glory of God, the servitude of democracy.

Music will drown the groans and curses of the unwilling. Colors will obscure the burning eye of hate. Artificial holiday and merry making will mask the pale tragedy of those whose sons, brothers, lovers and friends are to be offered up for sacrifice on the tear-stained day of June 5th.

In Europe the day of registration for compulsory military service is a day of mourning. Fathers are filled with grim opposition. Mothers rend the air with plaints of despair. Even those who are forced to execute the dictate of their masters, look upon their task as a ghastly duty.

Not so democratic America. To her human tragedy has ever been a cause for rejoicing, whether it be the hanging of Anarchists, the shooting of strikers, the hounding of I. W. W., the lynching of negroes. It is a holiday participated in by a joy-drunk mob gloating over the agony of its victims. So, too, on the crucial day of June 5th democratic America will celebrate with song and dance and revelry, to the strains of deafening music and waving of flags, the funeral procession of 500,000 American youths, while the Moloch Militarism sits on his bloody throne ready to devour the sacrifice, yet proclaiming in loud dissonant tones: Praise unto Democracy! Glory unto War!

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Victims of Moral / Emma Goldman.– 28 cm. *In* J. Gassel, "[Report to] Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice." –(June 4, 1917).

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

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REPORT MADE BY:	PLACE WHERE MADE:	DATE MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
J. Gassel	Phila., Pa.	June 2, 1917.	5/31/17

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER BEING INVESTIGATED:

RE: EMMA GOLDMAN
(Anarchist Leader)

RECEIVED
JUN 4 1917
Bureau of Investigation
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.:

At Philadelphia:

This evening I was instructed by Agent Daniel to be present at a lecture held by Emma Goldman, the Anarchist Leader, and, in company with Stenographer Cleary, I proceeded to the Royal Hall, 7th and Morris Streets, where the meeting was held. (Stenographer Cleary's presence was required to take the details in shorthand). The subject of the lecture was "Victims of Moral," (spoken in Yiddish) and was divided into three kinds of moral: (1) The Moral of Private Ownership; (2) The Moral of the State and Laws; (3) The Moral of Women.

In the first she spoke about private ownership and brought out that the workers are the victims of this moral and the capitalists are the benefitors.

In the moral of the state and laws, she criticised the laws of the country and said that laws are made for the capitalist class and against the working class; that at the present crisis the laws are keeping the working class in fear and threaten them with arrest and punishment if they will protest, resist, or refuse to be taken blindly like cattle to be slaughtered for the Rockerfellers, Morgans and Wall Street; then, raising her voice high, she said, "Were you citizens of a free Republic asked whether you want to go to kill and be killed without a reason? No. They did not find necessary to ask you that but passed laws which you must obey or go to jail, and through the corrupt press they are making you believe that you are patriotic; and in the name of capitalism and patriotism, they take the best men of our community and put them out to be killed.

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And this is what makes you the victims of the moral of our laws."

In the moral of women she spoke chiefly about birth control and at the end said that if you mothers would go out and say"No! we will not give our sons to be killed for the Rockerfellers and Morgans" it would make the lawmakers siver; and there is where she was stopped from further speaking by Sergeant Hogan of the 3rd and Moyameneing Avenue Police Station, who warned her not to speak any more about conscription or he would take her in the patrol wagon. Then she commenced to speak in English and said that nothing in the world will stop her from agitating her ideals, and that she is going to New York and will continue her propaganda.

At the end, questions were asked from the audience. One asked whether the Constitution does not give them the right to ask the Congress to repeal laws, to which she answered that the Constitution is only observed on Memorial Day and the 4th of July. The rest of the time it is interpreted for the benefit of the Capitalists.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Speech, before the No Conscription League, Hunts Point Palace, New York] / Emma Goldman.– [1917 June 14].– 33 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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MEETING OF

NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE.

Hunts Point Palace - 8 P.M.

New York, June 4th, 1917.

LEONARD D. ABBOTT, ESQ.,(CHAIRMAN)

THE CHAIRMAN: My friends, I ask you to keep control of yourselves. If any party or parties try to make trouble, ignore them. We are here tonight to assert the power of an idea against the power of physical force. We are here tonight to assert the power of freedom as against the power of authority.

All through history free ideas have had to fight for their right to exist, and men and women have had to go to prison, and in some cases to lay down their lives, in order that freedom might go forward. We are fighting the latest engagement in this eternal war for freedom, in this hall tonight. We say to militarists who are trying to force Americans into the ranks of Militarists throughout the world, into the ranks of the same militariats that have made of Europe a shambles, and that are still slaughtering men and women and childr...

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there, we say to them, "Besides, you can go so far, and no further." We say to them, "Go to Europe to fight the Germans, if you want to, but don't try to drag us with you when we are unwilling to go." (Applause). We say to the militarists, "We are not interfering with you, but you are interfering with us, and if you try to take us by force we shall resist." (Great Applause.)

We hear a great deal about Anarchism in the present fight against Conscription. If Anarchists are prominent in this fight, it is because they have the courage of their convictions and are not afraid to express their convictions. Anarchists show their convictionsand show their convictions in war times as well as in times of peace. They recognize that war is the very test of anti-militarist sincerity. It separates those who are sincere from those who are insincere. The man who declares himself in anti-militarist in times of peace and then abandons his convictions in times of war and danger is not an anti-militarist, he is a weakling. And the paradox of the present situation is that Anarchists, although they do not claim to be patriots, are upholding American principles. Conscription is un-American, is immoral, and as many people believe unconstitutional.

There is a provision in our Constitution forbidding involuntary servitude. If conscription does not

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mean involuntary servitude, then I don't know the meaning of these two words.

A year ago, our American Nation was unwilling to commit itself to the principle of Conscription and Conscription was at least a debatable question; now the authorities talk of inflicting the death penalty on those who oppose Conscription, in spite of the fact that the oponents of Conscription today take the same view that the overwhelming majority of the American people have taken before. A few months ago President Wilson said he had been unable to find out what the war is about. He intimated that it did not concern us in America. He said a few days ago before the Red Cross in Washington that we had no special grievance against Germany. Two years ago the President was too proud to fight the Germans; now it seems the Germans are too proud to fight us -- at least they have not made a formal declaration of war against America. Then, why in the name of humanity and common sense drag America into this war, or turn this country into an armed camp? Why follow the mistaken roads that all European countries have followed and pile up armament upon armament? Why send the flower of our young men to the trenches? Why don't the old men go? We can spare them better than our young men. This is not our war. This is not a war in which social revolu-

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tionaries can have any real interest. The war has been a mistake, it seems to me, almost without exception. The Russian Revolution is the only good thing, the only decent thing that has come out of it. (Tremendous applause.)

Do not forget that the present Conscription Law is only the thin edge of the wedge; don't forget that it is merely the beginning of the large opening that will bring the military monster into our homes, and as it grows stronger it will become more greedy, and the love for conquest will take possession of it, and the next thing that we will be required to do will be to conquer Mexico. That is the natural progress of militarism. If y believe in this war, go ahead, but don't force us. We have as much right to our principles as the militarists have to theirs.

I honor that great American Henry D. Thoreau, who wrote of the duty of Civil disobedience, and we are following him and his doctrines. We believe the time will come when the highest conscience of humanity will be shown in civil disobedience to unrighteous requirements of the powerful few.

Militarists talk of giving patriotic service to the nation. But there are two kinds of service, and there are two kinds of nations. Which nation do they

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most? There is a nation composed of exploiters, capitalists and the militarists. And there is a nation of exploited working men, of persecuted labor bodies. The first, the capitalists, we regard as our enemies. To the second class, the workers, the labor leaders, we pledge our deathless loyalty. We join hands with our comrades throughout the world. One of the inspiring circumstances of the times is the formation in England and elsewhere of workingmen's councils, such as there were formed during the Russian Revolution, the sole object of which is to work for the people's peace.

We say that we are men without a country, but in saying that we assert kinship with all in all countries. Yes, my friends, as our young Anarchist, Louis Kramer, said a few days ago, "We are citizens of the world, and we are the true patriots and the true lovers of all the people, and we do object to militarism and enforced servitude." I say to you, my friends, that a country must have a guilty conscience, when it arrests young men on no other grounds than giving out hand bills for this meeting, and fixing their bail at $7,000.00. A country must have a guilty conscience when it arrests young college boys and girls, when their only crime is that they are sincerely against militarism. (Applause.) I say to you that a country must have a guilty conscience when

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men and women are arrested on flimsy or no charges, when meetings are broken up on flimsy pretexts or without any pretext, when radical papers are suppressed and when radical headquarters in many cities are raided. If these are the first fruits of militarism, what will be the complete harvest?

I don't know how many young men will refuse to register and be conscripted tomorrow, but I do know that the young man who shakes off the bloody paw of militarism when it is laid on his shoulder, who refuses to be shipped to the trenches of Europe, I do know that young man is doing something that is of unquestionable value, not only to himself but to all humanity and to all posterity. (Applause) The young man who out of a keen sincerity and idealism refuses to take arms in a cause which he does not believe is stronger than any or all the governments that ever existed. (Tremendous Applause) Down with militarism. And down with the state that cannot maintain itself except by forced service. (Tremendous Applause)

We have a number of speakers here tonight, some of them young men of conscriptable age, and some few others. Some of them are beyond the conscriptable age, and are not themselves liable, but who fight in this issue just as if they were liable themselves. The

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first speaker if a young man of conscriptable age, the headmaster of a modern school at Stony Fore, New York. I take pleasure in introducing Mr. Robert H. Hutchinson, but before I close I want to say that Anarchists are not afraid to go on the firing line. That is not the reason. The reason is our underlying principle, the very foundation of our belief, that this is wrong. We are against it now and we always will be. (Applause)

MR. ROBERT H. HUTCHINSON: My friends, if we go into this war to beat the German armies we may be successful, but we are liable to be conquered ourselves by a much more insidious power than armies. Let me recall to your minds how it was that the Roman Empire in the second century B.C. conquered the little country of Greece. The army of that little country went down to destruction against the Roman fighting machine, but in the end it was the Greek Civilization that conquered the Romans. The Romans took over the Greek Government; Roman writers imitated Greek literature; Romans imitated Greek architecture. But when Rome had run her course and the barbarians from the North came down and made themselves possessor of what was left of the Roman Empire it was Roman civilization that reconquered the barbarians. Now, is history repeating itself? Is it possible that the United States will go into this war against Germany and beat the Germans by arms, and in the

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and be conquered by Germany? When I say Germany I do not mean the mass of people within the confines of the German Empire I mean the type of civilization which the ruling classes there have worked out. I mean Kultur. What does "Kultur" mean. There are two sides to it. On the one hand there is the idea of a kind of state socialism in which the State enters into every phase of human life for the purpose of eliminating waste and making the people act more as a single unit. This can best be translated by our word efficiency. The other idea involved in the conception of kultur is that of absolute, unquestioned obedience to authority. In one sense kultur means a system, an efficiency, which the ruling classes of Germany have worked out for the increase of their own power. That is not the kind of kultur we want here in America. What difference is there between what we hear nowadays around such places as this, what difference is there between out modern Americanism and this kultur? What difference is there between German efficiency and American efficiency?

What difference is there between the Subordination of individual liberty, whether it is in Germany or the United States? If we here really believe in freedom and democracy, if we really hold that the rights of the individual are important, let us not fight against a

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German organization, but let us fight against this kultur, both this side of the Atlantic and the other side of the Atlantic, everywhere. Let us stir up the people to fight for real freedom that democracy means, let us stir them up to fight for more than the mere word; let us stir them up to fight so that freedom and democracy be made facts and maintain as facts, not merely words. (Applause) Let us not be fooled, and let us not permit others to be fooled. We are not in danger of the German Armies; we are in danger of this kultur. It has been conquered England and France, and it has now taken possession of America, in a way. It is a great invasion of individual rights. We don't want guns and bullets; we want propaganda and education. We don't want poisonous gases, we want fresh air. And neither do we want that word Liberty to remain a word; we want it to become a fact. (Tremendous applause)

Therefore I ask you to join me in demanding that this Conscription Law be repealed, (Applause) or at least that some kind of an amendment will be made to it that those who are conscientiously really against war of any kind will be allowed to follow out their principles unmolested and in freedom. (Applause)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker will be a young mother, Mrs. Ballantine,

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MRS. BALLENTINE: My friends, it is comparatively easy for me to come here and speak to you because I have a son who is only fifteen months old. When I think of mothers here whose sons have to be sent to these bloody battles, with which they have no sympathy, it just horrifies me. I don't see how they do it. To me the whole subject of motherhood has become so terrible, that I cannot think of my little son with equanimity! He is a perfect physical specimen, and when I think I may bring him up to perfect manhood to be taken away without his consent or mine I think I have committed a crime against humanity. They say that this is going to be the last war, to placate people whom they know are opposed to them. There is a book which has just come out, written by some French poillou, the French word for soldier, in which he describes the conditions at the front, and the conditions that meet the soldiers there in the trenches. He describes the way they live, in water up to their waists, cold and freezing weather, the consequence of diseases, and the vermin with which they are covered. Have I to give my son for that? I would rather he die. And I say to women, "Don't breed. Don't have any more children if that is what you are bringing them up for." (Applause)

That is not what we give life for. Life

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would be a beautiful thing, a thing to develop and flower, instead of a thing to be a mass of wounds and sores and horrors, left on some battlefield. I make my protest as a mother, and as an individual to mothers -- don't, don't, don't, don't give your children (Applause)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is a young man of Conscriptable age, Peter Kane, Jr.

MR. PETER KANE, JR.: My friends, you will have the police soon. My friends, great sacrifices have been made this evening to get you here. I would like to tell you a great many things, but America does not permit me. (Applause)

A VOICE FROM THE GALLERY: You had better go back to Russia.

MR. KANE: I am going back there if you don't go with me, soon. My friends, two noble boys were arrested at Madison Square Garden getting you here this evening, and I beg to say in spite of that there is a standing army on the outside, with their protest, telling President Wilson how much they love Conscription. (Applause and Cheers)

I am a free born American Citizen and it is my duty to preserve those institutions of democracy that mean liberty of principle of conscience, (Applause and Cheers), and I am willing also to give my insignifi-

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cent life to preserve those institutions that our forefathers of America fought for. If our dear country is fighting a war for democracy my dear brethern, we should have this democracy at home first. (Applause and Cheers) Any attempt to violate the laws of true democracy should be crushed by the will of the people who love democracy (Applause), and tomorrow on June 5th you will have your opportunity to crush those laws that destroy democracy, and I for one, my friends, will side with your dear patriot, Patrick Henry. As for me, gentlemen, give me liberty or give me death. (Many hurrahs and great applause)

A VOICE FROM THE GALLERY: Three cheers for the Stars and Stripes. (Applause)

MR. KANE: If that individual who made our dear Star Spangled Banner could see us today, she would say, why did I ever say Liberty? I may be brought to task for saying these things, my friends, but don't fear that, for I am a Democratic American Citizen, who has the belief, at least, that I have the right to speak what I think. I cannot allow any law to interfere with the freedom of my conscience, and I am not going to allow any sect to provide any law under a democracy that stands for a representative Government to drive me to the slaughter of my fellow man. I refuse to become a

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murderer under any pretense whatsoever. (Applause) Laws exist only by the belief of a people in their necessity for the achievement of the Liberty of Justice and Righteousness. We believe that any law odious to democracy, endangering the preservation of freedom of thought and conscience, is tyrannical and fit for autocracies only. We liberty-loving American citizens want this body governed by militarism crushed and we cannot and will not tolerate any attempt to Prussianize America under any pretense whatsoever. (Applause and something, evidently an electric bulb, thrown from the gallery and striking at the feet of the speaker.)

MR. KANE: Will the law and order committee provide that I speak safely? (Laughter) We, the people, make governments and are the final judges as to what shall be enacted as laws. Our representatives voted for war; it is true, but we, the people of America, know the horrors of war, and we did not and do not want war. Indeed, our representatives did not represent us. We therefore repudiate a declaration of war until the American people, the masses, the workers, who do the fighting and pay the taxes for a war are given the right that true democracy guarantees, the right to decide by a referendum whether or not they want war.

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(Great applause and hurrahs.) Taking advantage of the Government machinery that can be manipulated to suit those people who our representatives seem to be considering more than the people, a law was railroaded through Congress in some manner declaring a war that the people do not want to. And I say here to you now, my brothers, that I, for one, will not uphold any law that does not come within the written Constitution of the United States of America. I will take no steps and leave it to the conscience of every man who wants democracy, who understands what this country fought for to get democracy, not to uphold that law. (APplause) It is in your power. Do it.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is not only a mother, but a grandmother. I ask Mother Yuster to step forward. Mother Yuster is a Rumanian and asked me to translate some of this to the audience.

(A lady stepped forward and stood by the Chairman while he proceeded.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I am now speaking for her. I come here tonight with my heart full of sorrow. I want to say these few words to the audience; as my vocabulary is limited in English and my voice is weak. We mothers have not given our lives to bring up strong, healthy fellows to make of them murderers and slaughterers of their fellow

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man. (Applause) We thought we brought [illegible] civilized world where they could be used for [illegible] of society and make the world better and not worse. I know that I voice the feeling of plenty of other mothers when I voice my feelings, that we will never allow our sons to be conscripted. We have put our lives in danger by giving birth to them; we are willing to give our lives to save them. Let those go who want the war; no one stops them. Mothers wake up. Realize what this ~~means. Don't allow your sons to go to the war.~~ (Applause)

~~THE CHAIRMAN:~~ The next speaker is one you all know, a life long fighter, not against militarism, but against everything that crushes the human spirit, a man who went to prison for fourteen years in the fight for liberty. I present to you Alexander Berkman. (Great Cheers.)

ALEXANDER BERKMAN: Comrades, friends and enemies (Great Applause) and everyone who believes in freedom of thought and liberty. We had a demonstration here a moment ago as to who believes in free speech. The militarists, the false patriots and the others have mass meetings tonight. They have mass meetings this evening. They have meetings tomorrow. We did not send our men to disturb their meetings. (Great applause and hurrahs.) ~~And~~ Who believes in liberty? Do we believe in

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liberty or do they? We say to you, and I mean all of you, I mean these detectives, these Federal men, soldiers and sailors, we say to all of you, if you want war, go ahead. We believe in liberty, but you can go ahead. (Applause and cheers.) But we say further to you, if you believe in liberty, if you pretend to fight for liberty and democracy how can you force us to do what we don't want to do? (Great applause and cheering). I see a few, or rather quite a number of young men in uniform in this audience, and I want to know when they look into their own consciences if they do not think that I am not making ~~a~~ florid speech, but ~~I~~ that I am talking common sense. That should appeal to you, if you really have a sense of justice. ~~A~~ America says we are going to fight Germany. Why? They say we are going to fight Germany because we want to give them liberty and democracy. If you believe that you can give a people liberty and democracy from the outside, if you believe you can give a people or a nation liberty at the end of a bayonet or with bullets, go ahead. We don't object. We shall not interfere. But if you are so generous with liberty as to carry it to Germany across the sea, why don't you retain liberty right here in this country. (Applause.)

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[illegible]: Are you a citizen?

A. [illegible] BERKMAN: I have the floor just now. If you want the floor later, we believe in free speech and will give it to you. There is no greater boon in the world than liberty. There is nothing greater in the whole universe than freedom of conscience, freedom of opinion and freedom of action, in short liberty. But it is we who are fighting for liberty, and no one else, not those who oppose us. We have been fighting for liberty for many years, and even for the liberty of those who oppose us. (Great Applause).

A VOICE: You know what Rabbi Wise said?

OTHER VOICES: Shut up, shut up.

(There were many boos and great confusion. Some one threw something at the speaker.)

A. BERKMAN: I want this man to speak out what is in his heart. That is all right. I say this is a solemn moment. Men and women and soldiers and others, do not make light of this. You are the sons of mothers, even if you are in uniform. You want to go to the front. All right. But consider what you are doing and consider whether you have the right to suppress those who do not believe as you do. Consider well, especially if you pretend to fight under the banner of free

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speech and liberty. Consider t[illegible] you to your barracks. Think it over. You have never heard patriots talk to us like that. We talk to you like that. We don't throw glasses or bricks at you. We say to you consider, look into your own hearts and do what you think is right. But you can't think it is right to suppress the other fellow because he thinks differently. You don't believe it in your own hearts or you would have less to say in opposition to us, and you would be less, much less than human. We are here to say what we believe, just the same as you are in a hundred and one halls all over the City, in thousands of halls all over the country today to say what you believe. That means liberty of speech, and for liberty I am the first to fight. (Great applause.)

This is a most serious moment. Let me tell you, if you know what is happening in the country today, that you know that this is one of the most tragic moments in the life of this country. Don't make light of it, because it is the most terrible and tragic moment in the life of the country. Conscription in a free country means the cemetery of liberty, and if conscription is the cemetery then registration is the undertaker. (Great applause and cheers and boos, and something thrown at the speaker that looked like a lemon.)

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...ll right, I am talkin... ; ... later. (Some one in the gallery threw something at the speaker and said something the stenographer could not understand.) Those who want to register should certainly register, but those who know what liberty means, and I am sure there are thousands in this country, they will not register. (Many hurrahsand great applause.) There have been many black days, many black Fridays, and black Sundays in the history of this country. Black days for labor when those who feed you were shot down on the streets because they were for better conditions of living. There have been many black days for labor. But there is going to be a blacker day, not a black Friday, but a black Tuesday. (Great applause) And I believe that those who realize the full significance of forcing a supposedly free country into an armed camp, those who realize that should put on mourning tomorrow. They should mourn the loss of the country's liberty. It is not a day for rejoicing. You rejoice over something that brings you happiness, joy, freedom. But something that means your further enslavement, something that means the coercion of you to do things against your conscience, against your nature, against the dictates of everything that is fine in you -- things like that should be mourned and wept over, and not made a holiday of. It is a tragic

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moment to me, [illegible] I love the American people [illegible] than those who want to enslave them towards the profit of Morgan and others. (Applause)

Neither the soldiers of this country not the workers have any enemies across the ocean. The soldiers and the workers and all those who really have to work mentally or physically, for their bread and butter, they have no enemies there. They have an enemy right here in this country; (Applause) they have an enemy that makes money, millions and billions of it, out of your blood, out of small children and widows, by putting them in sweat shops, by working them all hours, (Great Applause) (Some one in the gallery threw something at the speaker which broke the glass on the table in front of him and the rest of the remarks to finish the sentence were not heard.) Those are the enemies we have.

A VOICE: You are the enemy.

A. BERKMAN: I have no more love for these exploiting American enemies than I have for the German Kaiser. (Some one in the gallery shouted, "go back to Europe where you belong. You are not an American citizen anyhow." Also some one threw something that broke one of the electric globes in the footlight row.)

A. BERKMAN: No, no, gracia. Hence, consider a certain country across the ocean. Look at Russia.

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[illegible] about. (Great applause and confusion. [illegible] the gallery.) You believe in free speech, go and fight for your country. They are soldiers the same as we have in this country. They are workers the same as we have in this country. And let me tell you they know that eight hours is a working day there. (There was considerable confusion in the gallery, and evidently a struggle of some sort went on up there.)

No argument there (Referring to the gallery.) Sit down. Everybody keep their seats. (There was great confusion, people standing up around the hall.) Keep your seats. We know there are men here to break up this meeting.

ELSA GOLDMAN: One moment. [illegible] States soldiers here who are on duty. [illegible] no argument there.

[illegible].

(Meanwhile there was great confusion throughout the hall.)

A. BERKMAN: I don't believe these soldiers are real Americans. My friends, do you know what is happening in Russia today? Do you know that eight hours work is what the workers want in every country? Do you know what is good for the workers? Do you know what the

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soldiers of Russia are helping the workers in their country to do? Do you know that after all the cause of the soldiers and workers is the same everywhere. (Great excitement, Emma Goldman taken to jail. Cannot

MISS EMMA GOLDMAN: Please be quiet; please be quiet. (Great applause and cheers.) Friends and fellow workers. Friends, don't you know that the soldiers came here to disturb the meeting? (Many voices yes, yes.) I ask you all to keep quiet, no matter what the soldiers do. I demand of you to keep absolutely quiet. Let them disturb the meeting. We are not going to disturb the meeting. (Applause)

Friends, workers, soldiers, detectives and police. (Laughter and hisses and applause) I am going to speak to you all. I am surprised that the police here don't stop the soldiers from breaking the lights. (Hurrahs and applause. Throughout Emma Goldman's remarks she was so frequently interrupted by applause that reference will not be made to the times.) Friends, please don't applaud, time is too precious. If the police don't stop the soldiers from breaking the law is it because the police are afraid of the soldiers? I hope that they will preserve order. Now, friends, if this meeting would not take place at all, I think you should know that there are twenty thousand people outside waiting

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to get from this hall, to prove to you more than anything that we can say that the people of New York who think, don't want war and don't want conscription and don't want militarism. At the same time we consider ourselves more consistent than those who believe in war and believe in militarism. We say that those who believein war, believe in conscription and in militarism and should do their duty and fight. We have no objection against it but we refuse to be compelled to fight when we don't believe in war and when we don't believe in militarism and when we don't believe in conscription. Now, why don't we believe in war and in militarism? The good papers of this city have told you that because we are pro-German, we do not believe in war and we do not believe in militarism. That is an unbelievable lie. I am just as much opposed to the German Government as I am to the American Government -- and why do I not believe in militarism? I will tell you why. When I was eight years of age my father had a government position, and every year compulsory military registration was required. The highest officials of Russia would come to our place, the heads, the representatives of militarism, and would there compel the youth of our land, the peasant boys to become soldiers. And at that time the mothers and

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the fathers of the whole community turned out [illegible] and considered it a day of sorrow and of [illegible] of pain when their sons were taken away into the army. It impressed itself with indelible power upon my mind and upon my conscience. Ten years later, when I came to America, I was told that this was the land of the free, that no man is compelled to be a soldier in America. I actually believed that this was the promised land, the land that rests upon freedom, upon opportunity, upon happiness, upon recognizition of the importance and the value of the young generation. But since that day twenty seven years almost have passed, and I have come to the conclusion that when the law for conscription was passed in the United States the Funeral March of 500,000 American youths is going to be celebrated tomorrow, on Registration Day. I am opposed to Militarism because I have seen since my early childhood what it means to sacrifice a young man, who has hope and youth and a life of opportunity before him, on the alter of militarism. I, therefore, promised myself, even as a child, that as long as I lived, and as long as my voice carried, I shall cry out against compulsory militarism, against conscription. My friends, we are told that the people want war. If the people of America want war, if the people of New York City want conscription, how does it happen that this

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city is going to muster in not only the entire police department, but the National Guard and a body of patriots known as the Home Guards, who have nothing else to do? Now, my friends, I ask you why do you have to muster up your police, soldiers, Home Guard and National Guard to celebrate your Registration Day? If the people want war, why so much police, why so many soldiers to compel them to become soldiers? If the people want war, why not give them a chance to say that they do? If you want to sacrifice their sons upon the alter of militarism, why not give the people a chance to decide? Those in power knew that they could not put the people to a test; they were afraid to put the American people to a test, and that is why they imposed war upon them, and barely six weeks later imposed conscription upon them. Therefore, I as an Anarchist who became an American out of choice, protest. You patriots, you born Americans, you became Americans because you had to. You were dropped on this earth. I had no choice whatever, but I came to America out of my free will, and I, as an American out of choice, say that if you force people into militarism, if you force our young men into the Army, please have the decency to say that you will Prussianize America in order to democratize Germany. (Tremendous applause). You must realize that you will be making a laughing stock out of

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yourselves. Nobody believes you. Don't you suppose that the fact that you are breaking up meetings and causing disturbances and locking up boys and girls and disturbing and harming people, don't you suppose those things are known abroad? How much the Russian peasants and the workingmen must enjoy themselves when they hear of this wonderful democracy in the United States.

I understand, friends, that a meeting of Russian soldiers was stopped in this city tonight. I am glad of it. The Russian soldiers will go back to the Council of Workmen and Soldiers and they will tell them that when America says she is fighting for democracy she is telling the world a lie. She is not fighting for democracy. I say that those who sit in a glass house have no right to throw stones about them. Now, friends, I am here frankly and openly telling you that I will continue to work against Conscription. We are told that you have stenographers here to take down what we say, this is not the first time we are having stenographers at our meeting. And I have always said things that everybody can hear, and what is more important I want the police and the soldiers to hear what I have to say. It will do them good. They need education. Now, friends, if I do not tell you tonight not to register, it is not

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because I am afraid of the soldiers, or [illegible] afraid of the police. I have only one life to give, and if my life is to be given for an ideal, for the liberation of the people, soldiers, help yourselves. My friends, the only reason that prevents me telling you men of conscriptable age not to register is because I am an Anarchist, and I do not believe in force morally or otherwise to induce you to do anything that is against your conscience, and that is why I tell you to use your own judgment and rely upon your own conscience. It is the best guide in all the world. If that is a crime, if that is treason, I am willing to be shot. It is a wonderful death to die for your ideal, but I impress it upon the minds of patriots present, I impress it upon the minds of the police present, upon the minds of the soldiers present, that for every idealist they kill thousands will rise and they will not cease to rise until the same thing happens in America that has happened in Russia. Don't you know, friends, that there was a time when Russian soldiers locked up every idealist and sent them to Siberia and to underground prisons and suppressed free speech and assembly and tortured them to death. Yet today the whole civilized world, including the United States Government, is trembling in its boots before The

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Council of Workmen and Soldiers who are standing for liberty. And, friends, young men, soldiers, I am not afraid. I am not afraid for all you can do is to take my life -- you can never take my ideals. Neither the police nor the soldiers, nor the United States Government nor all the powers on earth will take my ideals. My ideals will live long after I am dead.

Now, friends, I come to something else far remote from what I have to say tonight, and which is unfortunately always my luck. The newspapers were good enough to say that all of our meetings are paid for by the German Kaiser. Of course, they know better. They know that if the German Kaiser paid for this meeting, we could have the largest hall in town and invite the police. They know perfectly well that we are not paid by the German Kaiser. No, friends, you workingmen and working women, who are here tonight, you have to pay for tonight's meeting, nor the German Kaiser. I am going to appeal to you, --- because this meeting has to be paid for by your money, and in the second place, to demonstrate to the gentlemen of the press, present here tonight, to the soldiers and to the police, and to the detectives, that the money which you are going to give is hard earned American pennies, the amount of money your masters are good enough to give you in return for the amount of wealth

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which you are [illegible] every day. [illegible] friends, I appeal to you tonight to give liberally, to give as much as you can, when the collectors go through to pay the expense of the meeting. We are very fortunate that we don't have to pay for our protection. We get that perfectly free. We are very grateful that the soldiers are present tonight. It is the only time in our life and their lives that they have heard the truth, and I am glad they are here, and so friends, when the collectors pass, please give as generously and as liberally as you can, and give only if you are opposed to war, and if you are opposed to militarism and conscription. I shall then have a word or two to say after the collection is over.

Meanwhile I call the attention of you soldiers to the fact that if you wish to demonstrate that you believe in American Institutions you will behave yourselves like gentlemen, not like ruffians. (There was considerable confusion throughout the hall and up in the gallery.) Now, after the collection, I shall have a few closing remarks to make, and I am going to stand here until you are through with the collection. (Some one asked for three cheers for Emma Goldman, and the response was tremendous. Cheers and applause, mingled with boos and also some cheers for Alexander Berkman.) Friends, don't please

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make a mistake. Don't shout hurrah for Miss Goldman or Alexander Berkman, because they are mere incidents in the history of the world. It is better to shout hurrah for the principles of liberty. That is better than one Alexander Berkman or one Emma Goldman, or one hundred thousand Alexander Berkmans and Emma Goldmans. They will go, but the principle of freedom, the principle of self possession, the principle of self emancipation, the principle of social revolution will live.

Friends, the collectors can go on quietly and continue their work. (There was great confusion throughout the hall at the time and Miss Goldman quieted the audience. Every one became quiet again.) Don't forget friends, that the opposition to conscription only begins, it does not end tonight. Do not forget, also, that the work for Peace, for International Peace only begins. I know, friends, who are here tonight, that you will be glad to learn from the note just sent up that fully twenty thousand people are outside of the hall.

Dear Friends, I congratulate the press of New York. ~~The press of New York~~. The newspapers of New York have rendered our Anti Conscription work more service than a thousand Emma Goldmans could render. Of course, the press did not desire to have twenty thousand people at such a meeting. What the press wanted was merely to

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put them into silence, to make you believe that you are going to be imprisoned for this and be shot on the spot. It is too bad that America cannot hang you and quarter you and shoot you all at once, for the press would be in favor of that. These blood curdling articles that appear are only for the purpose of paralyzing you. They don't know, the poor chaps, that if anyone has an ideal you can't terrorize him no matter what you do. So I am personally grateful to you -- to the press. I am grateful to the police for having sent out so numerous an army, grateful to the young soldiers who really mean no harm. They are innocent boys. They have never yet faced danger. They think it is going to be a picnic; they think they are going to enjoy themselves, poor young gentlemen. I wish you could go to war and have a picnic. I wish you could enjoy yourselves, and I wish you could carry on your war as if it were a frolic, or as if it were a baseball or football game, but you are mistaken, as war means an entirely different thing. We know that war means the annihilation of every fundamental principle of liberty. We know that centralized militarism means nothing else but the carnal brutality of man, blood-shed and conquest in its most abominable aspect. We tonight of the Anti Conscription League raise our voices to the very sky to tell you that you may fight your battles, if

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you believe in the principles, but you are [illegible] a losing cause. You represent the past and we represent the future. The Conscription Law has been the means of awakening the people of America. Before the Conscription Law was passed the American people used to think, why, we have freedom, we can do whatever we please, we can go to war if we want to and stay away if we don't want to. My friends, we are grateful to the Government for having passed the Conscription Bill for it will teach the American people that American Liberty has been buried and is dead and is a corpse, and that only our voice is going to raise it up and revive it again, until the American people and all the people living in America will unite in one great mass and will throw out capitalism and Government by militarism.

It was our intention to have a number of other speakers here tonight. They are all here. I don't want you to think for a moment that anyone backed out, but we are not going to give the satisfaction to the patriots to break up this meeting. Therefore, friends, I want you to close this meeting with the singing of the International and to go out quietly. Your friends on the outside are waiting, and you will all raise one mighty voice that is going to drown militarism and government and capitalism. (At the close of the meeting an old lady was

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lodged to the platform by some one on the platform and distributed some papers, taken from an envelope. The pamphlets were afterward taken up by soldiers and the old lady was arrested.

MEETING CLOSED.

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Ex. 16

STENOGRAPHER'S MINUTES

RECEIVED
DEC 8 1917
S.D.C.

STENOGRAPHER'S TRANSCRIPT OF SPEECHES MADE BY ALEXANDER BERKMAN AND EMMA GOLDMAN IN FORWARD HALL 173 EAST BROADWAY THURSDAY EVENING JUNE 14 1917.

Before

STENOGRAPHERS:
JOHN DILLON
ADS. EDWARD CADDELL #349

June 14 1917

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demonstration in Madison Square,so that you people will have a chance to tell the President what you think about the situation. The next speaker is one who is well known to you. I shall not lose words or time in introducing her,but I want to tell youthat before she came to the meeting to-night somebody telephoned to her and told her,"if you go to that meeting you will not come home alive." --- I merely want to introduce a woman who has more courage than half a dozen men. (Berkman finished talking at 9.15 P.M.). Address by Emma Goldman, 9.15 P.M.

(BY EMMA GOLDMANN:)

This is not the place toapplaud or shout,"hurrah for Emma Goldmann," we have more serious things to talk about,and more serious things to do. First of all I wish to say to all of you workers,men and women from the East Side,I regret deeply that I cannot speak to you in the language I have always spoken from this platform,that I cannot speak to you [redacted] to-night in Yiddish. I am speaking English because I want these representatives of the State and Militarism and the Courts and the prisons to understand what I have to say. I do not want them to get it second hand; no language is ever rendered well in a translation and I want them to hear what I have to say in the only language they can speak,and speak it poorly.

Friends,to-morrow morning I am sure that you will read the reports that the meeting took place on the East side attended by foreigners,by working men,by unkempt and poorly washed people of the East side. The foreigners who are being jeered at at the present time in this country,the foreigners who are being ridiculed because they have an idea --- well,friends,if the Americans are to wait until the Americans will wake up,they will have to resurrect the Indian who was killed in America,and upon whose body this so called democracy was established, because every other American,if you will scratch him,you will find the Englishman,and the Dutchman and the Spaniard and the Frenchman and the Jew and the German and the 101 other nationalitites who sent their men and women to this country in the foolish belief that liberty was awaiting them at the American Harbor;liberty holding a torch; that torch has been burning dimly in the United States for a very long time..

It is because FRIENDS the statue of liberty was ashamed of the American people,what they had done in the name of liberty,of liberty in the United States. And yet friends I am not sorry for the things that are happening in America to-day. I have come to the conclusion that every nation has,like the individual,to have its own experience. It does not accept the experience of the other nations,nor more than you accept the experience of another individual.

For if it were possible for a nation to learn through the bitter and tragic experience of other nations,America to-day could not be in

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war,and America to-day could not have inaugurated a reign of terror which is sweeping across the country from one end to another. America had Europe before its face,with all the murder and the bloodshed and the sacrifice of millions of lives. America had the trenches, all the battlefields of the last nearly three years of Europe before her. America realized that the war is one of the bloodiest and most criminal wars that has ever been fought by civilized people .

America had the lesson that the workingmen and the sons of working women are being sacrificed in the name of Kultur and democracy upon the battlefields of Europe,and if America had been a grown man instead of a child,she would have learned a lesson that no matter how great the cause,it is not a great thing to sacrifice millions of men in the trenches and on the battlefields in the name of democracy. Unfortunately friends,America has to learn a solitary lesson. It is going to be at terrible price,it is going to shed oceans of blood, it is going to heap up mountains of human sacrifice,and the [illegible] men of this country who are built to create and produce,to whom the future belongs,they are to be slaughtered in the blood and in sacrifice in the name of the thing which has never yet existed in the United States of America.

Now friends,there are people who always say,"I told you so", when they predict or prophesize something and the propheoy comes true. I am sorry that I have to say the same. For thirty years we have pointed out to you that this democracy,which is a Government supposedly from the people,by the people,and for the people,is on the way to one of the most unscrupulous imperialisms that the world has ever laid its eyes upon. For twenty five or thirty years we told you that the State in America is appropriating more power everyday until the time will come when the individual man or woman will be nothing but a clog in the machine of the centralized,cruel,bloodthirsty government known as the United States. We told you that,and you said,"you are alarmists",you said,"you are too extreme,that will never happen in the United States". And here you are,friends,it has happened in the United States, A war was imposed upon you without the consent of the people; the people were never asked if they wanted war. Ay,indeed the people of America placed Mr.Wilson in the Whitehouse and in the Chair of the Presidency because he told the people that he would keep them out of war;and posters were pasted all over the City with a working woman and children,stating that he kept you out of war. He promised you heaven; he promised you everything if you would place him in power and the moment that you placed him in power he broke his promise and he is giving you hell in the shape of war.

War was imposed upon the people without the people getting a chance to say whether they want war or not. War was imposed upon them I say, and because the gentlemen in power and those who back power because they want war,and because war has been declared upon you, we are told,we men and women of the United States who work and sweat and toil to sustain these gentlemen of power,we are told that it is war,that we must go to war.

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If war is necessary only the people must decide whether they want war or not, and as long as the people have not given their consent, I deny that the President, or those who back the President has any right to tell the people that they shall take us sons, and husbands, and brothers, and mothers, and shall ship them in order to be dumped into the sea for the conquest of militarism and the spread of wealth and power in the United States. You say that it is a Law. I defy your law! The only Law that I recognize is the Law which ministers to the needs of humanity, which makes men and women fonder and better and more human, the kind of a Law which teaches children that human life is sacred, and that those who organize for the purpose of taking human life are going to be [redacted] called before the bar of human justice, and not in the wretched little court which is called your Law of the United States.

And so friends the people have not yet decided whether they want war and the people are going to say openly that they do not. Friends it is not at all surprising that President Wilson cannot sense the pulse of time. He has been in colleges too long. He has been too long within closed doors. He has been too long at the historical books. He cannot sense the pulse of time; but I tell you, without wishing to be a prophet, that within the next six months, not years, but six months President Wilson will regret deeply that he ever declared war.

Of course friends, of course, since war was declared by a coterie of people in whose interests it is that the American boy shall be sacrificed; it was not to the interests of that coterie to put the question to a test, and therefore conscription had to be imposed upon you. Don't you know that during the Spanish American War the people, believed in the war and there was no need of dragging the young men out at the point of a bayonet and a gun and a club, and putting him into the military uniform; they flocked to the war, and whether they were mistaken or not they at least showed that the people of America were willing to give their lives for something that they considered right; and because the people of America did not believe in this war, because the people of America had not been asked whether there should be war, that is why they did not flock to the colors and that is why you in America are doing what the Russian Czar used to do, what the German Kaiser is doing. That is why you are going to drag your manhood by force into the uniform.

But you are forgetting one thing, [redacted] gentlemen of the Law, you can drive a horse to water but you can't compel it to drink. Please don't applaud. You will put the young manhood of America into uniform; you will drive them to the battlefield and into the trenches but while they are there there is going to be a campaign of anti militarism among the soldiers. You cannot compel human beings to take human life, if you give them a chance to reason and to think, to investigate and to analyze, and that is precisely what the authorities of this country do not want. They don't want you to hear anything about conscription. They don't want you to hear any-

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thing about [redacted] the State Military Census; why do they not want you to hear anything? If their position were correct and logical, if the Military Census would rest upon the people,if conscription would rest upon the desire of the people,all of the revolutionaries and the pacificists and the Emma Goldmanns and the Berkmans would be able to talk their heads off and the people would not listen to them,but because the people know conscription is a crime,an imposition,an outrage, because the people know that the State Military Census was passed by one of the most reactionary men in office,Mr.Whitman,whom you placed on your ballots,who you support, who you make possible to live. Because of his reactionary tendencies and the military State Law,or rather the Military census you have been told [redacted] he is going to turn every man of you here into the Militiamen.

Ah,indeed America is fighting the Kaiser,because the Kaiser once said that if you are a soldier and I tell you to shoot your mother and father and brother and sweetheart you must obey orders.[redacted] Is President Wilson,is Mr.Whitman saying anything else. Are they not telling you that when you will become militiamen and you will be ordered to shoot your brothers and fathers and sisters and mothers in the name of Democracy which you are going to carry to the poor unfortunate German people.

And so friends we are here to tell you before you decide what you are going to do,that there are -- and remember,remember it is easy to make a mistake,but it is very difficult to undo the mistake. You workingmen of the East side,you should have lived in Russia;you should remember the days when you couldn't meet unless you had detectives and soldiers and police. Look about you and see what you have in the United States. If the Framers of the Declaration of Independence if the Jeffersons or the Hancocks or others,if they could look down upon the country and see what their offspring have done to it,how they have robbed it,how they have polluted it,they would turn in their graves ,they would rise again and would cleanse this country from its internal enemies and that is the ruling class of the United States.

Now friends it is a lesson that you will all have to learn, and terrible as it is,we are nevertheless glad that you will have to learn this lesson.

And now we get down to the outrage that was committed in the United States,or rather the State of New York,yesterday,when two boys were sentenced. It is not only an outrage because they were sentenced, such things happen everyday,hundreds and thousands of innocent workmen are sent to prison and the penitentiary,thousands of unfortunates; fill your jails,and nobdoy ever hears anything about it. It is the ordinary commonplace thing to-day,but the outrage yesterday consisted of the fact,that the judge,supported as you have been told,by your money,protected by public opinion,protected by the press,that that judge had the impudence and the audacity to insult Kramer and Becker after he gave them a sentence of such horrible dimensions. Think of a man like that who sits there in judgement of free human beings, Think of what must be his character,what must be his mind,what must be his soul; if he can spit human beings in the face only because he has got the power;

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But evidently the judge knows nothing of history;no man of the ruling class knows anything of History; Don't you know that there was a time when Marie Antionette,very much surprised that the people had no bread,asked why they were not willing to eat cake? Don't you know what happened to the Fair Lady of France,Marie Antionette.? Don't you know what happened to the large landowner of France who said that the people should eat straw? Don't you know what happened to him? The people gave him all the straw he could possibly eat.

Friends I condemn the action of Judge Mayer,the insult and the outrage , and I warn you that he is going to hear about it,not only from all over the United States,but even from Europe, It may have seemed very insignificant to send poor working men,to send Becker and Kramer,who are both working men,that is their crime,and they were both honest enough to say they were anarchists. Did you ever hear of such an outrage? They just made the remark that they were anarchists, the judge was horrified at the audacity of these people to say it to him face to face,but don't you know men,you who are free in America, the moment you enter into Court,you are like Dante looking down into the Inferno, "You who enter here leave all hope behind." That is again the American Court. It is the belief of every detective and every policeman that he can treat you like a dog,they who live from the sweat and toil of the people,so I tell you gentlemen now is your time,do what you please; you are forgetting history,and you are forgetting the writing on the wall;you are making a mistake if you think by sending Kramer and Becker to jail you are going to silence the human voice . You are making a mistake if you arrest the people,if you stop the agitation against war, for the agitation against war,the agitation is in the hearts of the people,it is in the minds of the people and it only requires for a psychological moment to come along as it did in Russia and the Judges,Mayer and the other judges will fly off the bench.

Friends if we thought for one single minute that the entire agitation depended only upon a handful of people we would never bother about endangering your life,but we know that the agitation is in your hearts and in your souls we know that the people [redacted] from East and West and South and North are opposed to the war,opposeed to conscription opposed to the Military State Census and the people will be heard from. I can tell you that,and so,to threaten any one's life to say that you will not come back from a meeting,how stupid!

What is life unless you can live it in freedom and in beauty. Unless you can express yourself,unless you can be true to yourself, that is life. Rather than to live the life of a dog,to be afraid,to skunk about and slink about to ward off somebody who is waylaying after you to take your life,rather than that I would die the death of a little dog.

If you tell people,"Miss Goldmann ~~they~~ we are going to arrest you", [redacted] , -- as if that solves all problems,in the world;prisons have never solved any problems,guns and bayonets have never solved any problems;bloodshed has never solved a problem,never on earth. Men and women have such methods of violence,concentrated and organized violence, never solved a single problem?

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Nothing but the human mind and human devotion,nothing but intense passion for a great ideal,nothing but perserverance and and devotion;nothing else ever solves any problem; and so working men and women,you of the East Side you who are sweated and bled to oreate the wealth of this country,you have been singled out because you are foreigners. Very well then,if you are good enough to create the wealth of Amerioa,if Amerioa had to go to Europe for her art and literature and her music and her idealists by God you will have to to go for your democraoy.

And I don't say it in any threat,I do not say it out of bravado, I merely tell you that the more people you lock up the more idealists who will take their place,the more the human voice is suppressed,the greater and louder will be the human voioe. At present it is a mere rumble,but that rumble is inoreasing in volume,it is growing in depth, it is spreading all over the country and it will be raised into a thunder and the people of Amerioa will rise and say," we want democracy but we want the kind of democraoy that means liberty and opportunity to every man. (Emma Goldmann stopped talking at 9.45 P.M. and Berkman then said: "Before going on with the meeting I want to call your attention again to the demonstration Saturday week, Saturday, June 23d, 2 P.M. The subject will be, "Labor and War"; everybody to be there".

Meeting adjourned at 9.46 P.M.

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think about the situation (great applause).

The next speaker is one who is well known to you. I shall not waste words or time in introducing her but I want to tell you that before she came to the meeting tonight somebody telephoned to her and told her, "If you go to that meeting you will not get home alive". I simply want to introduce a woman who has more courage than half a dozen regiments(tremendous cheering and applause at 9:12 P.M.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I introduce to you-- (interrupted by applause and cheers. Some young man said, "Who loves Emma Goldman ? We all do." Great cheering and applause.)

EMMA GOLDMAN: This is not the place to applaud or shout Hurrah for Emma Goldman. We have more serious things to talk about and some serious things to do. First of all I wish to say to you, all of you, workers, men and women from the East Side, that I regret deeply that I cannot speak to you in the language I have always spoken from this platform; that I cannot speak to you tonight in Yiddish. I shall speak English because I want those representing the State and Militarism and the Courts and Prisons to understand what I have to say. (Miss Goldman's remarks were so frequently interrupted by cheering and applause that reference to such interruptions will not be made in this report further.) I don't want them to

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get it secondhand. No language is ever rendered well in translation and I want them to hear what I have to say in the only language they can speak, and speak it poorly.

Friends, tomorrow morning I am sure that you will read the report that a meeting took place on the East Side attended by foreigners, by workmen, and illkempt, poorly washed people of the East Side -- foreigners who are being jeered at the present time in this country, foreigners who are being ridiculed because they have an idea. Well, friends, if the Americans are to wait until Americans wake up the country they will have to resurrect the Indians who were killed in America and upon whose bodies this so-called democracy was established, because every other American, if you scratch him, you will find him to be an Englishman, Dutchman, Frenchman, Spaniard, a Jew and a German and a hundred and one other nationalities who sent their young men and their women to this country in the foolish belief that liberty was awaiting them at the American Harbor, Liberty holding a torch. That torch has been burning dimly in the United States for a very long time. It is because, the Goddess of Liberty is ashamed of the American people and what they have done in the name of liberty to liberty in the United States. And yet, friends, I am not sorry for the things that are happening in America today. I have come to the conclusion that every nation is like an individual. it must have its

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own experience and it does not accept the experience of other nations any more than you accept the experience of another individual, for if it were possible for a nation to learn by the bitter and tragic experiences of other nations America today could not be in war and America today could not have inaugurated a reign of terror which is sweeping across the country from one end to another. America had Europe before its face as an example, with all the murders and bloodshed and corpses and millions of lives lost . American had the trenches and the battlefields of the last, nearly, three years of Europe before her. America realized that this war is one of the bloodiest and most criminal wars that has ever been fought by civilized people. America had the lesson that the working people and the sons of working women are being sacrificed in the name of Kultur and they want democracy upon the battle-fields of Eruope, and if America had been a grown man instead of a child it would have learned the lesson that no matter how great the cause it is never great enough to sacrifice millions of people in the trenches and on the battlefield in the name of democracy or liberty.

Evidently, America has to learn a salutary lesson and it is going to pay a terrible price. It is going to shed oceans of blood, it is going to heap mountains of human

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sacrifices of men of this country who are able to create and produce, to whom the future belongs. They are to be slaughtered in blood and in sacrifice in the name of a thing which has never yet existed in the United States of America, in the name of democracy and liberty.

My friends, there are people who say and tell you that when they prophesy something the prophecy comes true. I am sorry to say that I am one such and I have to say the same. For thirty years we have pointed out to you that this democratic State which is a government supposedly of the people, by the people and for the people has now become one of the most Imperialistic that the world has ever laid its eyes upon. For twenty-five or thirty years we have told you that the United States of America is appropriating more power every day until the time will come when individual men or women will be nothing but cogs in a machine of this centralized, cruel, blood thirsty government known as the United States. We told you that, and you said, you are alarmists . You said, you are too extreme, that will never happen in the United States. And here you are, friends. It has happened in the United States. A Czar was imposed upon you without the consent of the people. The people were never asked whether they wanted war. Indeed, the people of America placed Mr. Wilson in

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the White House and in the Chair of the Presidency because he told the people that he would keep them out of war, and as one of his political advertisements billposters were posted all over the city with the picture of a working woman and her children saying, "He has kept us out of war". He promised you heaven, he promised you everything if you would only place him in power. What made you place him in power. You expected peace and not war. The moment you placed him in power, however, he forgot his promises and he is giving you hell. War was imposed upon the people without the people getting a chance to say whether they wanted war or not, and war was imposed upon them, I say, because the gentlemen of power and those who back power want war. And because war has been declared upon you we are told, we men and women of the United States who work and sweat and toil to sustain these gentlemen of power, we are told that there is a law and we must go to war. If war is necessary, only the people must decide whether they want war or not, and as long as the people have not given their consent I deny that the President of the United States has any right to declare it; I deny that the President or those who back the President have any right to tell the people that they shall take their sons and husbands and brothers and lovers and shall conscript them in order to ship them across the seas for the

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conquest of militarism and the support of wealth and power in the United States. You say that is a law. I deny your law. I don't believe in it.

The only law that I recognize is the law which ministers to the needs of humanity, which makes men and women finer and better and more humane, the kind of law which teaches children that human life is sacred, and that those who arm for the purpose of taking human life are going to be called before the bar of human justice and not before a wretched little court which is called your law of the United States. And so, friends, the people have not yet decided whether they want war and the people are going to say, ultimately, whether they want war or not.

It is not surprising that President Wilson cannot sense the pulse of time. He has been in colleges too long; he has been too long within closed doors; he has been too long at the historical books. He cannot sense the pulse of time. But I tell you, without wishing to be a prohpet, that within the next six months-- not years but within the next six months-- President Wilson will regret deeply that he ever declared war in the United States.

Of course, friends, of ccurse since the war was declared by a country in whose interest it is that the American boy shall be sacrificed it was not to the interest

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of that country to put the war to a test and therefore conscription had to be imposed upon you. Don't you know that during the Spanish-American War when the people believed in the war there was no need of asking the young men of the country, at the point of the bayonet and gun and club, tc put on an American uniform? They flocked to the war because they believed in it. And whether they were American citizens or were residents of America the people of America were all willing to give their lives for something they considered right and just. But because the people of America do not believe in this war, because the people of America have not been asked whether there shall be war, that is why they do not flock to the colors and that is why you in America are dcing as the Russians used to do, as the German Kaiser is doing, as all the Imperialistic tyrants are doing. That is why you are going to drag your manhood by force into the uniform. But you are forgetting one thing, gentlemen of the law, you are driving a horse to water but you cannot compel him to drink. You will put the young manhood of American in the uniform, you will drag them to the battlefield and into the trenches, but while they are there there is going to be a bond of anti-militarism among the people of the world (great applause).

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No, friends, you cannot compel human beings to take human life, if you give them the chance to reason and to think, to investigate and to analyze. And that is precisely what the authorities of this country don't want. They don't want you to hear anything about conscription; they don't want you to hear anything about the State Military Census. Why don't they want you to hear anything? If their position were correct and logical, if the State Military Census rested upon the need of the people, if conscription rested upon the desire of the people, all the revolutionists and Emma Goldmans and Alexander Berkmans might talk their heads off and the people would not listen to them. But because the people know that conscription is a crime and oppression and an outrage upon reason, because the people know that the Military State Census was determined upon by one of the most reactionary men, we find Mr. Whitman who is on your backs, whom you supported, whom you gave the possibility to live. And the Military State Census, as you have been told, is going to turn every man of you here into a militiaman and into something who is fighting the Kaiser, because it is just as if the Kaiser wanted you to do a thing so that if you are a soldier and I tell you to shoot your mother and father and brother and sister you must obey orders. With the President is Mr. Witman saying anything else? And then telling

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you that when you will become militiamen and you shall be ordered to shoot your brothers and fathers and sisters and mothers in the name of democracy that you are going to carry to the poor unfortunate people of Germany. And so, friends, we are here to tell you before you decide what you are going to do, think twice, and remember it is easy to make a mistake but it is very difficult to undo the mistake. You workmen of the East Side; you who have lived in Russia, you who remember the days when you could not meet unless you had detectives and soldiers and police, look about you. See what you have in the United States. See what you have in America.

If the framers of the Declaration of Independence if Jefferson or Henry or the others, if they could look down upon the country and see what their offspring has done to it, how they have outraged it, how they have robbed it, how they have polluted it-- why, my friends, they would turn in their graves. They would rise again and they would clense this country from its internal enemies, and that is the ruling class of the United States. There is a lesson you are going to learn and terrible as it is for us we nevertheless are glad that you will have to learn that lesson.

And now we come down to the tragedy that was committed in the United States Court in the State of New

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York yesterday, when two boys were sentenced. It is not only a tragedy because they were sentenced. Such things happen every day, hundreds, thousands of innocent working men are sent to the prison and the penitentiary, thousands of unfortunates throughout the world as well as here in so-called free America and nobody ever hears anything about it. It is an ordinary, commonplace thing to do. But the tragedy of yesterday is in the fact that a Judge, supported as you have been told by your money, protected by public opinion, protected by the President, the tragedy of it is that that Judge had the impudence and audacity to insult Kramer and Becker after he gave them the sentence of such horrible dimensions. Think of a man like that who sits there in judgment on other human beings. Think what must be his character, what must be his mind, what must be his soul, if he can spit human beings in the face, only because he has got the power.

But evidently the Judge knows nothing of history, any more than the ruling class knows. Don't you know there was a time when Marie Antoinette, very much surprised that the people had no bread asked, "Why don't they eat cake"? Don't you know what happend to the fair lady of France, Marie Antoinette? Don't you know what happened to the landowning class of France who said that the people

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should eat straw? Don't you know what happened to them? The people gave them all the straw they could possibly eat. I consider the action of Judge Mayer an insult and an outrage and I warrant you that he is going to hear about it, not only all over the United States but even from Europe. It may have seemed very insignificant to send two poor workingmen to the penttentiary and to insult them, to send Becker and Kramer, who are both workingmen-- that is their crime, they were both honest enough to say they were anarchists. To be condemned in an American Court it is enough that you are an anarchist. The Judge was horrified at the audacity of these people to say it to him, face to face. Don't you know, men, you who are free Americans, the moment you enter an American court you must say, like Dante said, "Ye who enter here leave all hope behind". That is what the American Courts are. And so today you are governed by the bayonet and the police can treat you like dogs. But I say to you, they who live by the sword shal perish by the sword. So I tell you, gentlemen, now is your time. Do whatever you please. But you are forgettinghistory and you are forgetting the writing on the wall. You are making a mistake if you think that by sending Kramer and Beckerto jail you are going to silence the human voice. You are making a mistake if you believe

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that by threatening and arresting people you are going to stop the agitation against war. The agitation is in the hearts of the people, the agitation is in the minds of the people, and it only requires the psychological moment to come along, as it did in Russia, and the Judges like Mayer and the other Judges will fly off the bench and into the gutters.

My friends, if we thought for one single minute that the entire agitation is dependent only upon a handful of people we would never bother and endanger your lives, but we know the agitation is in your hearts and souls, we know that the people from the East and West and South and North are opposed to the war, are opposed to conscription, opposed to the Military State Census, and the people will be heard from, I can tell you that. And so, to threaten anyone's life, to say that she will not come back from a meeting alive -- how stupid. What is life unless you can live it in freedom and in beauty, and unless you can express yourself, unless you can be true to yourself what is life? I would rather than live the life of a dog to be compelled to sneak about and slink about, to worry that somebody is locking for you ready to take your life— Rather than that I would die the death of a lion any day. Why, what consequence is it if you tell people, we are goin

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to arrest you, Miss Goldman. Just as if arresting Miss Goldman solves all the problems in the world. Prisons have never solved any problems. Guns and bayonets have never solved any problems. Bloodshed has never solved a problem. Never on earth, men and women, have such methods of violence, concentrated and organized violence, ever solved a single problem. Nothing but the human mind, nothing but human emotions, nothing but an intense passion for a great ideal, nothing but perseverance and devotion and strength of character -- nothing else ever solved any problem.

And so, men and women, workmen and workwomen, you of the East Side, you who are sweated and bled to create the wealth of this country, you who are being sneered at because you are foreigners -- very well, then, if you are good enough to create the wealth of America, if America had to go to Europe for her Art, if America had to go to Europe for her Literature, if American had to go to Europe for her Music and her ideals, by God you will have to go to the foreigners for liberty.

I wish to say here, and I don't say it with any authority and I don't say it as a prophet, I merely tell you-- I merely tell you the more people you lock up, the more will be the idealists who will take their place; the

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more of the human voice you suppress, the greater and louder and the profounder will be the human voice. At present it is a mere rumbling, but that rumbling is increasing in volume, it is growing in depth, it is spreading all over the country until it will be raised into a thunder and people of America will rise and say, we want to be a democracy, to be sure, but we want the kind of democracy which means liberty and opportunity to every man and woman in America (Great and continued applause).

THE CHAIRMAN: Before we close the meeting I want to call your attention again to the demonstration Saturday, June 23rd, at 2 P.M., in Madison Square. The subject will be Labor and War. Everybody be there. And now, my friends, let the gentlemen of war step out first. They came first; let them leave first, and then you leave the hall gradually, without any disorder. The meeting stands adjourned.

Friends, you will be glad to hear that the collection for Becker and Kramer amounts to $100 (applause).

Meeting adjourned at 9:42 P.M.

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學說

愛國主義

高曼女士著

超海譯

何謂愛國其愛吾人生斯長斯之地耶抑愛吾人少時釣遊之鄉耶其愛吾人幼時於月明夜靜之際仰數星辰之地耶抑愛吾人伏於慈母之懷聽奇軍說異聞之土耶若此足稱愛國則吾人之能愛其國者鮮矣昔日花落鳥啼之乾淨土今則爲奸商市儈之集合坊機器廠也煤炭鑛也觸目皆是然則吾人平昔所釣遊之地今無可愛之價值也明矣

所謂愛國主義者果何物乎約翰生 Drfonsen 曰愛國主義者奸猾者之護符也托爾斯泰反對愛國主義大家也其言曰愛國主義者殺人之製造場也其所練習者殺人之術也其所討論者殺人問題也於平民生活無與焉又倫氏 Yuelaue Heine 亦最近反對愛國主義之著名家其稱愛國主義直命之爲虛誕其野蠻卑劣之手段則較宗教爲甚夫宗教之虛誕原於生民之初智識缺乏不足以解決天然界種種問題偶雷見電遂havoc怪萬狀以爲冥冥中必有主宰其事者宗教之說於是乘之而起其迷信怪幻之狀至今已無討論之餘地者夫愛國則猶者揑造邪說倡爲僞論以引人信實則所謂愛國主義者乃作爲自私自驕之代名詞也

作爲自私自驕誠爲愛國主義之特點今夫蒼蒼者天摶摶者地本無國界自有所謂愛國者出強將此蠢爾之地球域而分之立爲專名以相戰鬥名之爲文明號之爲強國其去部落時代之慘殺其間不能以寸抑有過之者尚言之全世界皆憂患之世而已普天下皆憂患之人而已普天下衆生皆戕殺之衆生而已其用以互相殘殺者曰軍人軍人既爲民賊所利用於是海陸軍之增加飛騰衆口襲艦造械日有所聞美國於此短促之時間費去四百兆金蓋爲殺人計也吾人試閉目以思此四百兆金從何來乎吾民之脂膏也吾民之血汗也被強盜(富豪)視海外爲安樂土於愛國主義何助助之者吾可哀可痛之平民而已既助之以血汗復助之以生命而猶者假公濟私乃坐而安享之嗚呼謂愛國主義非作爲自私自驕不可得也

愛國主義所用之代價果何如乎今由一八八一年至一九〇五年各大國於此期內每五年間所增加之海陸軍費統計於左

英由二一〇、一八四、八九三、六元至四、一四三、二六八、八五五元
法由三、三二四、五〇〇、〇〇〇元至三、四五五、一〇九、〇〇〇元
德由七二五、〇〇二、〇〇〇元至二、七〇〇、三七五、六〇〇元
奧由一二七、五五〇、〇〇七、〇〇〇元至二、六五〇、九〇〇、四五〇元
意由一、六〇〇、九七五、七五〇元至一、七五五、五〇〇、一〇〇元

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日由一八二九〇〇五〇〇元至七〇〇九二五四七五元
俄由一九〇〇九七五五〇〇至五二五〇四二五一〇〇元
以上數國于此短促期內軍費之增加至爲可驚軍費既增稅務遂重•故將以上數國人稅之增加統計之如左•

英由十八元〇四七　至五二元〇五
法由十九元〇六六　至二三元〇六二
德由十元〇一七　至一五元〇五一
美由五元〇六二　至十三元〇六四
俄由六元一四　至八元三七
意由九元〇五九　至一一元〇二四
日由八六仙　至三元〇二

（譯者按上表均以美金爲本位•此乃十年前之統計•若今則又增數倍矣•）

愛國主義之代價•如此其重•吾人可了然無疑•據最近經濟學者之報告•每年各國海陸軍費之增加實較人口爲多•然此不過二十世紀競爭之發端而已•其作始也簡•其將畢也鉅•他日民賊之搜括不至人窮財盡不止也•若將海陸軍費•移爲教育經費•吾知教育平等•教育普及諸懸案•不難幾也•而彼民

賊乃用之以殺人孰知直接納稅以助國者即間接以戕賊平常人民心理•豈不曰養軍所以禦外侮耶•焉知此乃虛擲之財•而民賊以恐嚇愚者之術乎•喊哉卡萊 Carlyle 之言乎•其言曰•戰爭者•醫諸兩賊相鬥•但膽怯不敢前搏•遂各呼集其村氓•衣以戎衣•裝以軍械•驅之爲戰•如鳥獸之相角•可謂罕覯而喻矣•

吾嘗謂愛國主義爲民賊自私之具•非虛言也•試披史乘•戰不信•謂觀美之戰•美國史引爲榮譽者也•然吾民與西班牙•素無惡感•及一旦驅之遠戍•誰不哭聲上雲•咨其強作笑顏者•非愚則受報紙鼓吹之毒而已•及乎血濺平野•肢挂林木•死者長埋•生者無依•則租稅所需•迫於星火•徵斂雜下•苛役紛來•愛國之結果•果如是乎•推原此次戰禍之起•不過爭論糖價耳•而竟干戈相見•首顱相搏•謂政府非保護資本家之具•吾不信也•愛國之禍•豈止此哉•美班之戰•既竟古巴 Cuba 拯於工人爲大同盟罷工•美政府遂不惜罄戰之費者•傷心見者•怵目兒乎•仁人其能安忍而親受者之苦痛•則悉吾筆•焉吾舌•尚不能形容於萬一•且俄之戰•搖天動地•其原不過俄皇與貴族聚金於高麗•欲擅富權•爲自利計•此乃俄國陸軍大臣加魯巴金氏 Europatkin 戰後視事之者也•

（譯者按•此書作於數年前•當時歐洲大戰未肇•故作者尚未言及•所謂養軍以禦外侮者•今乃自殺•可見軍之無足養•夫所謂太平者•必戰端不開•然後可耐太平•軍隊

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用以保護太平由斯以觀豈非擾亂秩序之大逆耶雖然養軍之目的非盡由於禦外侮抑亦所以防內亂也昔日之工人飢寒交迫死於苛政今忽覺悟革命革命之聲振聾耳鼓民賊以其莠於外侮遂養軍以制內然力學公例壓力愈重反抗力愈大蓋彼政府者亦愚人矣哉

（中略）今世有識之士咸知愛國之義非常狹窄不足以應世世紀之需要故夸起而倡無政府主義先覺既疾呼於前吾人復接踵於後從今以往聯袼一氣昔之軍人爲民賊作傀儡昔之工人爲資本家作奴隸將有今是昨非之感而尚其主人曰我代汝之勞今已畢矣汝欲殺人則自殺可也!!

歐洲平民如愛國主義之眞相如是如是反對之聲浪亦一發而不可制各國之賢哲前仆後繼持百折不回之志蓋除此虛誕之主義嗚呼烈矣!!

他日時機一至吾人定改造一純正自由之社會較之今日之苦況必判若雲泥矣惟吾人於今日當傳播眞理於軍人以蓄其自覺實爲不能稍緩之要着也!!

無政府主義

高露曼女士著

箱　譯

吾人讀進化史莫不知人類之所以能進化者皆立一較高尙較遠大之爲的百折以達之造成一較開明之世界然社會上因種種遺傳之習慣持進化主義者猶欲破除而更新之鮮有不爲守舊派所壓阻遠者遂者姑弗深論卽今二十世紀號稱文明而彼眼光如豆者見一新主義之興起何嘗不蚊

力以反對之

無政府主義主張改造今日惡劣之社會泯一切階級及智愚賢不肖之分其事功之弘大其改革之艱難早在吾人意計中然則吾人又安能以民賊之反對社會之毀譽而易此百折不回之志耶

今之反對無政府主義者多矣若一一解答之非連篇累牘不能盡退而徐考其反對之說言之稍足以肯綮覩聽者大概不出兩端吾於未解釋之先請先以數言括明無政府主義主張泯智愚之分今人飢以爲不能之數詆知智者與愚者同屬人類腦根之純敏相差不遠顧今日乃生大差別者境遇與教育造成之而非愚者聰明之不及智者也

諺云勞心者治人勞力者治於人今之貧民（愚者）不特法於長官（智者）且棟轉憔悴呻吟於虐政之下然而彼無辜之平民反對無政府之論調覺與智者同一口氣仰又何也其不明無政府主義則一也反對者所持之理由有二（一）無政府主義雖完美盡善而未經實習（二）無政府主義尊主張暴動及破壞故此主義可謂之爲野鶩爲危險綜是兩端以觀吾可決言曰此皆於無政府主義未嘗長想深思所致也彼於無政府既已誤會其根本卽則其論愚而拒絕之初亦無怪其然今請以數言而祛其惑衛德 Oscar Wilde 曰所謂實習之方法其說有二（一）經已實習而行之無礙者（二）察四週之狀態此方法可以舉行無礙者就第（一）條論者既行於社會之方法或主義爲人類思想所排斥而不表示贊同者可名之曰謬誤愚昧執是以談主義實習之眞標準非以保守其謬誤愚昧而

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學說

用以保護太平由斯以觀豈非擾亂秩序之大逆耶雖然養軍之目的非靈由於禦外侮抑亦所以防內亂也昔日之工人飢寒交迫死於苛政今忽覺悟革命革命之聲振盪耳鼓民賊以其甚於外侮遂養軍以制內然力學公例壓力愈重反抗力愈大蓋彼政府者亦愚人矣哉

（中略）今世有識之士咸知愛國之義非常狹窄不足以應世世紀之需要故先覺既疾呼於前吾人復接踵於後從今以往聯絡一氣普之軍人爲民賊作傀儡普之工人爲資本家作奴隸將有今是昨非之感而向其主人曰我代汝之勞今已畢矣汝欲殺人則自殺可也!!歐洲平民知愛國主義之眞相如是如是反對之聲浪亦一發而不可制各國之賢哲前仆後繼持百折不回之志誓除此虛誕之主義嗚呼烈矣!!

他日時機一至吾人定改造一純正自由之社會較之今日之苦況必判若雲泥矣惟吾人於今日當傳播眞理於軍人以喚其自覺實爲不能稍緩之要著也!!

無政府主義

高露曼女士著

箱　譯

吾人讀進化史莫不知人類之所以能進化者皆立一較高尙較遠大之鵠的百折以達之造成一較開明之世界然社會上因種種遺傳之習慣持進化主義者猶欲破除而更新之鮮有不爲守舊派所壓阻遠者遂者姑弗深論卽今二十世紀號稱文明而彼眼光如豆者見一新主義之興起何嘗不竭力以反對之

無政府主義主張改造今日惡劣之社會泯一切階級及智愚賢不肖之分其事功之弘大其改革之艱難早在吾人意計中然則吾人又安能以民賊之反對社會之毀譽而易此百折不回之志耶今之反對無政府主義者多矣若一一解答之非連篇累牘不能盡退而徐考其反對之說言之稍足以肯綮觀聽者大概不出兩端吾於未解釋之先請先以數言括明無政府主義之主張

無政府主義主張泯智愚之分今人飢以爲不能之數誠知智者與愚者同屬人類腦根之鈍敏相產不遠顧今日乃生大差別者境遇與教育造成之而非愚者聰明之不及智者也

試云勞心者治人勞力者治於人今之貧民（愚者）不特決於長官（智者）且帳轉憔悴呻吟於虐政之下然而彼無辜之平民反對無政府之論調竟與智者同一口氣仰又何也其不明無政府主義則一也反對者所持之理由有二（一）無政府主義雖完美盡善而未經實習（二）無政府主義專主張暴動及破壞故此主義可謂之爲野蠻爲危險綜是兩端以觀吾可決言曰此皆於無政府主義未嘗長想深思所致也彼於無政府既已誤會其根本義則其痛惡而拒絕之初亦無怪其然今請以數言而祛其惑衛德 Oscar Wilde 曰所謂實習之方法其說有二（一）經已實習而行之無礙者（二）察四週之狀態此方法可以舉行無礙者就第（一）條論者既行於社會之方法或主義爲人類思想所排斥而不表示贊同者可名之曰謬誤愚昧執是以誡主義實習之眞標準非以保守其謬誤愚昧而

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不求變革乃所以求革命之要道策社會之進化爲射的無政府主義求革命之要道促社會之進化而求去謬誤思味事事以正當之眞理科學衡之者也

平民反對無政府主義之心理多以爲無政府黨動輒以炸彈手鎗爲手段不知逐一二人流血五步以表示公理於天下此不啻楊枝小露以言暴動破壞吾等何敢辭惟於黑暗之中期在一線光明非此且莫由也

暴動之理既如前述惟破壞之理更有不可不知者蓋破壞屬於一時而非永久破壞如醫者治療必逐微菌而肌肉生長方有可望又如農夫治圃必去莨莠而嘉禾始能獨秀今之民賊社會之微菌人類之莨莠也去之復何足惜而去之之手段不能始惜從事此無政府哲理所謂主張破壞也

無政府主義已成頗撲不破之哲理凡人皆當研究其原理反觀今日之反對無政府主義者不特未嘗於此主義爲精密之研究即於無政府主義之界說亦多朦然如此而欲倡言反對亦多見其不知自量耳今於無政府主義先定其界說然後以次論之

無政府主義之界說無政府主義者根據自由之原則以討求若社會秩序之哲學不受人爲非之束縛世界各種政體悉根據於不正當之習慣而成立無政府主義認爲謬誤有害當然屬於廢除之列

新社會之秩序全由科學解決之可無疑義今日社會之罪惡無論屬於個人抑屬於羣衆屬於內部

抑屬於外部之狀態皆經濟之不平有以釀成之此無政府黨之所同認者也

今試細心考察人類進化之歷史知社會組織之分子爲個人個人與社會有密切之關係可不緊言而喻然數千年來人類多不審個人與社會相關之重要誠爲可惜不知集體由個體組織而成從集合而分析之則爲個體二者互相爲用要使個人與社會聯爲一氣然後人類安寧可期蓋個人與社會實如心肺之各有機能缺一則存在之道立息也

英美派曰 Egoism「良知者世界最有價值之物也人人皆有良知能善用其良知則所見者眞理所言者眞理所立者眞理由一眞理推而至萬事萬物皆得其眞理由是而社會之魂再爲誕生」

人類處於黑暗之中未嘗見一線曙光無政府主義者黑暗時代之寶筏而使人知求幸福之慈航社會與個人聯接之媒介也政府爲阻止人類達此幸福之障礙物故無政府主義即與此惡魔宣戰去之而後已

宗教者思想自由之障也產業者人類生活之蠹也政府者良善民德之賊也易言之此三者奴隸之平城而又恐慌之製造場也

宗教何以爲思想自由之障宗教家之言曰上帝萬能人無所能嗚呼自宗教立其專制之流毒甚於君主君主殺人以刃宗教殺人以言殺人以刃尚可以革命之力不當朝而去之宗教殺人以言遂至邪說橫播眞理泯沒人民思想因而錮蔽無政府主義是以反對萬惡之上帝破眞理之蟊賊無政府黨人

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學說

謂人類曰上帝者進化之障礙物也爾等欲復思想之自由還評判之能力必去而屠皇始產業何以爲生活之靈(中略)法國著名無政府黨蒲魯東 Proughon 曰產業者劫掠者也賊哉其言之也彼劫掠者不特毫無危險而猶享盡人生之幸樂至天下有朱門酒肉臭道有餓死骨之嘆嗚呼此而可忍孰不可忍數十年前以經濟學者之統計世界生產物出於人類所當要之度外然所生產之物雖衆都爲資本家所劫掠盡私而有之作威作福奴人殺人生活革命之聲浪無怪其愈博愈高也

(上略)今日生產機關既握於資本家之手成之者雖爲工人而取用之者仍爲資本家無政府主義主張生產機關與所產之物屬之公共而各個人有獨立完全之自由各人皆自由擇工及自由操作無論其造一桷建一舍治一田與美術家之繪畫科學家之發明因分功而生互助二者相資不能偏廢效用同也無政府實行時代生產物之分配有公共機關爲之料理人既盡其所能則自然取其所需此吾人之所謂共產是也

各盡所能以求社會之進化非個人完全自由不爲功今日之國立機關與法律條文皆所以鋼人類之能力使不能自當發展資本制度之惡劣既漸顯著一朝有舉革命之幟而起者四海之內如響斯應去之可立而待矣

政府禁蔽平民之精神專制平民之品性與宗教之爲思想自由之障產業之爲人民生活之賊一也

晏馬遜 Emerson 曰「政府者強暴之淵藪也無論其爲寡人政體抑代議政體其強暴不過程度高下之分非性質之殊試觀政府之手段皆纖視個人蓋可知矣

美國著名無政府黨學者氏 David Thoreau 對於美國政府嘗曰「政府者架空之機關而已所謂保護人民生命者吾未見其保護者何在法律名爲公正實則大私之具也」

法律爲大私之具執謂不然觀於貴族犯罪則執法官亦曲爲之庇護小民犯罪則刑訊備至所謂個人獨立之自由何在華秋女士 Otilia 之言曰「政府之視人如牧羊於高路兩旁構以崇垣能展足者惟狹途而已無所謂自由也」其言當矣

政府之政策惟有嚴譴壓制暴亂種種行爲則雖綿羊之愚未有不知所以反抗之者況爲人類又何能已巴枯寧氏政府爲陵削個人自由破壞社會親睦與夫人民之生活而爲彼私人權力奪榮財產增多之機關質言之國家者政治之雛臺與教會之講臺皆所以使人類犧牲者同其軌道

近世思想家未有不公認政府爲一種強權之組織而國家爲維持或保護產業或專利之機械者雖以「巴尼疏」George Benard Shaw 之迷信政府爲萬能猶慨然言曰「不期今日有大劫掠之器械而日以野蠻之力面以奴人爲責任」吾人即衡世局知貧富必有平之之一日而彼日言靠國家者可以止矣

今日猶有迷信政府之成立爲根據於天然律而成者謂可以維持社會之秩序與和平減少社會之

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罪犯阻止人類之懶性是不可無一言以解之
天然律者不受外界之干涉而出於自然之需要者也例如動物之須滋養及陰陽兩性之調劑及須
日光空氣與運動等皆天然律也惟此乃人類出於自然之服從今乎政府者強人以服從而非出於
天然之需要故可名之曰背乎人類正當之需要「巴力時頓」Blackstone 謂人爲法者無過人信從
之理由因彼與天然律適成反對也且秩序者非政府所能維持而不變者也今之所謂秩序強人以
服從耳強人以服從者非心服之然則今日之秩序不可卽謂之安寧也蓋亦明矣
社會眞正之秩序必生自各個人利益之平均試觀今日之社會終日工作者無一日之安飽反之終
日不事生產者則優遊以享盡人生之幸福利益平均之謂何如此而欲躋社會於安寧雖愚者亦知
其爲神話也人類不欲社會之安寧則已如其欲之舍廢貧窶之階級去軍警監獄立法部軍械廠而
立農園科學館來由也以政府可以減少犯罪之人數者此其立論之根本義已背乎眞理矣姑無論
國家爲最大罪惡之所破壞天然律以納稅爲盜竊若主以戰爭大衆之名而殺人卽彼自犯之罪惡
而不能懲誡已罪不容於死焉言能治人乎
人類之所以犯罪者豈皆好冒大不韙哉今日之機關無論其爲經濟的政治的社會的道德的皆誤
引人民入於不正當之軌道人民皆出其本來之地位而爲其所不欲爲之事居其所不欲居之生活
如此而罪惡之發生焉能免哉是以法律徒增犯罪者之數斷斷不能盡除之也今日社會之貧困之

恐慌之競爭又爲造成犯罪之大原因已爲學者所公認克若巴特金曰「法律降人之品格而因人
於監獄使彼主持公理者入獄中稍爲觀察其酷待人類之情形未有不廢然思返而贊成吾輩之主
張廢除監禁者」讀者苟知監獄之黑暗當不難認克氏此論爲確當也復次今日法律之對於懶人
輒恐嚇之而對於富等流民則尊之若帝天此其背理已不俟言然今日生產機關組織不善故二者
皆發現於世界以視以分功之理而得互助之義相去何啻天壤無政府主義在提倡人人從事於勞
動非業而每日所操作者又皆合於快樂衛生之眞理是故人人皆樂於每日爲二三小時之工作而
無所畏避
欲達到此等完美之社會所謂政府與及其種種不正當之機關乃在廢除之列而還個人獨立之自
由不受一切強橫之干涉與限制蓋惟有自由而身體始能康健惟有自由而人類始能誠意思想及
發展其特長惟有自由而人類始知人與人之聯絡純以愛情而生活之根本義亦卽基於此由斯以
談無政府主義者廣宗教之障還人類思想之自由去產業之蠹還人類生活之自由地政府之專制
而還人民身體之自由者也是故惟無政府主義以個人爲本位而後有眞秩序而後有眞生活之幸
福地方之住宿自由也當要之取携自由也以至工作取携無不合乎其所嗜好及性情亦自由耳」
此非吾個人之錯覺或架空之談此結論之成立乃經數十百賢人哲士之研究之考察知現社會個
人之不自由經濟之不平等而成爲眞理的科學

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至於無政府主義。雖行之方術。非非蹤不變的也。此主義在於適合人民之生活。故方術可隨時而變移。明乎此。則無政府實行及傳播之方術。可得而言矣。傳播之方術。隨地理氣候及經濟狀況之不同。智能及個人需要之各異。而可以各別行之。而無罣礙。主張記爾斯泰之溫和平靜手段。以改造社會者。則異乎巴枯寧或克若巴特金之急進及激烈主義。然殊途同歸。一面已矣。一國革命亦多有因經濟政治狀況之不同。而手段因之各異者。譬諸俄國革命黨之激烈。與英美之和平。固異。其故可得而思也。

無政府主義雖主張破壞一切人類進化之障礙。而其革命非藉練兵以攫強權。此凡屬無政府黨所同具之思想也。

迷信政治萬能之說。辭而闢之者。代不乏人。然今日之代議政治。似稍開明。工黨之選舉。議員。爲其代表。似爲可靠。孰知政府者。財神也。議員一入政界。未有不被財神軟化者。所謂工人幸福種種問題。彼何當不日日言之。然彼之所言者。可斥之爲作僞欺人耳。此以攫得個人富貴可也。今吾人絕端反對工黨社會黨之爲議員而善。莫善於從根本上將一切強權所依賴之政府。喬力而踣去之。是故無政府主義者。直接反抗一切經濟社會道德法律限制。而求所以去之之手段也。雖然。反抗者。不美之名詞也。吾人之所以甘於出萬死以反抗之者。豈好爲之哉。吾人於是不可不去。私心而大公無我。去惰弱而行大無畏。所謂獨立不撓之精神者。庶幾近之。

嗚呼。反抗之効用。寧不大哉。美國之共和。黑奴之解放。何一非以反抗力換來耶。總同盟罷工者反抗經濟不平等之表示。而又最有効之反抗力者也。去今不遠。美國工人有罷工者。普通社會指爲兒戲之事。其甚者且訕笑之。(譯者按中國今日亦然)今日則何如耶。資本家不能不震懾於工人之威矣。嗚呼。反抗之効力誠偉矣哉。

豈惟經濟。凡法律官吏道德之有侵害個人自由者。吾儕皆可以反抗之。此乃無政府主義之唯一手段。社會之革新。未有不從革命入手者。

合無數反抗之能力。則大革命之期。庶幾近乎。況乎思想者。罪實之由也。今日之思想。必成來日之事實。徵之史乘。已成慣例。無政府之思想。深入人心。如科學文學美術戲劇之反對今日之惡劣現象者。未有不受吾主義光線所影射者。故吾敢決言曰。無政府主義者。個人獨立之哲學。社會聯愛之理論。世界改造之眞理。而光明之先驅也。

談學

學之益至深。學之用至大。由野蠻而進於文明。學之力不少。然對於學之觀念。恢不同。一曰爲功名利祿而學。一曰爲効力祖國而學。一曰爲人道進化而學。此三者。孰是。孰非。作談學以明之。

(一)爲功名利祿而學。()昔支那之做八股者。皆爲功名利祿而學。人人之所知也。不待詳論。然則今之所謂最高尚最合時之留學生。遂有異於此乎。吾敢斷曰。同其人也。如諸君不信。請觀學部考試。留

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結婚與戀愛

美國高曼女士著
震瀛譯

世之論婚姻與愛情也、以爲二者同其意義、同其源流、同爲人類不可須臾離者。若是、謂爲世俗之迷妄則可、謂爲事實則不可也。

婚姻與愛情二者無絲毫關係、其處於絕對不能相容之地位、猶磁極之與北極也。雖有結婚後而愛情甚篤者、終不得謂愛情必由於婚姻也。不過世人不能超脫乎社會之陋習耳。乃令日日敗男女之婚姻、背隨波逐流、阿倘時好。以記者視之、無異一滑稽短劇而已。總之、婚姻以愛情爲配合者有之矣、而以愛情相終始者、亦有之矣。然與婚姻無涉、不得謂愛情由婚姻而致也。

準斯而談、謂愛情爲婚姻之結果、乃大謬不然也。夫婦之愛情、生於既婚之後、若風毛麟角不可多覯。間或不然、若深察之、其能免矯情之譏者鮮矣。夫相處既久、熟度漸下、色衰愛弛、利祿情疎等弊、從焉以生。此夫婦之道所由喪也。

婚姻之原意、如一保險合同、乃經濟上之交換耳。惟其背剝束縛較著之保險合同爲尤酷。其利息亦較普通之投資爲更劣。若以保險政策相擬并論、則保險所出者惟金錢、猶有自由繼續付款之餘地。而婚姻則不然。女子以其夫婦爲保險費、其名譽生命幸福、自等之種種觀念、一屬委於其夫之手、識有之死靡他之慨、不惟此也、以若斯婚姻之保險合同、且判定其一生之倚賴爲寄生蟲爲一完全廢物、不惟無益於社會、且貽禍於社會。男子之範圍較廣、其限制不若女子之甚、然不免有納稅之義務。故於經濟

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方面察之、束縛尤有難言者。

Dante 格言曰、其入是者、一生之希望絕矣。」其用於 Inferno 人謂其確當。若用之以比婚姻、則亦甚妙也。

婚姻乃人生之不幸事、已不能爲諱。其否認此說、非愚則妄。試觀離婚之統計表、乃知婚姻失敗之痛苦爲如何。矣而可謂之難、反謂離婚律例之不嚴、致女子漸習於放蕩、豈不誣乎。離婚之統計表如左。

一、普通每十二人之已結婚者、則有一人離婚。

二、自千八百七十年起、每十萬中、其離婚者由二十八人增至七十三人。

三、自千八百六十七年起、離婚媒介之姦淫案、每百增至二百七十零八分。

四、拋棄而私奔者、每百人增至三百六十九零八分。

除上列之可驚可駭一統計表外、其文章劇曲之詳細討論此問題者、更不可勝算。如 Robert Herrick 之 Together 與 Eugene Walter 之 Paid in Full、及其他之文人著作、其評論婚姻者何止千百。然此以爲無意識之舉動、不允當之作爲沒趣卑鄙、有若留聲機焉。

故凡理想活潑之學生、咸不滿意於此現象。稔悉婚姻之苦痛、此思想深印腦海中、而不能拔、故脫俗之行爲、所以時見也。

Edward Carpenter 曰、男女一生之命運、可由其結婚與否而覘之。其性情之水火者、名雖夫婦、實則路人也。以今日萬惡社會爲之魔障、婚姻之智識、決無進步。婚姻之結果、定乏美滿。審是曾何韋重之足云乎。

Henrik Ibsen 者、證明此眞諦之第一人。其對於社會之各種制度、皆深惡痛絕之。其評 Nora 也、非若荒謬評論家之所爲。蓋 Nora 之所以棄其夫、乃苦其責任之重、又或憶其女子主權之重要。覺其與一不相識之人同居八載、且爲之誕子焉。夫以兩不相識之人、終身相處、其屈辱忍痛、孰有過於是者耶。今日之女子、舉凡各事、皆委於其夫之手、乃謂悅己者容、故於修飾之外、非所計也。若是適足以保存男子權利耳。是以吾人對於前人之棄白、須破除之。若神道學之野史、謂女子祇適爲男子之附屬品、因其感情思想之不高尚。卽以男子之體格而論、可爲天之驕子。其體魄魁梧、雖觀其影猶不能無懼焉。女子之應居下流、或以物質之未盡文明而致之耶。若以女子之思想感情爲不高尚、然則女子所具者何耶。且也女子思想感情之愈不高尚、其爲男子之玩具必矣。其所恃以圖存者、舍其夫婿莫屬。男子之尊貴、有若神怪、而甘爲奴隸之服從。此婚姻制度所以保存不敗也。際茲女子之大夢已醒、所謂夫權者、乃束縛自由之具、今不再受其愚矣。於是世俗所謂神怪婚姻制度、亦居於搖斥之列、勢無挽回之希望也。

世之女子、其自幼卽教以婚姻爲人生之要點。故其教育學問、皆趨向是途。其希望與螽豕之致肥而待屠者無異。然尤有可笑者、乃其對於爲妻母之道、憒然不悉、非若美術家之專心致志從事其業也。以莊嚴之女子、祇關心於婚姻畢鄙之事、其可鄙孰甚。噫、婚姻之無足重視、人所易知、而從未有敢糾正其謬誤、以實行我神聖之戀愛者。然今日之所謂維持婚姻者、亦無聲無臭。女子以期望爲人妻母之念、致於不知不覺之間、犧牲一切、以爲代價、而墮入此競爭場中。所謂競爭場者、果何物耶。男女之界線是也。故

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男女有界線之分而女子乃終身墮入男子之牢籠受男子之壓制。脫轄之占亦難免矣。豈非作繭自縛求榮反辱乎。記者敢大聲疾呼於我同胞之前曰今日世人重視之男女界線一日不破除則人類多數之困苦與夫婚姻精神上之痛楚一日不能免雖千百之家庭終無完美之望非僞言也

若夫女子不憑國家或教會之獎勵而得以自由發展以求男女之玄理吾決知其必爲世人所唾罵謂其不合爲「正」士之妻然其所謂「正」士者乃大腹便便胸無點墨者也以活潑多情完美長成之女子乃反乎天然之要求遏抑一己之希望損棄其康健精神收縮其眼光經驗誅鋤其男女之玄理及幸福而待世所謂「正」士者攫爲己有名之曰妻其倒行逆施孰有甚於此者耶。婚姻之意義正復類是。其配合若是之腐敗禍害何可勝言。此婚姻制度所以遺不及自由戀愛之爲愈也

今何時乎非一實行之時期乎。當 Home 與 Juliet 彼此鍾情雖各處其父盛怒之下亦冒死而不顧。又如 Fretchen 之鍾情於鄰氏子種種故事今已亡矣。若乎青年男女之縱情於稗官野史樂而忘倦而今之人必仍有以爲金錢對於愛情不足以施其伎倆然金錢之罪惡已驅若輩於自私之途矣將來女子之腦根既受奢道德之薰染故於男子未嘗用其愛情即或然矣其所有者幾何乎。美人一生之要義則以『其人能自立乎』『其有供給妻兒之能力乎』其所質證婚姻在如是而已故女子之思想久爲其融化。對於婚姻其幻想者乃萬惡之金錢非月下花前攜手接吻之事。此思想之卑劣精神之痛苦皆婚姻制度之遺毒也。此國家與教會所以爲禍不淺者也

子位置必大變更。自若輩之加入工業競爭場中其時間雖甚短促亦可謂非常之變動也。一以六百萬之女子勞働家其公權與男子等俱置身於圖利之場親行刼奪之事。同盟罷工發現於女子。飢寒亦不能免衆目所共睹不寧惟是此六百萬之勞動家於人生事業範圍中勞心勞力偵探警察開鑛築路無不有女子焉。其自由得以完全恢復斯誠然哉

如上所論仍未已也。此數百萬之女子勞働家其視此爲常業者不可多覩。其志趣與男子無異。惟男子雖處老病之年仍有獨立自給之必要。雖然舉世之人誰不知寄生蟲之可恥。其眞能自立不爲金錢所驅迫而執賤役者誰乎。故女子之視其職業咸存五日京兆之心。若婚姻之期既至則棄之如敝屣。此女子所以鞍男子爲難於聯絡也。是以女子之恒言曰『吾將結婚而家道成矣。吾何所望於黨會乎。』此豈非今日社會之習尙視爲女子最後之職業耶。既嫁矣其家庭之中堅牆厚壁雖不若工廠之廣大然無殊牢獄也。出入既不自由事務較爲煩苦不亦大可哀乎。

據委員會最近工人及工資之統計表紐約城之勞働家其已結婚者十分之一耳。且其執此賤役仍如故也其處境既是悲況加以家庭之辛苦乎。所謂家庭之庇護與家庭之幸福果何在耶。慨自男女之階級分雖中流社會之女子無論其有唱隨之樂與否均不能言爲自己之家庭。吾更欲有所證明者則婚姻能否爲女子家庭之保證與其丈夫能否垂憐耳。其處家庭之中終歲勞苦及至身世凋零黯然消魂之候其境遇尙可問乎。雖家庭詬誶至於不可忍受地步而欲其逐夫於家庭之外亦無所措其手足也之東不能之西不可其時乃知世界已無吾之生路矣。不寧惟是婚姻既成則凡事皆受制於男子。交際

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場中、無容足地。若夫顏色漸衰、舉止濇滯、果決心亡、而依賴心起。明察之機能爲之怯懦矣。如是必啓男子輕視之心、雖欲不爲男子之贅疣而不可得、豈非作繭自縛乎。

然則所產之嬰兒、非婚姻而誰保養之乎。此詎非一最重要問題耶、噫爲此言者、非欺騙之徒卽僞君子也。婚姻眞足以保衞嬰兒耶。何育嬰院與青年改良公所之多也。而社會之設立以禁止兒童之虐待。終日惶惶、以救衞爲其親愛之父母所虐待者、而 Gerry 會之所以立。此亦不過欲置此等無苦之兒童於樂境耳。嘻、其說之不當於此可以覘之矣。婚姻之爲力、(足以生子而不足以養子、)足以使馬至於水傍而不能使之飲水也。法律足以逮捕監禁其父母、使兒童之免爲餓殍乎。若其親不事工作、或不近乎人情、則婚姻又何足以施其技乎。以婚姻之故、而致觸犯禁例、乃置之於法囚之於獄、其所作之苦工、非所以養其子女也。但供國家之用度耳。且其所遺傳於子女者、必爲一種惡劣性根。蓋其父曾於嚴刑峻法之下、身無完膚、其種嗣焉有良善之望乎。

至若論及女子之保障、婚姻乃爲其禍水也。不惟不能爲正當之保護、其眞相竟絕對相反。以若是之侮辱、摧殘已盡、所以不能不歸咎於此寄生蟲之婚姻制度也。

而不能使之飲水也。法律足以逮捕監禁其父母、使兒童之免爲餓殍乎。若其親不事工作、或不近乎人情、則婚姻又何足以施其技乎。以婚姻之故、而致觸犯禁例、乃置之於法囚之於獄、其所作之苦工、非所以養其子女也。但供國家之用度耳。且其所遺傳於子女者、必爲一種惡劣性根。蓋其父曾於嚴刑峻法之下、身無完膚、其種嗣焉有良善之望乎。

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導。倒行逆施、人類之幸福、摧殘已盡、所以不能不歸咎於此寄生蟲之婚姻制度也。

其更有與此相類者、資本制度是也。其剝奪他人之公權、摧殘他人之生機、塗毒他人之身軀、使之不知不覺促之以貧乏、起其倚賴之心、後復興善舉以救濟之、則世人之自重心、以此淺薄殆盡矣。

婚姻制度、使女子爲寄生蟲、極端倚賴、減其生存競爭之能力、減其對於社會之感情、而斷絕其理想。詭謂爲正當之保護。其實乃一陷阱耳。自人類性情言之、殆若塗改陳文、以資戲謔也。

若以孕育爲女子最高之天職、而欲保存婚姻制度、則世間無一不在保存之列矣。其如自由戀愛何。婚姻乃爲倒行逆施之事。遏抑女子之發展、而其對女子背曰汝當從我。不然者汝之生機絕矣。是豈非欲置之於死地耶。若女子不允其所求、則橫逆侮辱之來、必難免矣。今世婚姻、豈非獨爲保存孕育計耶。鄙夷之、強迫之、猶夫已也。若夫孕育爲出乎自主、發乎至情、自由戀愛、其樂幸何異以帝王之冕加於平民之首。而乃以血書鐫其碑銘曰私生子、以鄙夷之。豈各種德行、俱應爲婚姻所責罵乎。而反對孕育、卽永不能登愛情之極樂國乎。

愛情者、人生最要之元素也。極自由之模範也。希望愉樂之所由創作。人類命運之所由鑄造。安可以偏促卑鄙之國家宗教、及矯揉造作之婚姻、而代我可寶可貴之自由戀愛哉。

自由戀愛乎。戀愛無他、自由而已。男子可買他人之腦髓而不能買他人之愛情。其失敗者以千萬計。男子又可克服他人之肉體而不能克服他人之愛情。男子更足以攻取敵國而不能攻取他人之愛情。男子足以折抑他人之性情而於愛情乃不足施其技矣。貴爲天子、富有四海、若愛情不屬於己、終難免離索之苦也。若愛情之我屬、則如冰天雪地、忽現陽春。甕牖繩樞、驟登大寶。是以愛情之魔力、足以使乞丐變爲天上人。誠哉自由戀愛之不可不實行也。

自由者、一完全發展光明磊落之事。一旦愛根既固、雖憲法之條文、世界國家之法庭、俱不能轉移之、故婚姻如磽瘠之土地、無良好之結果、事勢使然也。

愛情須能自衞、無待他人之保護也。生命延長一日、則愛情亦存在一日。所產之兒、亦不致飢寒交迫、流

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Marriage and love. In Chinese] Jiehun yü Lian-ai / Emma Goldman.— pp. 463-467 ; 22 cm. *In* Hsin Ching Nien [Shanghai]. —Vol. 3, no. 5 (July 1, 1917).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: East Asiatic Library.

離失所、此誠然矣。吾知女子得生育之自由者、必爲其男子所鍾情。至於成年之兒女而亦得其愛護者、則屬罕聞。惟熱心自由戀愛之人、若堪語此耳。

乘國鈞者、惟恐自由產養之發達、將來無人肯爲彼輩之奴隸以執兵役以充庫財。警察獄吏、誰肯爲之。種族階級勢將不保。於是君主也、總統也、資本家也、牧師也、咸大聲疾呼曰、種界！種界！吾人雖賤視女子爲製造人類之機械、然種界不可不保。而婚姻制度不可不存。此婚姻制度、乃獨一無二之萬全政策、以抵抗女子之醒悟男子平等之眞理也。此狂謬之行爲、保存拘囚女子之現象。然終無效也。其如宗教之誘導無益也。君主之橫逆無益也。其他如法律也、警察也、皆無足以施其技矣。女子不願久爲一生產之機械。以其所產者柔弱不武之人、不能潰決奴隸貧窮之藩籬而欲以少數良美優秀之子女代之。其必出自自由戀愛、非如婚姻之出於强迫而後可。近日爲道德家亦覺悟其對於兒女之責任、而自由戀愛之足以警醒女界之迷夢矣。若以女子爲人母之責任、較之顚沛流離尤爲慘酷。及其既爲人母、則必竭其心力、得善良之人格、以遺傳其子女。至若從子之格言、彼既知之。如是果足以造成正當男女之人格乎。

Ibsen 描寫 Alving 夫人也。其考察甚屬精微。必早有自由戀愛之觀念。Alving 爲一理想戀愛之人。經過婚姻之種種恐慌。因彼曾破除婚姻之羈絆、得精神上之自由。高飛遠舉、而歸眞於完善之人格。振刷其精神、底於革新强固之域。其對於 Oswald、卒不能達其終身愉樂之目的。良足悲也。然彼決知自由戀愛爲人生獨一無二之良好景象。其他如 Alving 夫人者、尙不乏其人。然俱以血淚爲之代價、始獲精神上之醒悟、而否認婚姻、視若喪心病狂徒供他人之嘲笑。毫無意識。彼輩所知者、惟製造一新種族、一新社會之基礎而已。

處今日之偏促國家之中、多數人民未悉愛情之作用。至若愛情發生於不可思議之時、反從而遏抑之。其凋謝必易。蓋其純良之質、不能受其終日之摧殘也。近日社會構造之不良、而愛情之心思、複雜太甚、難於整飭矣。人類乏愛。愛情而不自覺、則愛情將無力以喚醒世人之迷夢也。

男女奮興之日、達於極端地位、造成一偉大强固之社會、以享受此可寶可貴之愛情。人類之幸福、雖詩歌冥能、理想遙遠、亦難預言其眞境。若世人能破除婚姻之陋習、結純粹之團體、人類之和諧、必皆以愛情爲之根源矣。

高曼女士者、Miss Goldman 美洲著名之無政府黨員也。其先本俄屬之波蘭人。善雄辯、著書極富。主張激烈、凡聆其言論者、莫不感動。其一生之革命運動、勇往無倫。曾以是入獄數次。其罷工之運動、今爲尤甚。現任美國紐約之「大地」Mother Earth 雜誌之編輯。又設星期講演會、極力鼓吹無政府主義。其著述有「近代戲曲之社會意趣」「無政府主義」「政治暴動之心理」「工會主義」「祖國主義」「道德之犧牲與耶教之失敗」等。此篇「結婚與戀愛」(Marriage and Love)、亦女士之傑作。凡我男女青年不可不讀也。譯者識

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman—Fighter and Idealist / Emma Goldman.— p. 61 ; 29 cm.
In Pearson's Magazine [New York]. —Vol. 38, no. 2 (Aug. 1917).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

EMMA GOLDMAN—Fighter and Idealist

By Guido Bruno

So far as a man thinks, he is free. Nothing is more disgusting than the crowing about liberty by slaves, as most men are, and the flippant mistaking for freedom of some paper preamble like a "Declaration of Independence," or the statute right to vote, by those who have never dared to think or act.
—EMERSON.

"GET Miss Goldman," cried the pale-faced, thin-lipped matron to another white-clad attendant behind the bars of the Tombs. It was a few days after Emma Goldman's arrest as "the head of a country-wide conspiracy to resist conscription." I stood in a small, triangular hallway. The high walls exhaled the odor of fresh paint. The friendly rays of a hot afternoon sun played hide and seek on the stone floor through the shining glass panes of the heavily barred window. It was peaceful and quiet.

"Get Emma Goldman." The order had for me a deep significance. "Get Emma Goldman" for the past twenty-seven years has been the cry of the guardians of our recognized social order and our conventional morals.

It is not hard for our authorities to "get someone" if they really want to. What an extraordinary law-abiding life must this woman rebel have led for the last twenty-seven years (both private and public) in order successfully to escape the clutches of state and federal authorities save for a few arrests and short incarcerations!

Emma Goldman's eyes captivated me at once. They are large and deep blue, always smiling, full of mirth and of kindness, of energy and of self-confidence. They register her emotions with the sincerity of a mirror whenever she raises her voice, whenever she changes the subject of her conversation. Her eyes are steady, like those of a very experienced fighter. Hard in their purpose, resolved "to see it through," knowing and weighing subconsciously the motives and the physical advantages of her adversary, not overestimating, never underestimating; kind in victory and in defeat.

Emma Goldman is a powerful orator, using as arguments only cold facts and naked truth. But in her eyes lies the real secret of her influence over millions of people in the United States. These eyes are so sincere, so convincing, that no one, not even the very man who signed the warrant for her arrest, can resist admitting "she is a remarkable woman, she has a wonderful mentality, she has a great heart, and the people (meaning the millions who live and suffer and die) love her." Twenty-seven years a fighter for liberty and the elimination of poverty, always sympathizing with the under-dog, exposing the ruling classes, battling against authorities, against governments, against police . . . and Emma Goldman has not ceased to see her ideal within the reach of her hands. Dreams have been shattered again and again, dear hopes have vanished into the night of impossibility, battles have been lost to iniquity; justice has mocked at the best of her warriors, prisons and jails have been the visible honors bestowed upon her most faithful followers; treachery in her own ranks, perfidy and ungratefulness among her co-workers . . . and Emma Goldman continued to cherish her hopes; she ceased dreaming, and fought for the immediate realization of her ideals: "for an organization without discipline, fear or punishment and without the pressure of poverty: a new social organism which will make an end of the terrible struggle for the means of existence; for a social status which will establish wellbeing for all."

"There is one thing I would ask you to tell the readers of PEARSON'S MAGAZINE," she said, after we had been comfortably seated in little camp chairs near the keeper's office. "I never conspired in my life against government or against anyone, and I did not conspire in this specific case. I conducted my campaign against conscription openly and squarely. I used the United States mail, all my meetings were public and accessible to everyone. While the police and those who dictate to our authorities tried always to interfere with my work, it has not been necessary up to the present to resort to the methods of the Russian fighters for the people. I do hope it will never be necessary to conspire in America while fighting for freedom and for liberty.

"My paper, *Mother Earth*, has enjoyed for the last eleven years without interruption the second-class mailing privileges. My June issue has been confiscated. I wrote several letters to the Third Assistant Postmaster, Burleson, inquiring why my magazine had been held up, but I received no answer. My arrest, perhaps, was the drastic answer of the authorities. I am fighting the conscription law because I do not believe that any man should be forced into war against his conscience. I have no objections if anyone wants to go to war or wishes to bear arms or desires to enter voluntarily upon military training."

She spoke quietly, without emotion. Her dress, consisting of a simple blue and white striped blouse and dark skirt, gave her the appearance of a motherly matron. Her hands, laying in her lap, seemed more adapted to stroke with kindly caresses than to strike with clenched fists.

"If I am comfortable here in prison? Fairly well. Whenever I go to prison I know what I have to expect and therefore I make the best of the prevailing conditions. I should prefer to be out in the country. I love Nature in early summer.

"A dreadful new feature has been introduced here since the recent passing of the 'dope' laws to prevent visitors from smuggling in drugs to their incarcerated friends. The authorities have provided a very finely meshed iron netting through which the conversation has to be carried on between inmates and visitors. It is impossible to see through or to distinguish the faces of the persons to whom one is talking. People have to shout in order to make themselves understood. It is a public visiting room, but visits from friends in such a place are a torture. The whole reminds one very much of an insane asylum. I think it cruel to spoil the only light moments of the prisoner's monotonous life.

"It is touching and such a great consolation to me that the unfortunate women who share the cells on my floor love me and treat me with marked respect. It is customary here to call each other by one's given name. They never address me otherwise but 'Miss Goldman,' which sounds strangely inside the walls of the Tombs. I must tell you that all of these unfortunates are grateful for Mr. Harris' work in the Woman's Night Court in their behalf. They all read his articles in PEARSON'S MAGAZINE, and are anxious to affirm his exposure as what they call 'Gospel Truth.'" . . .

Among the many people who besieged the doorkeeper of the Tombs, anxious to convey to Emma Goldman a few words of sympathy, was a dark-haired girl of about twenty who had walked all the way from Paterson, New Jersey.

"Do you know Miss Goldman?" I asked of her.

"I heard her lecture once in our city," was the answer. "She gave a new meaning to my life on that evening. She made me think. I am only a poor millworker, but I love Emma Goldman better than I love my own mother."

I walked to the office of United States Marshal Thomas B. McCarthy.

"What do you think of Emma Goldman?" I asked him.

"She is a menace to the country. The literature that was seized in her home shows that Berkman is not only an enemy of the nations but also a danger to public morality. Emma Goldman's influence over a lot of poor and weak people is dangerous at present to the safety of the country. These are not the times to voice her opinions of reforms. She had to be stopped."

Three days after Miss Goldman's arrest $15,000 cash for bail had been sent in by her friends. The money had come in in amounts ranging from one dollar in stamps to one thousand dollar checks. Emma Goldman's Liberty Bonds found willing and voluntary subscribers in all parts of the country.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

The Indictment of Alexander Berkman in San Francisco / Emma Goldman.— pp. 199-202 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 12, no. 6 (Aug. 1917).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

ment under which we live really is, they may perform a greater service than the doubtful one of granting the franchise to women.

The first contingent of women who were sent to jail were pardoned by the President unconditionally, though they were not consulted. It appears, however, that among them were women whose husbands were influential in politics. The militants continue with their work, mobs continue to molest and assault them without intereference from the police, and a few days ago six more valiant women were arrested, sentenced to pay a fine of ten dollars, or serve thirty days. They chose the thirty days. Their silence in the County Jail pleads their cause more eloquently than anything they could do or say.

* * *

IN THE stress and struggle of our anti-conscription fight and the efforts to save Alexander Berkman from the San Francisco Frame-up, one very important issue has been forgotten. It is the appeal of Ben Reitman from the Cleveland sentence of six months jail, and $1,000 fine.

The stupidity of law is best illustrated in the fact that all those who dared speak in favor of simple birth control methods were jailed and fined; yet the most violent birth control method—War, is being hailed and sanctioned by that very law. How small our birth control activities seem now compared with the universal mower of life.

However, six months jail and a $1,000 fine are by no means a small matter, so we do not want our friends to forget that Ben Reitman is also facing imprisonment and $1,000 fine. His appeal is to be heard in October. Publicity should he given it until then. All those interested in his case will please communicate with Dr. Ben L. Reitman, Room 204, 226 Lafayette Street, New York.

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Friend, is your subscription due? Please pay it at once. If ever we needed your help, it is now. Send $1.50 and we will renew your subscription and send you a beautiful leather bound copy of the "Trial and Speeches of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman."

THE INDICTMENT OF ALEXANDER BERKMAN IN SAN FRANCISCO

THE big business interests of San Francisco are thirsting for the blood of Alexander Berkman. They have indicted him for murder in connection with the Mooney cases now on trial. District Attorney Fickert and his hirelings are not appeased with having framed up Billings and Tom Mooney. They hunger for more victims. As a San Francisco editor wrote: "The indictment of Berkman was done by Fickert to influence the jury in the Rena Mooney case. Just a desperate grand-stand play of a desperate man."

It is needless to say that Alexander Berkman is absolutely innocent of the San Francisco charges. District Attorney Fickert knows that; else why did he wait a whole year before calling for an indictment? Alexander Berkman was in San Francisco from January to November, 1916. The District Attorney raided his office twice. He had Berkman and his associate editor, Miss Fitzgerald, dragged before him twice. He grilled them to exhaustion in an attempt to connect them with the preparedness parade bomb explosion. Had there been even a shadow of evidence against Berkman, the District Attorney would not have allowed him to go about free for five months and wait another seven months to strike the blow. There must be another reason or reasons for the indictment.

The first is that the Chamber of Commerce and its hireling Fickert feel that their edifice of deception, fraud and perjury is crumbling to pieces and that the frame-up is now recognized as such all over America. Therefore something has to be done to bolster up the crime engaged in by the business interests of San Francisco. They no doubt realize that if they can "get" Berkman and railroad him to the gallows on a trumped-up charge, it will then be so much easier to "get" other fighters for liberty and labor.

Secondly, Mr. Fickert cannot forgive Alexander Berkman that he helped to expose the frame-up against Mooney, Billings, Nolan, Weinberg and Mrs. Mooney; that he was the first to raise his voice in behalf of the five victims, and that he went up and down the country arousing interest, rallying labor forces and raising money

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for the Mooney defense. The San Francisco prosecution and its motives are well characterized in an able editorial in the New York Jewish *Forward* of August 14th:

"The powers of darkness which have cast the accusation of murder upon the innocent labor leaders of San Francisco are now also trying to entagle Alexander Berkman in their net, in the hope that the new victim will add strength to their black forces. The discovery of the false evidence manufactured by this band of labor persecutors, and the acquittal of Mrs. Rena Mooney, have almost smashed their murderous conspiracy. Therefore they have drawn Alexander Berkman into their meshes, in the hope that the bad name which he has among the "respectable" people, and especially in the "respectable" newspapers, will help much in fastening the murder accusation upon the innocent victims.

"Alexander Berkman is now in the Tombs Prison in New York, and the bosses of San Francisco—who have collected a million dollar fund to 'help the Government' to crush the labor leaders—are trying hard to get Berkman out of the State of New York to San Francisco, where they are preparing the gallows for him. Alexander Berkman has drawn the wrath of the San Francisco labor haters upon his head because it was he who started the country-wide movement against the San Francisco conspiracy. Now they want to 'get even' with him. There is no doubt that the energetic work of Alexander Berkman has helped much, very much, to acquit Mrs. Mooney and to unmask the heinous frame-up.

"It is the duty of the workers throughout the country to protect Alexander Berkman against the San Francisco conspiracy. We must exert every effort to prevent his extradition from New York. We must not permit him to fall into the hands of the blood-thirsty labor crushers in San Francisco."

Indeed, to permit the extradition of Alexander Berkman to California means sure death. Realizing this, the United Hebrew Trades of New York, the Joint Board of the Cloak Makers, the Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and numerous other organizations have started a campaign to save Alexander Berkman from the clutches of District Attorney Fickert. The response

has been wonderful, both morally and financially. Already several thousand dollars have been contributed, and hundreds of resolutions condemning the indictment and protesting against the extradition of Alexander Berkman have been passed. Among them, a powerful resolution adopted this month by the New Jersey State Federation of Labor at its thirty-ninth Annual Convention, at Paterson, N. J. Yet more, much more will have to be done to save Alexander Berkman.

Protest meetings should immediately be arranged in every city of this great land. Union organizations and educational societies should be induced to join the labor forces already working to rescue Alexander Berkman. They can do so by generous contributions to the fight and by passing strong resolutions. One set should be sent at once to Governor Stephens, Sacramento, California; another set to be addressed to Governor Whitman, Albany, New York. A Labor Delegation will soon call upon the Governor to prevail upon him not to become a party to the San Francisco frame-up by adding a sixth victim to those who have already suffered at the hands of the Chamber of Commerce.

It is a most critical moment. Now is the time, once for all, to put a stop to the cold-blooded frame-up in San Francisco. Once they get our Comrade to the Coast, the legal murder will be assured. Help us save Alexander Berkman. You will at the same time save the other four men and one woman from the noose prepared for them by District Attorney Fickert.

Send funds for the defense at once to Anna M. Sloan, Sec.-Treas., the New York Publicity Committee of the Alexander Berkman San Francisco Labor Defense, Room 204, 226 Lafayette St., New York, N. Y.

EMMA GOLDMAN

NEW YORK PUBLICITY COMMITTEE:

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J. Abrams, Organizer, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders

Boardman Robinson, Artist

Leonard D. Abbott, Writer and Editor

Dr. A. L. Goldwater

Jessie Ashley, Attorney

M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, Associate Editor of THE BLAST

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NEW YORK PUBLICITY COMMITTEE, *Continued*

Frank Cancelleri, Italian Representative of Children's Clothing Joint Board
Max Pine, Sec'y-Treas., United Hebrew Trades
M. Feinstone, Asst. Sec'y, United Hebrew Trades
Max Eastman, Editor Masses
Bayard Boyesen, Educator and Author
H. W. Huebsch, Publisher
Waldo Frank, of Seven Arts Magazine
Margaret H. Sanger, Lecturer and Author
H. M. Kelly, Writer
Henrietta Rodman, Teacher
Martha Gruening, Writer
Edna Kenton, Writer
Dr. I. Ginsberg
Randall Davey, Artist
Ida Rauh, Artist
Katherine Leckie, Writer
Robert Henri, Artist
George Bellows, Artist
Dr. M. A. Cohn

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THE WAR HYSTERIA AND OUR PROTEST

BY LEONARD D. ABBOTT

IF IT had not actually happened it would be unbelievable—the complete reversal of American ideals during recent months. Black has become white, and white is now black. "Liberty," as Bernard Shaw puts it, "is a crime, and homicide is a virtue."

Under the stress of war hysteria, practically every principle which Americans have pretended to believe in has gone by the board.

The sanctity of the individual life has been regarded as the very foundation of every liberty that Americans possess. But in war time, it seems, the individual life is of no account. This is true not only in a military, but in a civil, sense. Lynching has become justifiable and even praiseworthy. On July 31, Frank Little, a member of the National Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World, was taken from his room in a Butte, Montana, hotel, by six masked men, and hanged to a railroad trestle near the city. Little was a cripple. His offense was his activity as a labor organizer. A more fiendish murder was never committed. Yet the press of the country applauded the crime, and no efforts have been made to arrest the murderers.

Freedom of speech is supposed to be one of the cornerstones of the American Government. The National Constitution specifically forbids Congress to pass any law abridging freedom of speech. Yet Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman have been sentenced to two years' imprisonment and have been fined $10,000 for merely protesting against conscription.

Freedom of assemblage and the right to peacefully petition the Government for the redress of grievances have been accepted as inalienable rights of Americans. Yet on July 1, a peace parade in Boston was deliberately broken up by sailors and soldiers. They tore banners from the hands of women. They beat and injured men and women. They forcibly entered the Socialist Party headquarters, destroyed property and burned many valuable papers and much literature. The police did nothing throughout this performance to protect the citizens' rights.

Freedom of press has been one of the most venerated of American traditions. Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln both declared that it was better to permit even an abuse of free press rather than its suppression. Yet within the space of a few weeks, fifteen Socialist and a number of Anarchist and labor papers have been declared unmailable by the Government.

The right of workmen to agitate for better conditions and to strike has always been recognized as reasonable until the advent of war hysteria. Now it is regarded as criminal. Since Samuel Gompers has delivered the labor movement—or tried to deliver it—into the hands of the capitalists, the rebellious worker is in about the same position as the rebellious slave before the Civil War. On August 19, James Rowan, leader of a lumber workers' strike in Spokane, Washington, and twenty-six others were arrested without even the pretense that they had violated any law, and were imprisoned. A few weeks previously, 1,500 striking workmen had been shipped in cattle cars from Bisbee, Arizona, into the desert, where they were left without food and water.

The list of the violations of fundamental American

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Between Jails / Emma Goldman.— pp. 207-212 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. — Vol. 12, no. 6 (Aug. 1917).

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stronger than the spirit of governments, and in the end will vanquish them. The men who as "conscientious objectors" in this country and in England are going to prison as a protest against militarism are already vindicated in the minds of multitudes of all nationalities. The same may be said of working-class rebels of the type of the I. W. W. They are weak to-day, but one day they shall be strong. Already they are phophetic of a working-class movement that shall create its own standards of living and of thought, that shall go to war if it *chooses* to go, and not otherwise.

Let us never forget that what we are working for is:

(1) Individual Liberty,
(2) Anti-militarism,
(3) Internationalism,
(4) Working-class Solidarity.

It is conceivable that voluntary enlistment on the pro-Ally side in the present war might help to promote some of these ends. But coerced enlistment promotes mainly the spirit of coercion and government. It is a violation of fundamental rights. It cannot be tolerated for an instant by a true libertarian.

The ruling idea of the patriot to-day is that war can only be ended by piling armament upon armament until Germany is "smashed." But there is a far better way to end war. If the workers would withhold their economic support, war would cease. If one-hundredth part of the time and energy, of the money, now being spent in the militarization of America had been spent in revolutionary and anti-militarist propaganda among the workingmen and soldiers of all countries, among the youth of all nations, this war might have been stifled in the first week of its existence, and an era of freedom inaugurated.



Do you really want to help us with the Appeal to the Supreme Court? Then order copies of "Trial and Speeches of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman," 40c prepaid; 3 copies for a dollar.

BETWEEN JAILS

By EMMA GOLDMAN

SINCE the great world upheaval has torn the very vitals of Europe and is now pulling at the very soul of America, the usual approximate security of life for the individual, as well as for the mass, has been destroyed. Like a panorama, events follow one another in rapid succession. One can no longer hold to one's values, or dare to hope that the next day will bring aught but a new cataclysm which will uproot life.

Alexander Berkman was released from one of America's worst bastiles, the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, on May 18th, 1906. He had spent 14 years of his youth and manhood because he dared strike at the foe of labor. He immediately resumed his work in the revolutionary movement where he had left off in 1892. With greater knowledge and deeper understanding, he has worked incessantly ever since in behalf of every important issue, always undaunted and uncompromising. It was inevitable that Alexander Berkman should often collide with the powers that be. Yet, while he was arrested on several occasions, and though during his unemployed and anti-military activities he barely escaped the trap laid for him, the life and work of our friend moved comparatively without much violent interruption from the law.

As to myself, in all my public career of twenty-seven years I have confronted only one serious trouble—my imprisonment in Blackwell's Island Penitentiary, in 1893. Allegedly I was guilty of inciting to riot, but in reality my offense consisted of quoting Cardinal Manning to the effect that "the hungry man has a right to take bread." On all the other occasions my arrests—and they were numerous—ended in dismissal, except the fifteen days for Birth Control activities in 1916. My life, too, moved smoothly as far as the Government is concerned. Certainly I never had occasion to call upon the law for protection, and when the law needed protection from me, it went no further than an arrest or a little vacation in Queens County Jail.

It was left to the United States Government to use a sledge hammer to strike with one fell blow. It was not content with giving us the maximum sentence of two

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Between Jails / Emma Goldman.— pp. 207-212 ; 20 cm. *In* Mother Earth. —Vol. 12, no. 6 (Aug. 1917).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

years, $10,000 fine and deportation at the end,—it also attempted to crush all that we have painfully built up through years of effort and struggle. When the job of the United States Government was completed, MOTHER EARTH and THE BLAST found themselves robbed of their offices, most of our books and papers confiscated, $700.00 in bank accounts appropriated, and the publishers, Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, securely tucked away in living graves. The job was complete, and the United States safe to go ahead undisturbed in its mission to give democracy to the world.

Since then the scene has again shifted. Thanks to the ingenuity and the strenuousness of our devoted friend, Harry Weinberger, and the spirit of fair play of Supreme Court Justice Brandeis, our stay in the Atlanta and Jefferson prisons was cut short. I have again been thrown upon the sea of life. Our Comrades Berkman, Kramer and Becker, while still in the Tombs prison, will soon be with us again. MOTHER EARTH has picked up the broken threads left behind by the American invaders on June 15th; the work goes on with greater zeal than ever,—a feat which is nothing short of a miracle.

No ordinary business concern, no matter how great its facilities, could so speedily have recuperated from the blow struck at MOTHER EARTH by the United States Government. But MOTHER EARTH is not a business concern: it is a voice,—it calls for something which no government can silence. It articulates the thoughts and the emotions of people who have remained firm in their opposition to the hypocritical boast that this war, unlike other wars, is imbued with a high purpose and a noble aim. These people have come forward from East and West, from North and South, with words of cheer and tokens of love. They have demonstrated how truly futile and foolish it is for governments to strike at an ideal or to gag a truth.

Of course, we may yet have to serve our sentences. Appeals in labor cases and in cases of free speech and press, have almost never resulted in a reversal of the decision of the lower courts. Meanwhile, however, our appeal will make history, since its purpose is not only to decide the fate of four human beings, but the fate of millions. After all, the question involved in our appeal

is whether the American Constitution is a mere scrap of paper, a shadow of the past, or if it still has a spark of vitality to save the people from compulsory military servitude. If in the end we shall have to take up our residence in Atlanta and Jefferson, it will only add fuel to the fires which our arrest, conviction and sentence have kindled.

* * *

Jefferson has no terror for me, especially now that I am somewhat acquainted with its regime. The attacks directed against the horrors of American prisons have not been in vain. A few changes have taken place everywhere, and Jefferson Prison has not escaped them. But there are still many evils which need to be remedied.

First of all, there is the reception accorded the new comer. Instead of encouragement and sympathy, to which the worst criminal should be entitled, he is met with the kindly query, "Got a disease?" He is then warned that the prison has severe punishment, and that he had better make up his mind to obey the rules without a murmur.

I was curious to know whether any other method had ever been tried,—that of kindliness, for instance. But I met with a blank look. The idea of kindliness to convicts! "Why do they want to get into trouble! If they must do wrong, they have only themselves to blame." Naturally, people who have exercised discipline for years become hardened; their brains and hearts become solidified and do not permit of a new thought or emotion. How can they understand the black despair and bitter hatred of the offender against the world which first drives him to crime, and then sends him to a living grave.

Prison authorities have it in their power to relieve, to some extent, the bitter agony and resentment accumulated in the soul of the prisoner by the long wait for the trial, the cruel atmosphere of the court-room, the final shock of conviction and sentence. They could, if they would, help the convict over the awful years confronting him or her. They might send him back regenerated to society; but somehow it is not given to them to reach the soul of those whom misfortune and social indifference have placed in their hands.

After a weary trip of forty hours, cooped up in a compartment with a deputy marshal and his wife, I was

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locked in a cell and left to myself for several hours, the thought never occurring to those who received me whether I had need of food or driuk. It almost seemed as though I had been forgotten; but finally the matron arrived and I was made to go through the ordinary procedure of all the other victims who must leave their identity behind and become mere automatons when prison doors close upon them.

Then the silly discipline of absolute silence, long abolished in many penal institutions. Twenty-four years ago, when I was sent to Blackwell's Island, I was struck by this utterly foolish, unnecessarily cruel method of compelling human beings to move about like shadows in grave-like silence. Even the exchange of thoughts in a whisper was severely punished. The fact that this regime still exists shows how slowly progress moves. Thus from six o'clock in the morning until four thirty in the afternoon, but for the loud noise of the machines in the shops and the hard voices of keepers, the prisoners pass in silence. Only during the hour of recreation are the pent-up feelings and thoughts permitted to break loose.

Friedrich Nietzsche was right when he spoke of life as the eternal recurrence. Life indeed is nothing else. Thirty-two years ago, when I came to America with exultation in my heart about liberty and opportunity, I was given a taste of both in a large clothing factory, making coats ten hours a day at $2.50 per week. In Jefferson Prison, the very morning after a suffocating journey, I tasted the blessings of democracy making coats, with this difference: my lucrative wage of thirty-two years ago was reduced to three meals a day and a cell. Progress moves imperceptibly indeed.

On the whole, however, there are many improvements in Jefferson Prison. I do not wish our friends to understand that I have any personal complaint of the treatment accorded me. I quote from a letter I had written to the Warden in the institution, and which, by the way, he did not see fit to answer:

> "I understand that contract labor has been abolished in Missouri. Why, then, the necessity of imposing the task system upon prisoners? To compel women to make eighteen dozen suspenders or fifty coats a day, only tends to undermine their health.

> I have watched them at work and I can assure you they run along half-way smoothly in the morning, but by the afternoon they are so exhausted that they simply can not complete their task. To punish them for such a thing by keeping them on bread and water seems barbarous. Besides, it is futile, since the punishment leaves their physical condition below par and disables them from doing their task the following day.
>
> "It seems to me that if the women were made to feel an interest in the work, they would turn out the required quantity and be in better spirits than they are now. No one drove me, and yet I did my work and even enjoyed it, knowing as I did that no parasite would wear the coats I was making. After all, it can not be the purpose of prisons to so unfit the inmates as to make them hardened and brutalized and return them to the world with deeper resentment and hatred for society. In other words, the old system of punishment has been proven a complete failure. More and more, the best minds are realizing that a humane method accomplishes greater results.
>
> "I have no personal complaints to make. In fact, I think that many things you have in Jefferson Prison are an improvement over other prisons. For instance, the buying of food once a week, ice water and the recreation. But there are many things which need to be remedied, and which I desire to place before you for consideration."

As I said before, Jefferson has no terrors for me. In fact, in our war-drunk age, with the patriotic frothing of the press, the brutality of the vigilantes and the general confusion of our life, Jefferson may yet prove a preferable retreat. From what our friend, Alexander Berkman, relates of Atlanta, it does not seem quite so alluring, but I know that Berkman would not exchange his place in the Federal Prison for that of the high seat now held by Charles Edward Russell, Mr. Spargo, Mr. Gompers and the other erstwhile revolutionists in the Labor Alliance. In Jefferson and Atlanta one can still retain one's integrity. One can not do so by joining the forces which crush labor's rights and annihilate freedom.

Our friends must not think we are eager for Atlanta and Jefferson. We are simply not deceived in the pos-

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sible outcome of the appeal. But we want to fight until death and fight hard. We know we can count on our friends. What better inspiration does the rebel want? Unfortunately, the struggle involved in the appeal is now complicated by the San Francisco indictment of Alexander Berkman. The details of that our readers will find in another article.

The status of our own case is as follows. The appeal will be heard sometime in October, the decision rendered probably in December. Between now and October, a strenuous campaign of publicity must be carried on. That alone may affect the result. Nothing else will. We do not have the press at our disposal, and as most of the radical publications have been suppressed, it is more difficult than ever to reach the public at large. We can only hope to do so through MOTHER EARTH while it lasts, and by the widest possible circulation of our Speeches in the Federal Court during our trial. The book is now off the press. You can help by ordering copies for sale or distribution, as it will represent our only revenue to carry on the fight. Send your contributions and orders for literature payable to M. E. Fitzgerald, 226 Fafayette Street, New York.

Friends, I am not unmindful of the difficulties and dangers confronting us all. If the madness of war will continue, it is bound to bring in its wake greater brutalities and outrages than have already been committed by our patriots. The more reason to save the ship of liberty from the storm of violence, destruction and confusion. In the end, the things which you and I fight for now will be recognized as the only sane and vital things in the world upheaval. Whether we may or may not live to realize our dreams, they contain the most living and glorious reality. So if I ask you to make a special effort to continue your generous support of our fight, it is not because I wish to burden you, but because I know that the fight is worth while and must not relax.

* * *

DIRECT ACTION—Conscious individual or collective effort to protest against, or remedy, social conditions through the systematic assertion of the economic power of the workers.

TO MY FRIENDS

I HAVE been considerably "on the go" of late. My headquarters were removed, first to Atlanta, Ga., and now to the Tombs Prison, New York City. I manage to do some work in this place, but my present abode and the various engagements on hand are not very conducive to the work of an editor.

For these and other similar reasons, THE BLAST has been suspended, but only temporarily, I hope. So be patient, please, as I have to be; for I assure you that however dear THE BLAST is to you, friends, it is even dearer to me.

My associate editor, "Fitzie," is busy keeping a watch on the Tombs, but as soon as she and I are relieved from our present "very pressing" engagement, we will again publish that good little fighter, THE BLAST.

Meanwhile, my fraternal greetings to you all, friends and comrades. I know how beautifully you have responded to my call, and this thought has been a great, joyful inspiration to me.

To you all and to the organizations that have so promptly and generously demonstrated their friendship and solidarity, I send my heartfelt appreciation, and pledge my undying devotion to the great cause that is so dear to us all.

Tombs Prison. ALEXANDER BERKMAN

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

SPEAKING OF DEMOCRACY

BY MARTHA GRUENING

FRANK BROWN, who lay terribly burned in the hospital at East St. Louis, told me he had never meant to jump from the second story of his blazing house. He did so only when the flames were all about him and he "just couldn't stand it" any longer. The instinct which overcame his prudence in this instance was not that of self-preservation. He was impelled to leap and brave the "frightfulness" of the white Americans simply by his overwhelming desire to escape the torture of the flames and very much against his better judgment. He was at a loss to understand how he had been saved, and he spoke of it reverently as the "will of God," but as I looked at him and recalled all I had seen and heard in East St. Louis,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture. The Trial and Persecution of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman] / Emma Goldman. – 28 cm. *In* Charles Daniel Frey, "[Report to] Department of Justice." –(Aug. 25, 1917).

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

(2nd)

REPORT MADE BY: Chas. Daniel Frey | PLACE WHERE MADE: Chicago, Ill. | DATE WHEN MADE: Aug. 25, 1917. | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Aug. 24, 1917.

TITLE OF CASE AND/OR SUBJECT OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:

In Re: Emma Goldman Meeting, East End Hall, North Clark St., Friday Night.
Cross Reference, Ben Reitman,
Socialist-Anarchist Meeting.

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.

15446

AT CHICAGO: A.F.L. 1077 Reports:

Meeting held as planned. Present, about 1,200 people, consisting mainly of the usual crowd- radicals of all sorts - workers, socialists, anarchists, I.W.W. Ben Reitman, master of ceremonies on the floor, superintending the free-will offering and the selling of literature.

Meeting very orderly. Miss Goldman's address devoted entirely to protest against the government for her "persecution and prosecution," and to an appeal for funds to enable her and Alexander Berkman to appeal their cases, the idea being to carry them through to the supreme court and "obtain a decision as to the validity of constitutional rights of free speech."

The address was fiery throughout, well calculated to get the money and to arouse in the minds of her followers a sincere hostility to government measures in carrying on the war, especially conscription. She yelled her opposition to conscription at the top of her voice and affirmed that even to death she would continue her campaign against it. She reviewed her trial in detail, her statement following quite closely the story as given in the booklet "ANARCHY ON TRIAL" (see copy herewith). Copies of this booklet and also of "MASSES", July issue (see copy herewith) were distributed through the audience at 25¢ and 10¢ each, respectively.

High spots in her talk were her derision of the courts, her proclamation that American autocracy was a thousand times worse than German autocracy, and that the war cry of "make America safe for democracy" was a subterfuge and a lie. She derided the idea that she and her kind were in any way interested in the success of the plans of the German autocracy; called the Kaiser a "poor fool." She did all she could to make it plain that this is as much a war for autocracy in this country as it is in Germany, and more so. She said that Russia had her eyes on this country; that Russia was fully informed concerning the East St.Louis riots, the killing of Frank Little, the Seattle oppression, the Coman case at San Francisco, and that Russia ridiculed the democracy of America. She predicted a revolution in America more sweeping far than that which has taken place in Russia.

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REPORT FORM NO. 1

(BEM)

Chas. Daniel Frey, Chicago, Ill. Aug. 25, 1917. Aug. 24, 1917.
In Re: Emma Goldman Meeting,

She is doing tremendous damage. She is warmly, a remarkable orator, tremendously sincere, and carries conviction. If she is allowed to continue here she cannot help but have great influence.

She speaks tonight (Saturday) at Douglas Park auditorium, Ogden Ave. and Kedzie, and tomorrow night (Sunday) somewhere in the Garfield Park neighborhood; I could not get the name, as I was with a bunch of the faithful and could not be too inquisitive. It was announced that she must return to New York Sunday night (tomorrow).

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Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Made By: Charles Daniel Frey. | Place Where Made: Chicago, Ill. | Date When Made: Aug. 27th, 1917. | Period For Which Made: Aug. 25th.

Title Of Case And Offense Charged Or Nature Of Matter Under Investigation:

In Re: Emma Goldman Meeting -
Held at West Side Auditorium -Racine & Taylor Sts.

Statement Of Operations, Evidence Collected, Names And Addresses Of Persons Interviewed, Places Visited, Etc.:

At Chicago: 15,446

W. H. Jones reports the following:

This was a protest meeting announced to be to protest against the conviction of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman and against the extradition of Alexander Berkman from New York to San Francisco, California.

The Chairman - William Nathanson:

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman who cautioned the audience to be orderly and well behaved and to remain seated. He thenannounced the purpose of the meeting which was to stir up protests and to aid Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman and the other defendants in their defence in the bomb cases in San Francisco, Cal.

Before and during the meeting and after the same, booklets were sold, among them being Anarchy on trial, Mother Earth, the present situation in Re Emma Goldman, and Alexander Berkman, and others. I. W. W. newspapers were sold and a red heart button was sold among the audience by girls and one C. Cook, secretary of the League of Humanity who announced that "Buy this button and wear the same for it means that you are against the war and if you wear the same you do not need any red cross buttons."

The Chairman made an introductory speech in which he stated: Friends you know when you lived in Russia, how you suffered from the persecution, the czars regime was such that because of the cruelties the Jews were compelled to leave Russia and to seek other lands where they expected to live in peace and to enjoy freedom. You know that the Russian Jews were leaders among those who succeeded in overthrowing the czars government and shed their blood freely in

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Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

EC 7

REPORT MADE BY | PLACE WHERE MADE | DATE MADE | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:

In Re: Emma Gold Meeting - West Side Auditorium Hall. Racine & Taylor Sts.,

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.

#2.

this cause."

He further said, that the same would occur here in America as had happened in Russia.

The Chairman introduced Miss Goldman as the speaker of the evening, the guest, and she was received with great and continued applause. Emma Goldman in her first speech said, "Friends. I come to you this evening to speak to you about the trial and persecution of Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and the other defendants in the San Francisco bomb cases. To protest against the manner of prosecuting us and to ask those of you that belong to labor organizations, and those of you that do not belong to any organizations to assist us and donate money to be used in the defense of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman and the rest of the defendants in the San Francisco bomb cases. To save Berkman from being extradited from New York to San Francisco on the charge of murder."

She then spoke of the arrest of herself, Alexander Berkman, Tom Mooney, Ed Nolan, Israel Weinberg, Warren Billings, and Mrs. RenaMooney and went into the conviction of herself and termed the two year sentence she received as a university course of two years, she called the American jails bastiles and she said that capitalism and money was behind the prosecutions and she was very vehement against the San Francisco district attorney during the speeches she made, that the said district attorney Fickert is seeking to get Berkman returned to make him the connecting link and send him along with the rest of the defendants to the gallows. She also told about the Berkman's activities for the working class.

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FORM NO. 1

HQ 7

REPORT MADE BY: Charles Daniel Frey. | PLACE WHERE MADE: Chicago, Ill. | DATE WHEN MADE: Aug. 27th, 1917. | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Aug. 27th.

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:

In Re: Emman Goldman Meeting -West Side Auditorium Racine & Taylor Sts.,

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED OR PLACES VISITED, ETC.

#8.

How he had given his last 14 years, his time and hard labor for the working classes and had been allways been their friend and now tht he was in trouble they should aid him as much as was possible for them to do.

She further said that at Her trial in New York she had 20 witnesses who desired to testify for her but they were not given a chance to testify, but the detective for the prosecution was allowed to testify and was the only witness and on his testimony she was convicted. That after her said conviction and sentence there was born in this country the movement against conscription. That the authorities want to take Berkman to the prison in Atlanta, Ga., and then in the dead of night kidnap him to San Francisco for trial and place him at the mercy of the district attorney there.

That money is needed for the defense of herself and the rest of the defendants and that the audience should step forward and not only contribute a dime or so but give ten dollars OR MORE. And at the close of her first speech the chairman stepped forward and received the money - altogether there was taken in and contributed about $500.00.

Then the Chairman announced that he had a surprise in store for the audience, that he wished to introduce Ed Noland as one of the defendants that is out on bonds now in the San Francisco bom cases. He was received with great applause. He spoke about several men whom had committed suicide on the coast because of the Draft Act, and that he had written letters and found out that none of them were socialists, anarchists or labor union men. That the

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FORM NO. 1

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REPORT MADE BY: Charles Daniel Frey. | PLACE WHERE MADE: Chicago, Ill. | DATE MADE: Aug. 27th, 1917. | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Aug. 26th

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:

In Re: Emma Goldman Metting - West Side Auditorium
Racine & Taylor Sts.

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.

#4.

men that threw the bom were men in whom had crept the feeling of protest and dissatisfaction. That one night when he was in jail in San Francisco he heard the news boys announcing and crying out their extras about the Russian Revoltaion having succeeded. He also urged the audience to assist the defendants in theabove mentioned bomb cases and to protest against the prosecution.

Emma Goldman then addressed the audience on "Conscription." She said that when she was an eight year olld girl back in Russia, her father drove a wagon that delivered the prisoners to the prisonand she witnessed how they conscripted the men into the Russian army. That she remembered one day how the men were lined up and how the men dropped on their hands with their faces to the earth and how one mother pleaded for her son that was taken in the army. But her pleas were denied and no mercy shown her son. That from that day on Emma Goldman got to hate the idea of Conscription and that hatred and opinion against the same has existed in hermind ever since. That in her opinion conscription or militarism by force made ours a land of despotism. That conscription was bloody law. That the rights granted the American people by the constition were taken away from them by conscription. She said that maybe she would be put in prison or they may take her life but my ideas will continue to live.

There were about 800 people present in the audience, men and women practically all being Russian or Polish Jews. Ben Reitman was busy selling books. At the conclusion of the meeting Emma Goldman thanked the audience for the contributions and attention.

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FORM NO. 1

BOI

REPORT MADE BY:	PLACE WHERE MADE	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:

In Re: Emma Goldman Meeting WestSide Auditorium

Racine & Taylor Sts.,

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.

#5

~~Protest~~

A resolution was read by the Chairman Nathanson and passed by an overwhelming vote, to protest to the governor of New York and to the governor of California against the extradition of Alexander Berkman from New York to California.

The meeting was then adjourned by the Chairman.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture. Against Conscription] / Emma Goldman. – 27 cm. *In* Charles Daniel Frey, "[Report to] Department of Justice." –(Aug. 28, 1917).
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

File: 15-4460

Charles Daniel Frey. Chicago, Ill. Aug. 28th, 1917. Aug. 28th

In Re: No-Conscription League -
held at Douglas Park Auditorium -

At Chicago:

Mr. W. H. Jones reports the following:

Meeting conducted by Emma Goldman and William Nathanson. Mr. Nathanson spoke as follows:

Sometime in the future the opportunity will present itself to arrange a protest meeting where some of the most important people of the world will speak. I believe that if this country and every class in this country will keep on in suppression and oppression, I believe that very soon all the differences between anarchists, socialists and revolutionists and every man and woman who stands out for liberty will be forgotten and they will unite in to one class. We have all the facts to be afraid that this oppression and suppression will keep up because as I have told you before the ruling class and the capitalist class seem to have the same characteristics all over the world and they cannot seem to learn any lessons. If the ruling class of Russia would have learned from the past demands of the Russian people, and the Russian government would have learned some lessons from the French Revolution, it would probably have been able to keep up the old standard of sending the Russian conspirators to Siberia instead of harboring, at the present, the one black Tigger" (the Czar). All the eight thousand secret service men who surrounded the Czar in Russia cannot keep the revolutionists starting up who stand for something that is right, and they are going to keep on demanding and calling for it. I am sure that a time is coming in the very near future, when there will be no more, for a while at least, different classes such as socialists, anarchists and revolutionists but they will all enter into one class and work in unison. Freedom,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture. Against Conscription] / Emma Goldman.– 27 cm. *In* Charles Daniel Frey, "[Report to] Department of Justice." –(Aug. 28, 1917).

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Exhibit #1.

Charles Daniel Frey. C. ...ll. ...g. ...n, 1917. ...g. 28th.

In Re: No-Conscription League -
Held at Coaglins ...rk Auditorium.

at Chicago:

The same is true of the ruling class in this country. They are beginning to follow the same principles that the Russian government has followed. There are enough people in America now beginning to wake up. They are not all in the anarchist class, some of them are down in Congress and Senate in government power that are working for the working people in this country at large.

Mr. Wentworth spoke as follows:

We do not know what the outcome of this War will be, but we know that when it is over, there will be fewer Kaisers, fewer Czars and more Democracy in this world. In order to figure out as to how we can extend democracy throughout this country and this world is for the people in this country to get together for that service and try and assist as much as we can those that are in the service to carry out our ideas.

Miss Emma Goldman spoke as follows:

She does not doubt for a minute that she will have to take a rest for two years in Jefferson Prison. The working class considers Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman very valuable people. Berkman and Emma Goldman very valuable people. I want you to know that I represent $25,000.00 and stand before you as a very valuable person. But I did not come to protest against the sentence of Alexander Berkman and myself, but to protest against the slaughter of ideas, opinions and criticisms in the United States.

Nearly one and a half years ago, I say before America had any ideas of entering into the European War, I lectured on Preparedness and the slaughter of Human Bodies. To slaughter of human bodies is nothing compared with the slaughter of human souls, human ideas and Chicago Office.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture. Against Conscription] / Emma Goldman.— 27 cm. *In* Charles Daniel Frey, "[Report to] Department of Justice." —(Aug. 28, 1917).

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

Reported by KJF

Charles Daniel Frey. Chicago, Ill. Aug. 28th, 1917. Aug. 28th.

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In Re: No-Conscription League
Held at Douglas Park Auditorium -

human ideals. I had in mind the fact that wherever Preparedness raises out it's arms, there are ideas slaughtered by the millions.

We find in this country a movement called the Vigilantes. The Vigilantes in other countries are found among the outcasts and the slums, but here in this free country, we do not have to go and find outcasts, we find these "Hooligans" in the mansions, among the wealth of this country - they represent men who call themselves writers, poets and so-called editors who go out breaking up meetings and insulting women under the name of Democracy. This society of Vigilantes is one of the most dangerous things in the United States.

For stating their views against this war, Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman were given two years, $10,000 fine and deportation at the end. They dared express an opinion. If it is Democracy to press men into military service, people must have a right to decide whether we want war or not. That is all we ask from the government put this matter before the people and if the people should be in favor of War instead of Peace, they should fight for War, but if the people do not want war, is their any power on earth, heaven or hell that will demand us to go to War. People must not be forced into military service, people must not cross the seas to fight other people's battles - they have enough of their own to fight. Charity begins at home. When they once establish democracy at home, and have their own house clean then they can commence sweeping other people's houses. We are not in a position to tell other people just what to do.

People in this country think the moment you have an opinion, the moment you criticize, the moment you express the truth, it must be German money - German spies. In order to show the people here that

Chicago Office.

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Charles Daniel Frey, Chicago, Ill. Aug. 23 1917.Aug. 25th.

In Re: No-Conscription League -
Held at Douglas Park Auditorium.

this was a lie, Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman had to bring an eighty year old man into court to tesify that he had contributed a few hundred dollars to "Mother Earth" because being too old to work for the cause, gave his money instead. He was Swedish. I would not take money from the German Kaiser any more than I would take it from the President. If it is a crime to be with the German people, I am a criminal because I am with the German people. The Government of this country say they have nothing against the German people, they are only against the German Kaiser, but the difference is I am in favor of the German people as I am of the French, Russians, Irish, Chinese and Negroes, and what I say I am for the German people, I do not send troops over there to kill them - the German people are not responsible for their ruler, they have not yet weakened like the Russian people. Even though there be 200,000 secret service men, no power on earth is going to save the ruling class when the people once weaken and realize their economic power.

We are not sorry for our sentence for it is only a question of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman giving up their lives for the sake of the Masses. We are going to appeal our case in October to find out whether the Constitution of America still lives and if it lives, then conscription must be abolished for all. Prison is not so bad as you think it is. I consider the National Defense and Security League far more disagreeable than prison. You can retain your own integrity. We are quite willing to stand the consequences.

Mr. Nathanson spoke as follows:

Go out of this hall just as quitely as possible. Absolutely no disturbance as a previous riot was caused right outside of a hall. Nothing but anything [illegible] will, in anyway, be the reason for

About 900 people present - collection as announced by Nathanson was $70 900.00

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Freedom of Criticism and Opinion / Emma Goldman.– p. 1 ; 29 cm. *In* Mother Earth Bulletin. –Vol. 1, no. 1 (Oct. 1917).

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MOTHER EARTH

BULLETIN

VOL. I. OCTOBER, 1917, NEW YORK NO. 1.

Freedom of Criticism and Opinion

EMMA GOLDMAN

Under the "Trading With the Enemy Act," the Postmaster General has become the absolute dictator over the press. Not only is it impossible now for any publication with character to be circulated through the mails, but every other channel, such as express, freight, newstands, and even distribution has been stopped. As MOTHER EARTH will not comply with these regulations and will not appear in an emasculated form, it prefers to take a long needed rest until the world has regained its sanity.

The MOTHER EARTH BULLETIN has been decided upon largely as a means of keeping in touch with our friends and subscribers, and for the purpose of keeping them posted about our movements and activities.



DEDICATION

This is the wee Babe of Mother Earth. It was conceived during the greatest human crisis—born into a tragic, disintegrating world. To give it life, Mother Earth had to choose death, yet out of Death must come Life again. The Babe is frail of body, but it comes with a heritage of strength, determination and idealism to be worthy of her who gave it birth.

To bring a child into the world these days is almost an unpardonable luxury. But the child of Mother Earth comes to you for a share of the beautiful love and devotion you gave its mother. Assured of that, it will make a brave effort to Live and to Do.—*E. G.*

EMMA GOLDMAN - - - - - Publisher and Editor

Office: 226 Lafayette Street, New York City

Telephone, Spring 8711

10c per copy *$1.00 per year*

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Dedication / E[mma] G[oldman]. – p. 1 ; 26 cm. *In* Mother Earth Bulletin. – Vol. 1, no. 1 (Oct. 1917).

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FORBIDDEN

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Apropos

Alexander Berkman

"Mother Earth" has been suppressed, but how strikingly its position and ideas have been vindicated!

In two particulars, especially, has our propaganda been justified by the events.

First, our insistence on free expression as the foundation of all progress. "Mother Earth" was a voice in the wilderness when it first raised the cry of the imperative need of a determined stand for free speech and free press. From the very beginning of our publication—now over ten years ago—and ever since we have persistently emphasized, over and over again, how imperative it was for all radicals to resist every encroachment upon the liberty of assembly and press, whoever the victim.

But as long as only Anarchist meetings were stopped, or Anarchist publications suppressed, no one cared much except the Anarchists. Yet repeatedly we warned the liberal elements at large that a most fundamental principle was at stake, and that the suppression of Anarchists was but the entering wedge.

Now the whole block is split, or almost so. Only the blind can fail to see that it is but a matter of weeks or days before the last critical word will be stilled by the hand that has gained practice as well as arrogant assurance through our lack of vigilance and co-operation in the past.

Nor is the evil temporary only. Some rules and laws may disappear with the war, but the tendencies now dominant, and the habits acquired, will persist long after their immediate stimuli have ceased to operate.

Similarly has the Anarchist opposition to forcible authority and centralization of power been vindicated by recent history.

The essence of authority is invasion, the imposition of a superior will—generally superior only in point of physical force. The menace of man-made authority is not in its potential abuse. That may be guarded against. The fundamental evil of authority is its use. The more paternal its character or the more humanistic its symbols and mottoes, the greater its danger. No slavery so deep-rooted and stable than the subtle hypnotism of Democracy's phraseology. It is mesmerizing to watch the girations of a balloon labelled "Liberty." The required optical intensity only too often lulls to forgetfulness even those vaguely conscious that the proudly soaring balloon holds nothing but gas—a child's toy with no substance.

The democratic authority of majority rule is the last pillar of tyranny. The last, but the strongest. It is at the base of this pillar that the Anarchist ax has been hewing. The autocracy of the minority is too patent an imposition to promise long life in modern days. The temple of Romanoff falls like a house of cards at the touch of a will-full Samson. But the despotism that is invisible because not personified, shears Samson of his passion and leaves him will-less.

Woe to the people where the citizen is a sovereign whose power is in the hands of his masters! It is a nation of willing slaves.

San Francisco's Sixth Victim

Emma Goldman

When Governor Stephens, of California, signed the requisition papers for Alexander Berkman (although he had solemnly promised a delegation of labor men and a body of women from the Civic League of San Francisco to give them a hearing before signing the papers), District Attorney Fickert rushed into print with the following statement: "Weinberg's case will now be postponed and we will try Berkman at once; he is more important."

Fickert reminds one of the milkmaid who, with the pail of milk balanced on her head, became so enthused over the prospective profits from it, that she began dancing with glee, and spilled the milk. Mr. Fickert, too, jumped with glee at the prospect of getting Berkman into his clutches. Had he not tried hard for a whole year to involve Alexander Berkman in the San Francisco frame-up? First, during the Billings trial; then again, during the farce of Tom Mooney's trial; finally, when Rena Mooney battled for her life. Each time District Attorney Fickert impressed it upon the jurors that Alexander Berkman was the principal villain in the play; each time this faithful servant of the Chamber of Commerce came nearer to the

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point where he felt sure of roping Berkman into his noose. And when the indictment was finally handed down, Fickert felt near his goal.

In his imagination he already saw Berkman tried, convicted, sentenced and executed. But lo and behold, down came the pail of milk with all of Fickert's calculations.

Having played fast and loose with his victims in San Francisco, Fickert could not imagine the difficulties that would confront him when he called for the indictment of Alexander Berkman. How was a man of Fickert's mentality to know Berkman's position among the workers of the East, especially in New York City? How was he to know the love, esteem and devotion Berkman has gained during the twenty-seven years of his activity in behalf of the masses? Much less could Fickert realize Berkman's importance as an international figure in the revolutionary movement, and the protest and indignation his indictment would arouse!

Well, Mr. Fickert did not have to wait long. First of all came the enthusiastic response of the United Hebrew Trades and other radical organizations. The delegation that went to Albany to argue before Governor Whitman against the extradition of A. B., was a significant tribute to the man who had for twenty-seven years unreservedly given his ability and devotion to the cause of humanity. It certainly must have impressed the Governor or he would not have held up his signature to the extradition.

Then came President Wilson's order for a Federal investigation into the San Francisco frame-up, and right on its heels the glorious demonstration in Petrograd for Alexander Berkman. All this because of the indictment against a mere Anarchist! Who ever heard of such a thing? Fickert was frantic, but to save his face he wired Governor Whitman that Berkman's extradition "would not be pressed for the present." How magnanimous of the man who has all along used the vilest means to dispose of his victims!

Needless to say, we are not foolish enough to believe that Governor Whitman will not in the end sign Berkman's extradition. Nor do we bank too much on the outcome of the Federal Investigation. There is no doubt but that the Commission will have to brand as criminals the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco and its District Attorney. But what of that? Washington is not likely to declare war upon California because of the American lives endangered there and the frightfulness committed by District Attorney Fickert and his Huns. There are only two forces which will effectually put Fickert out of his criminal business: first, the continued protest in Russia; secondly, the solid front labor in this country must make. Already hundreds of organizations have come to the fore, morally and financially. But more is needed; we must awaken all of labor. Nothing must be left undone to stay the murderous hand ready to slay six innocent victims.

Thursday, October 11, Alexander Berkman could have walked out a free man; the legal extradition limit of thirty days had expired. The warden of the Tombs prison was not only ready but anxious to let Berkman go; he knew he had no legal power to hold him. But it takes a revolutionist to live up to his promise, even if made by his attorneys. So Alexander Berkman signed himself back into the Tombs prison for another thirty days. However, an attempt is now being made to get A. B. out on bail. He is entitled to it, especially in view of the fact that he is already under $25,000 bail on the Federal conviction.

Whatever the ultimate outcome of it all, District Attorney Fickert is likely to spend many sleepless nights and restless moons before he can get Alexander Berkman, and even if he does get him in the end, Fickert's troubles will only then begin. To set the background for that momentous event, we need the help of all our friends and all those who have been aroused to the scandal, the shame and the outrage of the San Francisco frame-up. For that purpose defense councils must be organized in every city, mass meetings arranged, and the whole case given the widest possible publicity for which, of course, a substantial campaign capital is indispensable. Radical labor and the friends of Alexander Berkman have already come to the rescue most generously, but we must ask for further aid, which we know the friends of Mother Earth will not withhold.

Justice is not settled by legislators and laws—it is in the soul; it can not be varied by status any more than love, pride, the attraction of gravity can. —Walt Whitman.

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Anarchism: What It Really Stands For [Part 1] / Emma Goldman.– pp. 153-154 ; 43 cm. *In* The Spur [London]. –Vol. 3, no. 8 (Oct. 1917).

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THE SPUR

Because the Workers Need a Spur More Than Ever.

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Vol. III. – No. 8.] OCTOBER, 1917. [One Penny Monthly.

Anarchism.

WHAT IT REALLY STANDS FOR

(By EMMA GOLDMAN).

The history of human growth and development is at the same time the history of the terrible struggle of every new idea heralding the approach of a brighter dawn. In its tenacious hold on tradition, the Old has never hesitated to make use of the foulest and cruelest means to stay the advent of the New, in whatever form or period the latter may have asserted itself. Nor need we retrace our steps into the distant past to realise the enormity of opposition, difficulties, and hardships placed in the path of every progressive idea. The rack, the thumbscrew, and the knout are still with us; so are the convicts garb and the social wrath, all conspiring against the spirit that is serenely marching on.

Anarchism could not hope to escape the fate of all other ideas of innovation. Indeed, as the most revolutionary and uncompromising innovatory, anarchism, must needs meet with the combined ignorance and venom of the world it aims to reconstruct.

To deal even remotely with all that is being said and done against anarchism would necessitate the writing of a whole volume.

I shall therefore meet only two of the principle objections.

In so doing, I shall attempt to elucidate what anarchism really stands for.

The strange phenomenon of the opposition to anarchism is that it brings to light the relation between so-called intelligence and ignorance. And yet this is not so very strange when we consider the relativity of all things. The ignorant mass has in its favour that it makes no pretence of knowledge or tolerance.

Acting, as it always does, by mere impulse, its reasons are like those of a child. "Why?" "Because." Yet the opposition of the uneducated to Anarchism deserves the same consideration as that of the intelligent man. What, then, are the objections? First, Anarchism is impractical, though a beautiful ideal. Second, Anarchism stands for violence and destruction, hence it must be repudiated as vile and dangerous. Both the intelligent man and the ignorant man judge not from a thorough knowledge of the subject, but either from hearsay or false interpretation. . . . .

The emotions of the ignorant man are continuously kept at a pitch by the most blood-curdling stories about Anarchism. Not a thing too outrageous to be employed against this philosophy and its exponents. Therefore Anarchism represents to the unthinking what the proverbial bad man does to the child, a black monster bent on swallowing everything; in short, destruction and violence.

Destruction and violence! How is the ordinary man to know that the most violent element in society is ignorance; that its power of destruction is the very thing Anarchism is combating. Nor is he aware that Anarchism, whose roots, as it were, are part of nature's forces, destroys, not healthful tissue, but parasitic growths that feed on the life's essence of society. It is merely clearing the soil from weeds and sage brush, that it may eventually bear healthy fruit. . . . . .

The new social order rests, of course, on the materialistic basis of life; but while all Anarchists agree that the main evil to-day is an economic one, they maintain that the solution of that evil can be brought about only through the consideration of *every phase* of life, individual, as well as the collective; the internal, as well as the external phases.

A thorough perusal of the history of human development will disclose two elements in bitter conflict with each other; elements that are only now beginning to be understood, not as foreign to each other, but as closely related and truly harmonious, if only placed in proper environment; the individual and social instincts. The individual and society have waged a relentless and bloody battle for ages, each striving for supremacy, because each was blind to the value and importance of the other. The individual and social instincts, the one a most potent factor for individual endeavour, for growth, aspiration, self-realisation; the other an equally potent factor for mutual helpfulness and social well-being.

The explanation of the storm raging within the individual, and between him and his surroundings, is not far to seek. The primitive man, unable to understand his being, much less the unity of all life, felt himself absolutely dependent on blind, hidden forces ever ready to mock and taunt him. Out of that attitude grew the religious concepts of man as a mere spec of dust dependent on superior powers on high, who can only be appeased by complete surrender. All the early sagas rest on that idea, which continues to be the *leitmotiv* of the biblical tales dealing with the relation of man to God, to the state, to society. Again and again the same motif, *man is nothing, the powers are everything*. Thus Jehovah would only endure man on condition of complete surrender. Man can have all the glories of the earth, but he must not become conscious of himself. The state, society, and moral laws all sing the same refrain.

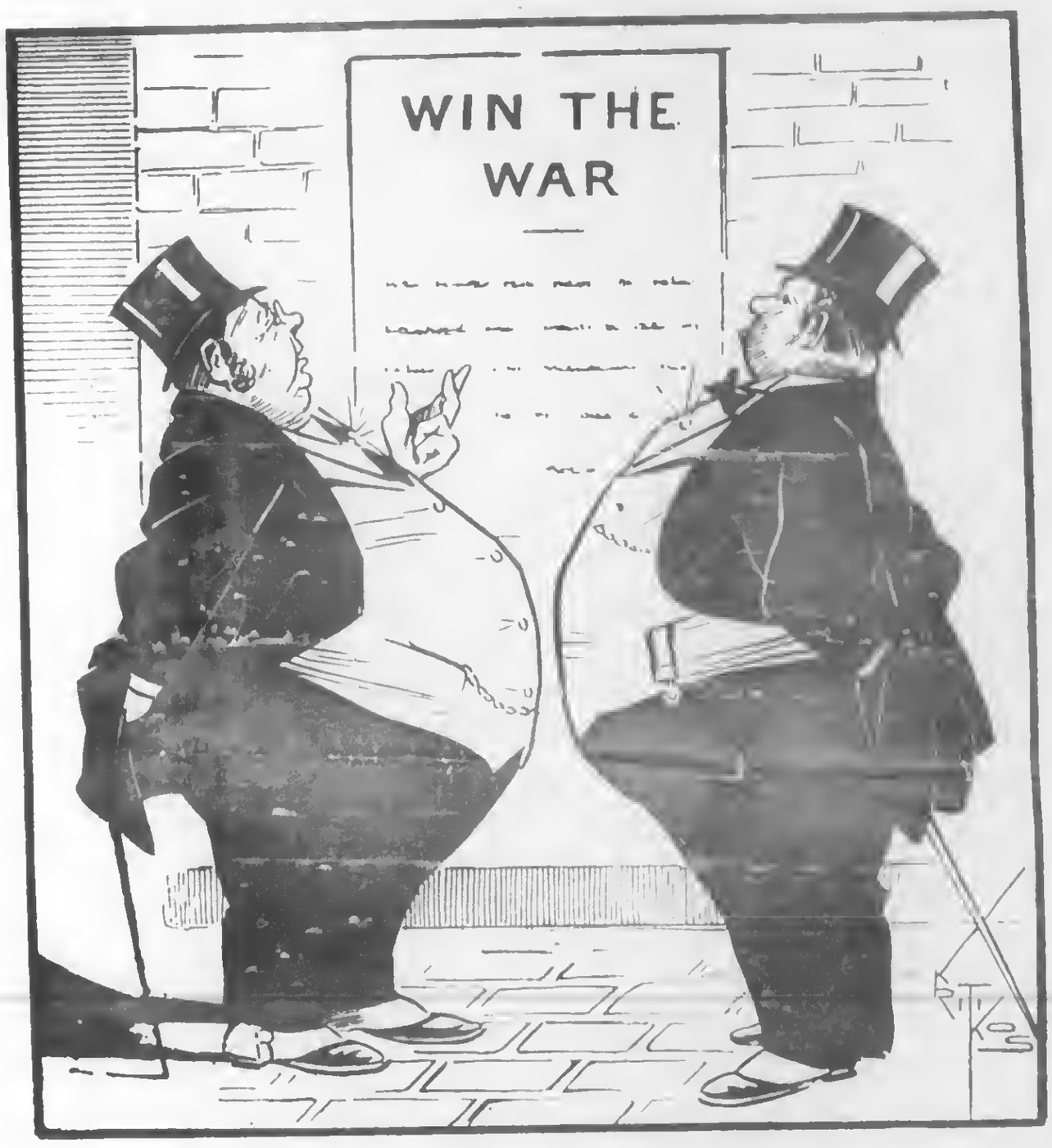
Anarchism is the only philosophy which brings to man the consciousness of himself; which maintains that God, the State, and society are non-existent, that their promises are null and void, since they can be fulfilled only through man's subordination. Anarchism is, therefore, the teacher of the unity of life; not merely in nature, but in man. There is no conflict between the individual and the social instincts, any more than there is between the heart and the lungs; the one the receptacle of a precious life essence, the other the repository of the element that keeps the essence pure and strong. The individual is the heart of society, conserving the essence of social life; society is the lungs which are distributing the element to keep the life essence—that is the individual—pure and strong.

"The one thing of value in the world," says Emerson, "is the active soul; this every man contains within him. The soul active sees absolute truth and utters truth and creates." In other words, the individual instinct is the thing of value in the world. It is the true soul that sees and creates, the truth alive, out of which is to come a still greater truth, the re-born social soul.

Anarchism is the great liberator of man from the phantoms that have held him captive; it is the arbiter and partier of the two forces for individual and social harmony. To accomplish that unity, Anarchism has declared war on the pernicious influences which have so far prevented the harmonious blending of individual and social instincts, the individual and society.

Religion, the dominion of the human mind; Property, the dominion of human needs; and Government, the dominion of human conduct, represent the stronghold of man's enslavement and all the horrors it entails. Religion! How it dominates man's mind, how it humiliates and degrades his soul. God is everything, man is nothing, says religion. But out of that nothing has been created a kingdom so despotic, so tyrannical, so cruel, so terribly exacting that naught, but gloom and tears and blood have ruled the world since gods began. Anarchism rouses man to rebellion against this black monster. Break your mental fetters, says Anarchism to man, for not

WIN THE WAR!



First Capitalist: "Brother, we must concentrate the whole of our energies on the defeat of the enemy."

Second Capitalist: "I am with you theah entirely—Lahah must be absolutely routed."

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until you think and judge for yourself will you get rid of the dominion of darkness, the greatest obstacle to all progress.

Property, the dominion of man's needs, the denial of the right to satisfy his needs. Time was when property claimed a divine right, when it came to man with the same refrain, even as religion, "Sacrifice! Abnegate! Submit!" The spirit of Anarchism has lifted man from his prostrate position. He now stands erect, with his face towards the light. He has learned to see the insatiable, devouring, devastating nature of property, and he is preparing to strike the monster dead.

"Property is robbery," said the great French Anarchist Proudhon. Yes, but without risk and danger to the robber. Monopolizing the accumulated efforts of man, property has robbed him of his birthright, and has turned him loose a pauper and an outcast. Property has not even the time-worn excuse that man does not create enough to satisfy all needs. The A B C student of economics knows that the productivity of labour within the last few decades far exceeds normal demand. But what are normal demands to an abnormal institution? The only demand that property recognizes is its own gluttonous appetite for greater wealth, because wealth means power, the power to subdue, to crush, to exploit, the power to enslave, to outrage, to degrade. America is particularly boastful of her great power, her enormous national wealth. Poor America, of what avail is all her wealth, if the individuals comprising the nation are wretchedly poor people? If they live in squalor, in filth, in crime, with hope and joy gone, a homeless, soulless army of human prey.

It is generally conceded that unless the returns of any business venture exceed the cost, bankruptcy is inevitable. But those engaged in the business of producing wealth have not yet learned even this simple lesson. Every year the cost of production in human life is growing larger. 150,000 killed, 500,000 wounded in America last year, the returns to the masses, who help to create wealth, are ever getting smaller. Man is being robbed not merely of the products of his labour, but of the power of free initiative of originality, and the interest in, reference for, the things he is making.

Real wealth consists in things of utility and beauty. Things that help to create strong, beautiful bodies, surroundings inspiring to live in. But if man is doomed to wind cotton around a spool, or dig coal or build roads for thirty years of his life, there is for me talk of wealth. What he gives to the world is only grave and hideous things, reflecting [illegible] to die. Strange to say, there are people to extol this deadening method of centralized production as the proudest achievement of our age. They fail utterly to realize, that if we are to continue in machine subserviency, our slavery is more complete than was our bondage to the king. They do not want to know that centralization is not only the death knell of liberty, but also of health and beauty, of art and science, all these things [illegible]

prevents the lazy man from fleecing his fellows. I shall, therefore, examine these contentions.

A natural law is that factor in man which asserts itself freely and spontaneously without any external force, in harmony with requirements of nature. For instance, the demand for nutrition, for sex gratification, for light, air, and exercise, is a natural law. But its expression needs not the machinery of government, needs not the club, the gun, or the handcuff, or the prison. To obey such laws, if we may call it obedience, requires only spontaneity, and free opportunity. That Governments do not maintain themselves through such harmonious factors is proven by the terrible array of violence, force, and coercion all Governments used in order to live. Thus Blackstone is right when he says, "Human laws are invalid because they are contrary of the laws of nature."

(To be concluded)

A Mural Outlook

By HENRY SAVAGE

[illegible] Maker after death, the account [illegible] deeds. (For a statement of the [illegible] stand point of the religious conscie[illegible] referred to the pages of William [illegible] our religious belief, divine [illegible] thought upon his own actions [illegible] only be treated here from a broad p[illegible] it is thoroughly dealt with in John [illegible] In both the above mentioned vie[illegible] thought is applied, and thought i[illegible] conscience amounts to. The Latin ro[illegible] science is wise. I know. Thought [illegible] described in the old Anglo-Saxon [illegible] the mental ability of man to k[illegible] new and knowledge. By the way [illegible] of Northgate, in Kent wrote "Ge[illegible] remorse of conscience. Wit[illegible] ingly are words still in common [illegible] has "best settled" meaning with [illegible] The meaning of the word [illegible] clear. It is [illegible] The Anglo-Saxon word [illegible] [illegible]

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[illegible] battle;" The spirit of [illegible] from his prostrate position, [illegible] his face towards the light. [illegible] the insatiable, devouring, [illegible] of property, and he is preparing [illegible] ever dead,

[illegible] is robbery," said the great French [illegible] Yes, but without risk and [illegible] robber. Monopolizing the accumu- [illegible] of wealth, property has robbed him of his birthright, and has turned him loose a pauper and an outcast. Property has not even the time-worn excuse that man does not create enough to satisfy all needs. The A B C student of economics knows that the productivity of labour within the last few decades far exceeds normal demand. But what are normal demands to an abnormal institution? The only demand that property recognizes is its own gluttonous appetite for greater wealth, because wealth means power; the power to subdue, to crush, to exploit, the power to enslave, to outrage, to degrade. America is particularly boastful of her great power, her enormous national wealth. Poor America, of what avail is all her wealth, if the individuals comprising the nation are wretchedly poor people? If they live in squalor, in filth, in crime, with hope and joy gone, a homeless, soilless army of human prey.

It is generally conceded that unless the returns of any business venture exceed the cost, bankruptcy is inevitable. But those engaged in the business of producing wealth have not yet learned even this simple lesson. Every year the cost of production in human life is growing larger (50,000 killed, 100,000 wounded in America last year); the returns to the masses, who help to create wealth, are ever getting smaller. . . . Man is being robbed not merely of the products of his labour, but of the power of free initiative, of originality, and the interest in, or desire for, the things he is making.

Real wealth consists in things of utility and beauty, in things that help to create strong, beautiful bodies and surroundings inspiring to live in. But if man is doomed to wind cotton around a spool, or dig coal, or build roads for thirty years of his life, there can be no talk of wealth. What he gives to the world is only grave and hideous things, reflecting a dull and hideous existence, too weak to live, too cowardly to die. Strange to say, there are people who extol this deadening method of centralized production as the proudest achievement of our age. They fail utterly to realize, that if we are to continue in machine subserviency, our slavery is more complete than was our bondage to the King. They do not want to know that centralization is not only the death-kneel of liberty but also of health and beauty, of art and science, all these things being impossible in a clocklike, mechanical atmosphere.

Anarchism cannot but repudiate such a method of production: its goal is the freest possible expression of all the latent powers of the individual. Oscar Wilde defines a perfect personality as "one who develops under perfect conditions, who is not wounded, maimed or in danger." A perfect personality, then, is only possible in a state of society where man is free to choose the mode of work, the conditions of work, and the freedom to work. One to whom the making of a table, the building of a house, or the tilling of the soil, is what the painting is to the artist and the discovery to the scientist, the result of inspiration, of intense longing, and deep interest in work as a creative force. That being the ideal of Anarchism, its economic arrangements must consist of voluntary productive and distributive associations, gradually developing into free communism, as the best means of producing with the least waste of human energy. Anarchism, however, also recognizes the right of the individual, or numbers of individuals, to arrange at all times for other forms of work, in harmony with their tastes and desires.

Such free display of human energy being possible only under complete individual and social freedom, Anarchism directs its forces against the third and greatest foe of all social equality, namely, the State, organised authority, or statutory law—the dominion of human conduct.

Just as religion has fettered the human mind, and as property or the monopoly of things, has subdued and stifled man's needs, so has the State enslaved his spirit, dictating every phase of conduct. "All Government in essence, says Emerson is tyranny." It matters not whether it is Government by divine right or majority rule. In every instance its aim is the absolute subordination of the individual.

Referring to the American Government, the greatest American Anarchist, David Thoreau, said, "Government, what is it but a tradition, though a recent one, endeavouring to transmit itself unimpaired to posterity, but each instance losing its integrity; it has not the vitality and force of a single living man. Law never made man a whit more just; and by means of their respect for it, even the well disposed are daily made agents of injustice."

Indeed, the keynote of Government is injustice. With the arrogance and self-sufficiency of the King who could do no wrong, Governments ordain, judge, condemn, and punish the most insignificant offences, while maintaining themselves by the greatest of all offences, the annihilation of individual liberty.

Unfortunately there are still a number of people who continue in the fatal belief that Government rests on natural laws, that it maintains social order and harmony, that it diminishes crime, and that it [illegible]

[illegible] I [illegible] y am [illegible] ny [illegible] I [illegible] is [illegible] ts of nature. For [illegible] nor, the demand for nutrition, for sex gratification, for light, air, and exercise, is a natural law. But its expression needs not the machinery of Government, needs not the club, the gun, or the handcuff, or the prison. To obey such laws, if we may call it obedience, requires only spontaneity, and free opportunity. That Governments do not maintain themselves through such harmonious factors is proven by the terrible array of violence, force, and coercion all Governments used in order to live. Thus Blackstone is right when he says, "Human laws are invalid because they are contrary of the laws of nature."

(To be concluded).

A Mural Outlook

(By HENRY SARA)

The war has been raging for three years. Three years! For 1,095 days itself have been slaughtering, butchering, falling never to speak more. All that could be adopted to destroy or mutilate man's body has been put into use and found valuable. Mangle it, shatter it, rip it, cut off its members—no matter so long as it is the body of a man. "Let the bloody work continue" has been the order for three times three hundred and sixty five days. What has resulted so far? Seven million dead. Seven million human beings killed by each others' hands. Europe, christian Europe, civilised Europe, the Europe that believes that an all-powerful God watches over every man's destiny is still, after three years of terrible destruction, in a vortex of blood. The Church dignitaries tell us God is a loving father. "Thou shalt not kill" was his command. And Europe believes in this God to the exclusion of all other Gods. But Europe also believes in war, the destruction of men by men. England is one of the great Powers of Europe. To read her record for past centuries suggests that she has believed in the god Mars, but England, like the rest of the European Powers believes in Jehovah. England believes in the rights of conscience. Never speak of England, never think of England without remembering that she is the land of liberty of thought. Walk through her art galleries, her museums, her libraries and see therein her Miltons, her bloodstained shirts, her books of martyrs all treasured and protected as monuments to conscience. The very pavement artists of England depict with their cheap chalks in the streets incidents in their country's efforts in defence of the rights of conscience. Yes, England is proud of her championship of liberty of thought, proud of her long list of noble sons who, at all cost, stood for the freedom of the mind above all other things. Assert in England to-day that you have a conscience and you will be rewarded with a monument—a mural monument—a narrow, grim, white-washed mural monument. Many a man is to-day under a low roof, reading *the Narrow Way*, who rested his liberty of conscience on a short answer from Mr. Long. Many a Quaker is feeding upon prison fare because he was man enough to assert the faith that is within him. Many a socialist has been abused by his so-called superiors because he has striven for international understanding as opposed to national mis-understanding. Tribunals have come and Tribunals have gone, and who shall say that England is not the better for it? The local magnates have returned to their neat little villas. The beer vendors who traffic in saccharine and maize, and talk of ale, the humpty-dumpty merchants who plaster their shop windows with the word "fresh" over prodocts that, when boiled, recall the chemistry class; the sellers of "*Prime Canterbury Lamb*" just delivered from the docks in an ice van, the dealers in "*Pure English Butter*" who value their produce so much that they throw in a pound of overweight for every pound purchased; all these English gentlemen, worthy representatives of the nation of shop-keepers, have sat on the Tribunals and given their judgment on matters of conscience—with most satisfactory results to themselves. They have learned much—witness their question as to whether an appellant washed himself? They have unlearned much, for instance, that Count Leo Tolstoy was not a German. They have returned to their duties and their profits with a sound conviction that conscience is all humbug.

Then there are the newspapers! Journalism has lifted up its voice. The newspaper that will abuse or extol with a keen eye to its advertising columns has joined its patron the shopkeeper in saying that conscience is all humbug.

The Church points to its Prayer Books' injunction of obedience to civil magistrates and thus gives conscience the go-by.

There is no need to continue the list. What the [illegible] books record, what the statesmen picture in such flowery language is a myth. There is no right of conscience in England. It is no more true that the right of conscience is an English product than it is true that "an Englishman's home is his castle." There is no danger of believing that it is true when one is viewing things from a natural outlook. When we use the word conscience what do we mean? Just as men look differently, so men think differently. There is no more a standard type of mind than there is a standard type of face; but similarities exist in faces and similarities exist in minds. Men whose conscience informed by religion, believe that they will be called before their [illegible] thought [illegible] only [illegible] it is [illegible] In both the above [illegible] thought is laughed, and thought [illegible] what conscience amounts to. The latin root of the word conscience is *scio*, I know. Thought or knowledge was described in the old Anglo-Saxon by the word *wit*, i.e., mental ability: *wit-an*, to know, and *in-wit*, inward knowledge. In the year 1340 Dan Michael of Northgate, in Kent, wrote "*Igenbite of Inwit*," i.e. remorse of conscience. Witting and unwittingly are words still in common use. Shakespeare has "*beef-witted*" meaning with no more sense than an ox, and modern editors occasionally "*wot*." The meaning of the word conscience should now be clear. It is necessary next to examine the word War. The Anglo-Saxon word from which the word war is obtained is *wear*, i.e. evil. This shows the derivation of *worse* and *worst*. Roughly then war means evil, and it is not necessary to say anything more about its significance.

We are now free to treat of the three phases of conscience about which the Press has made so much mystery and the shopkeeper in such wise comment. First we have the non-combatant whose conscience will not allow him to kill another human being, but whose thought or belief does not extend beyond this abstention. He is prepared to undergo all the privations which the soldier-undergoes up to a certain point. Beyond that point he refuses to go preferring death first. Strange as it may seem this is [illegible] an outrage must and should be respected as such. The next phase is that of the man who refuses military service of a direct nature but is prepared to lend assistance with his labour to the country in its difficulties owing to war. His conscience like that cited above is limited but still is entitled to be treated as conscience. The third and last phase is that of what has been called the "absolutist" position. It is the position you get jailed for adopting. It is the position which is stigmatised as "immoral." It is the position that leads to the [illegible] dungeons. The writer hopes to do better justice to this case than he can hope to have done in those previously mentioned.

The subject before us is conscription. Not conscription of enforced labour and military service but conscience and conscription only. The absolutist does not adopt a policy he defends a principle. That principle is not even abstention from killing a human being or objection to military service. The "absolutist's" basis contains a full grown thought, a mature belief. He is confident that my effort he may make in conforming to Government directions is fatal to [illegible]

The writer's last year in [illegible] "work of national importance" was [illegible] the question whether he would help the country in any way? He replied that he would not. Why? Because he knew that the question was an unfair question. The question in its completed form was "Will you help the country in the prosecution of the war?" Being utterly convinced that war is made up of cheap bravado, insanity, empty shouting, meaningless songs and music hall pluck, the writer refused to lend his services in any way towards the continuation of such inhuman folly.

There is not a man whose convictions keep him in an English jail to-day who thinks about his body before the bodies of his kin and dependents. The contrary allegation is just newspaper lying. We believe in the defence of womanhood. We want to see her from whose loins we sprang happy and free. We want to see our sisters respected, not degraded. We want to rear our children in healthy surroundings instead of being put to making sandbags. Shall we have these things by casting on one side our beliefs? not a bit.

Conscience is not to be bargained with, it will assert itself come what may. We must stand firmly by those convictions which are planted firmly in our minds—even though our firmness may procure for us a mural outlook.

Animalism, not Civilisation.

(By GEORGE HINDLE)

What we term civilisation to-day is merely the expression of a highly developed animalism. Let those who talk of this war having made a shambles of civilisation remember this obvious fact that civilisation has never yet found expression in any phase of human history. It exists in our vocabulary only as a word signifying a constructive idea, and one that has not, as yet, found its way into practical human affairs.

Civilisation has never existed because slavery and exploitation have always been a part of human society. When the slavery and exploitation of the masses by the few privileged individuals ceases, then the basis of civilisation will be established.

Where authority rears its ugly head, stifling at its birth the free expression of thought; where the slave and the master of slaves struggle in abysmal darkness; and the cries of those whose souls and bodies are tortured by the pitiless machine fall upon deaf ears, there is no humanity, nothing but unlicenced brutality. There is no civilisation where death is the only road to freedom, and life but a conditional servitude; where women are slaves to passion and only recognised because of their pro-

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MOTHER EARTH

BULLETIN

VOL. I. OCTOBER, 1917, NEW YORK NO. 1.

Freedom of Criticism and Opinion

EMMA GOLDMAN

Under the "Trading With the Enemy Act," the Postmaster General has become the absolute dictator over the press. Not only is it impossible now for any publication with character to be circulated through the mails, but every other channel, such as express, freight, newstands, and even distribution has been stopped. As MOTHER EARTH will not comply with these regulations and will not appear in an emasculated form, it prefers to take a long needed rest until the world has regained its sanity.

The MOTHER EARTH BULLETIN has been decided upon largely as a means of keeping in touch with our friends and subscribers, and for the purpose of keeping them posted about our movements and activities.

FORBIDDEN

DEDICATION

This is the wee Babe of Mother Earth. It was conceived during the greatest human crisis—born into a tragic, disintegrating world. To give it life, Mother Earth had to choose death, yet out of Death must come Life again. The Babe is frail of body, but it comes with a heritage of strength, determination and idealism to be worthy of her who gave it birth.

To bring a child into the world these days is almost an unpardonable luxury. But the child of Mother Earth comes to you for a share of the beautiful love and devotion you gave its mother. Assured of that, it will make a brave effort to Live and to Do.—*E. G.*

EMMA GOLDMAN - - - - - Publisher and Editor

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Apropos

Alexander Berkman

"Mother Earth" has been suppressed, but how strikingly its position and ideas have been vindicated!

In two particulars, especially, has our propaganda been justified by the events.

First, our insistence on free expression as the foundation of all progress. "Mother Earth" was a voice in the wilderness when it first raised the cry of the imperative need of a determined stand for free speech and free press. From the very beginning of our publication—now over ten years ago—and ever since we have persistently emphasized, over and over again, how imperative it was for all radicals to resist every encroachment upon the liberty of assembly and press, whoever the victim.

But as long as only Anarchist meetings were stopped, or Anarchist publications suppressed, no one cared much except the Anarchists. Yet repeatedly we warned the liberal elements at large that a most fundamental principle was at stake, and that the suppression of Anarchists was but the entering wedge.

Now the whole block is split, or almost so. Only the blind can fail to see that it is but a matter of weeks or days before the last critical word will be stilled by the hand that has gained practice as well as arrogant assurance through our lack of vigilance and co-operation in the past.

Nor is the evil temporary only. Some rules and laws may disappear with the war, but the tendencies now dominant, and the habits acquired, will persist long after their immediate stimuli have ceased to operate.

Similarly has the Anarchist opposition to forcible authority and centralization of power been vindicated by recent history.

The essence of authority is invasion, the imposition of a superior will—generally superior only in point of physical force. The menace of man-made authority is not in its potential abuse. That may be guarded against. The fundamental evil of authority is its use. The more paternal its character or the more humanistic its symbols and mottoes, the greater its danger. No slavery so deep-rooted and stable than the subtle hypnotism of Democracy's phraseology. It is mesmerizing to watch the girations of a balloon labelled "Liberty." The required optical intensity only too often lulls to forgetfulness even those vaguely conscious that the proudly soaring balloon holds nothing but gas—a child's toy with no substance.

The democratic authority of majority rule is the last pillar of tyranny. The last, but the strongest. It is at the base of this pillar that the Anarchist ax has been hewing. The autocracy of the minority is too patent an imposition to promise long life in modern days. The temple of Romanoff falls like a house of cards at the touch of a will-full Samson. But the despotism that is invisible because not personified, shears Samson of his passion and leaves him will-less.

Woe to the people where the citizen is a sovereign whose power is in the hands of his masters! It is a nation of willing slaves.

San Francisco's Sixth Victim

Emma Goldman

When Governor Stephens, of California, signed the requisition papers for Alexander Berkman (although he had solemnly promised a delegation of labor men and a body of women from the Civic League of San Francisco to give them a hearing before signing the papers), District Attorney Fickert rushed into print with the following statement: "Weinberg's case will now be postponed and we will try Berkman at once; he is more important."

Fickert reminds one of the milkmaid who, with the pail of milk balanced on her head, became so enthused over the prospective profits from it, that she began dancing with glee, and spilled the milk. Mr. Fickert, too, jumped with glee at the prospect of getting Berkman into his clutches. Had he not tried hard for a whole year to involve Alexander Berkman in the San Francisco frame-up? First, during the Billings trial; then again, during the farce of Tom Mooney's trial; finally, when Rena Mooney battled for her life. Each time District Attorney Fickert impressed it upon the jurors that Alexander Berkman was the principal villain in the play; each time this faithful servant of the Chamber of Commerce came nearer to the

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point where he felt sure of roping Berkman into his noose. And when the indictment was finally handed down, Fickert felt near his goal.

In his imagination he already saw Berkman tried, convicted, sentenced and executed. But lo and behold, down came the pail of milk with all of Fickert's calculations.

Having played fast and loose with his victims in San Francisco, Fickert could not imagine the difficulties that would confront him when he called for the indictment of Alexander Berkman. How was a man of Fickert's mentality to know Berkman's position among the workers of the East, especially in New York City? How was he to know the love, esteem and devotion Berkman has gained during the twenty-seven years of his activity in behalf of the masses? Much less could Fickert realize Berkman's importance as an international figure in the revolutionary movement, and the protest and indignation his indictment would arouse!

Well, Mr. Fickert did not have to wait long. First of all came the enthusiastic response of the United Hebrew Trades and other radical organizations. The delegation that went to Albany to argue before Governor Whitman against the extradition of A. B., was a significant tribute to the man who had for twenty-seven years unreservedly given his ability and devotion to the cause of humanity. It certainly must have impressed the Governor or he would not have held up his signature to the extradition.

Then came President Wilson's order for a Federal investigation into the San Francisco frame-up, and right on its heels the glorious demonstration in Petrograd for Alexander Berkman. All this because of the indictment against a mere Anarchist! Who ever heard of such a thing? Fickert was frantic, but to save his face he wired Governor Whitman that Berkman's extradition "would not be pressed for the present." How magnanimous of the man who has all along used the vilest means to dispose of his victims!

Needless to say, we are not foolish enough to believe that Governor Whitman will not in the end sign Berkman's extradition. Nor do we bank too much on the outcome of the Federal Investigation. There is no doubt but that the Commission will have to brand as criminals the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco and its District Attorney. But what of that? Washington is not likely to declare war upon California because of the American lives endangered there and the frightfulness committed by District Attorney Fickert and his Huns. There are only two forces which will effectually put Fickert out of his criminal business: first, the continued protest in Russia; secondly, the solid front labor in this country must make. Already hundreds of organizations have come to the fore, morally and financially. But more is needed; we must awaken all of labor. Nothing must be left undone to stay the murderous hand ready to slay six innocent victims.

Thursday, October 11, Alexander Berkman could have walked out a free man; the legal extradition limit of thirty days had expired. The warden of the Tombs prison was not only ready but anxious to let Berkman go; he knew he had no legal power to hold him. But it takes a revolutionist to live up to his promise, even if made by his attorneys. So Alexander Berkman signed himself back into the Tombs prison for another thirty days. However, an attempt is now being made to get A. B. out on bail. He is entitled to it, especially in view of the fact that he is already under $25,000 bail on the Federal conviction.

Whatever the ultimate outcome of it all, District Attorney Fickert is likely to spend many sleepless nights and restless moons before he can get Alexander Berkman, and even if he does get him in the end, Fickert's troubles will only then begin. To set the background for that momentous event, we need the help of all our friends and all those who have been aroused to the scandal, the shame and the outrage of the San Francisco frame-up. For that purpose defense councils must be organized in every city, mass meetings arranged, and the whole case given the widest possible publicity for which, of course, a substantial campaign capital is indispensable. Radical labor and the friends of Alexander Berkman have already come to the rescue most generously, but we must ask for further aid, which we know the friends of Mother Earth will not withhold.

Justice is not settled by legislators and laws—it is in the soul; it can not be varied by status any more than love, pride, the attraction of gravity can. —Walt Whitman.

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To the Postmaster

EXCERPTS FROM A LETTER

September 22, 1917.

Third Assistant Postmaster General,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Outside of the technical ground which you may have for removing the second class mail privileges of "Mother Earth," I suppose we are justified in assuming that the only real reason you have for denying us the use of these privileges is that "Mother Earth" is an Anarchist magazine, Emma Goldman its publisher, and that "Mother Earth" has always maintained a vigorous anti-war attitude. I don't suppose it is within the jurisdiction of your department, nor have you the time or the inclination, to argue on the merits of the war, or the meaning of free press. But I do hope that you have the time and the interest to get our point of view.

A certain section of the American people, whose numbers are growing daily (whether for good or for evil), are anxious, desirous and determined to read radical literature, such as is contained in our magazine. It is too late to change their taste for such reading matter. "Mother Earth," "The Masses," "The Jeffersonian," "The Rebel," "The Free Press," "The International Socialist Review," and other papers that the Government is attempting to suppress, have become the Bible for millions of people living in America. These magazines are not only the favorite literature of these citizens, but their gospel as well. They are determined to have them and, if I know anything about history, it looks to me as though they would get them one way or another.

You are aware, of course, that censorship of the press is not new—is more than one hundred years old. I think it is as old as the printing press. Rigid Germany, autocratic Russia, temperamental France and our favorite ally England, have suppressed thousands of publications, but they still exist in large numbers. The law of suppression may be formulated as follows: The more a government suppresses a paper that the people really want, the more it is read with reverence, and the more powerful the paper becomes in its influence in the community. I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that suppressed publications were one of the largest factors in the recent Russian Social Revolution.

I trust you will realize the importance of this issue to our mighty Government. I know full well the Government's power and its ability to jail or hang anyone who attempts to thwart its desire. I simply wish to call your attention to an undisputed historical and psychological fact, and remind you that in Belgium, where the Iron Hand of Germany rules, the determined Belgians are getting out their own papers in spite of the Kaiser's censors. In Russia, prior to the revolution, there was a despotism and a censorship of publication such as the world never before witnessed, yet millions of copies of papers and leaflets found their way into the hands and hearts of the workers and the soldiers. It is not news to you, I am sure, that even in the trenches of Europe suppressed papers are being published. Please don't think that we are attempting to intimidate or bluff you when we say that if you do not permit "Mother Earth" and other publications to continue their mission in the open, someone will find a way of continuing the work and getting out the message of liberty to the American people. I suppose you are aware, through the newspapers or from the Secret Service Department, that dozens of underground presses have already been established, and with widespread education and the printing facilities which can be found in any city, hamlet and village in these great United States, there is every reason to believe that for each publication you suppress, underground presses will be established, and as fast as they are discovered and stopped, still others will take their place. For another great law of history reads: Thinking men and women who have a grievance or a message for the world will find a way to get their ideas to the people, and suppressing, jailing and hanging won't stop it. Five thousand years of history back this statement.

Does this mean that we want the right to be treasonable? No! We ask for our constitutionally guaranteed right to voice our grievances and to help build a world without tyranny, injustice and exploitation. Some of the radicals want to change the laws; others believe that gov-

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ernments are wrong, harmful and unnecessary, and that we can live and carry on production and distribution and do the right thing by our fellowmen and have a very beautiful world, without any laws or governments. Now we want to do propaganda in the open. We are willing to abide by the Constitution, provided that the authorities will obey the law and respect human rights, and that no judge or post office official will take it upon himself to decide what is or is not free press. In other words, if the Post Office really takes President Wilson seriously and wants to make the world safe for democracy, we are willing to cooperate, and I feel we will bring much intelligence and genuine interest for a democracy, such as Paine, Jefferson and the framers of the Constitution hoped for.

I understand that these are trying times, and the Government is in no mood to temporize with radicals and theorists But unless America and the Post Office department, especially, respect the rights and needs of millions of her inhabitants who are feeling, thinking, struggling and desirous of maintaining constitutional democracy in a way which may be a little different from that desired by a small group of senators, legislators or officials —then America may have to pass through the experiences that we are now witnessing in Russia.

Yours very sincerely,
BEN. L. REITMAN.

LAW

The highest form of despotism, falsehood and violence is the establishment by some people of a law which must not be discussed by the other people and which must be accepted by them.—Tolstoy.

Russsia and Elsewhere

A. B.

The Russian Revolution is now affording every journalistic ignoramus the fertile opportunity of displaying—at so much per line—the depth of his socio-political wisdom and the fullness of his historical erudition.

Not a newspaper or a magazine in America but that has compared the Russian upheaval with the French Revolution and learnedly pointed to the "striking analogies" and drew the "inevitable" conclusions of débacle with that Karma finality that but illy hid the smirk of bourgeois satisfaction.

Vain fools! As if their penny minds could even conceive of the primal cosmic forces that have broken the bondage of centuries and are about to change the very course of the whole gamut of human experience.

For Russia is not going through a mere revolution. Comparisons with historical analogies, the tracing of superficial evolutionary "laws" are the veriest lilliputian efforts in the face of the titanic elements commanding untrammeled expression.

Never since the dawn of time has the world been pregnant with the mighty spirit that is now rocking Russia in the throes of a new birth—a new life, a new humanity, a new earth. It is the Messiah come, the Social Revolution.

The most tragic part of Russia's rebirth is the pity dished out to her by American editors. No doubt in many instances their ill-humored attitude merely cloaks the haunting fear that "the dictatorship of the proletariat" might indeed become a fact—and such things are terribly catching! What if the will of the proletariat should march across the borders

BY ALEXANDER BERKMAN

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Mother Earth Bulletin Vol. 1 , no. 1 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – New York: Emma Goldman, 1917 Oct. – 8 p. ; 27 × 17 cm.

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of Russia and sweep the rest of the world in its compelling desire! Woe to all that's well established, parasites and all.

Hence the mad ravings against the Bolsheviki, the real pioneers of the Social Revolution. If journalistic assassination at long distance were effective, the Bolsheviki would all be dead by now. They are persistently misrepresented in the American press as the scum of the earth, criminals, Anarchists, a mere handful of malcontents who should be given the shortest shrift. It never enters the solid pate of the good American "news"-eater to inquire how it is possible for a handful of malcontents to keep such a vast country like Russia "in an uproar," and to influence a nation of almost two hundred million population.

Informed people know that the Bolsheviki are the majority elements in both the Social Revolutionary and the Social Democratic parties. "Bolshe," in Russian, means "more." Hence, Bolsheviki —the majority. And though the Bolsheviki of the Social Revolutionists in various matters disagree with the Social Democratic Bolseviki, yet the plain truth of the Russian situation is that the overwhelming majority of the Russian people, the industrial and agrarian population, stand solidly behind the Bolsheviki, the true revolutionists who will not permit the Revolution to be exploited into a victory of the bourgeoisie That is the fundamental difference between the Social Revolution in Russia and the French Revolution. The past martyrdom of Russia shall not be used as a stepping stone to capitalist domination. Russia must be free—from industrial despotism no less than from the tyranny of Tsardom.

* * *

On December 10th, the Supreme Court of the United States will decide the fate of three men and one woman, who took an active stand against the war—Alexander Berkman, Louis Kramer, Morris Becker and Emma Goldman.

By the first of the new year, unless a miracle happens and the judges of the Supreme Court can conquer the war hysteria with reason and justice, Emma Goldman will find herself back in the confines of the Jefferson City prison; Berkman will be behind the iron bars of the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, and Kramer and Becker will remain in that institution where they are at the present time. The sentence is two years and a fine of $10,000 and deportation to Russia in the cases of Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and Louis Kramer. The latter is also to serve one year in the Mercer County, N. J., Prison. The sentence of Morris Becker is twenty months in Atlanta.

Ordinarily a case taken to the highest judicial tribunal in the United States must wait at least a year before it is argued before that body. But now the newspaper clamor for immediate condemnation of everyone opposed to war is responsible for the anti-draft cases being among the first to be presented at the present session of the Federal Supreme Court.

Miracles happened frequently in earlier days, so the Bible tells us. But they occur very rarely in these times, and so we cannot imagine that the Supreme Court will declare the draft-law unconstitutional. Indeed, if that should happen the whole war policy would be shattered. We can only have a faint hope—and it is a very faint one—that the decision of the lower court in the anti-draft cases will be reversed on the grounds of error. And although there were enough errors in the trials, men are blind and afraid to see justice when they are stricken with the war mania.

But fortunately for the human race, no matter how many publications the censors may suppress, or how many agitators and propagandists may be lynched, hanged or jailed, the struggle for Liberty will go on. And "Mother Earth" activities will continue as far as possible. We need your assistance more than ever. So far the arrest and trial of Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman and the anti-draft cases, have already cost over $5,000. The printing of the briefs and minutes alone cost more than half of this amount. Our attorney, Harry Weinberger, has been working night and day, and has accomplished almost the impossible. If we are to make a favorable showing when the case comes up, December 10, we will have to have more funds for publicity and other expenses involved in the fight.

* * *

So great is the number of radicals in jail to-day that one almost has to offer an apology when he is at liberty. And although most of the cases of revolutionists in jail or undergoing trial for anti-war propaganda offer scant hope for victory on the side of justice and light, it is encouraging to know that in the case of Louis C. Fraina and Ralph Cheney

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one point of victory has at least been scored.

The two men were charged with conspiracy and with interfereing with the draft. Louis D. Boudin, attorney for the defendants was successful, however, in emphasizing to Judge Robert T. Ervin in the United States District Court that the indictment was false. Motion of the dismissal was made by Boudin on the ground that the section of the act refers to incitement, to insurrection or insubordination among those already in the armed forces of the government, and not one of those who attended the meeting on September 27, at the labor Temple, was in the Government's military service.

Long prison terms await these two comrades, nevertheless. They are still to he tried on the charge of conspiracy.

Shall 1887 Be Repeated?

It is nearly forty years since the Knights of Labor began their agitation for a national eight-hour day. Ridiculed at first, they next caused alarm among the employers, and this alarm soon developed into an active campaign of oppression and suppression.

The strike against the McCormick Harvester Co. was projected into the situation in the spring of 1886. Members of the Knights of Labor took an active part in the organization of the strikers and gave active support and counsel in their fight against what was then one of the greatest industrial concerns of the West.

Then came the Haymarket tragedy, the exact responsibility for which has not yet been placed. A bomb was thrown among a platoon of policemen which killed and wounded some of them. At once the cry was raised that the Knights of Labor was directly responsible for the affair, and a hunt was begun for the leaders. The charge was so flimsy and so absolutely without foundation that those in Chicago, who had been active in the councils of the strikers, thought there would be no difficulty in proving their innocence, and they walked boldly into the courts. But they reckoned without the power of blood money, as was proven on November 11, 1887.

At the time the veneration of the American people for judicial pronouncements was so great that, after the hanging of the so-called Anarchists on that fatal November day, the Knights of Labor rapidly declined in number and influence, and it has taken a generation for the workers of America to overcome the effects of that crime against them.

For twelve years the Industrial Workers of the World has carried a message of improved conditions on the jobs for all workers, of which the eight-hour day is but one of the demands. Ignored at first, then ridiculed, they soon caused alarm among the employing class, and this alarm has resulted in a campaign of oppression and suppression that is almost unbelievable in extent. It has been reliably reported that a campaign fund of several million dollars was subscribed by the employers to crush the I. W. W., and that amount of money can purchase oppression almost beyond belief.

The arrest of hundreds of members of the I. W. W., in all parts of the United States, and the cruel treatment that has been meted out to them can hardly be looked upon as disconnected events. They must be viewed, in the light of their similarity, and widely separated points, as parts of one comprehensive campaign that is directed with a definte purpose in view. Also the recent indictments against 166 members of the I. W. W. must be viewed in the same light.

At present there are nearly one hundred of those indicted who are under arrest, and the charges against them are so absolutely silly that many people are making light of the arrests. It is just this flimsy nature of the charges, and the perfect confidence of the accused in their innocence, that constitute the great danger in the present cases. We must take into consideration the power of the prosecution and the ferocity of those behind the prosecution. These cases must be tried by an aroused and enlightened public opinion.

If we are to prevent a repetition of the tragic crime of 1887, we must act vigorously and at once. It is not the charges that are placed against those who are indicted that constitute their menace, it is the gigantic slush fund that has been raised by the various employers' association throughout the country for the purpose of crushing all effective labor organization, that we must combat. And

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the way in which it must be met is by an aroused public sentiment. Organized labor dare not let the crime of 1887 be repeated.—*Solidarity.*

Send funds for the General Defense to I. W. W. Headquarters, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. And funds for The Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Arturo Giovannitti, Carlo Tresca Defense, who are fighting extradition, to Helen Marot, 206 West 13th Street, New York City

In Milwaukee

Chicago, Ill., Oct. 14, 1917.

Dear Comrade:

I am in receipt of your letter and am very glad to hear from you. Friend, talking about reaction these days is absolutely unnecessary, for we all know what's going on nearly every day in every city of this free America and land of democracy.

I think you are well acquainted with the happening in Milwaukee on the ninth of September. While our Italian comrades were coming out of their clubroom, walking toward their homes, on the corner of Bishop and Patters Avenues, they met a preacher by the name of A. Juliani, holding a revival meeting. He had organized a scheme, together with policemen, to provoke trouble and land our comrades in jail. And he did. As soon as they were discovered the snake told those criminals, under policemen's uniform, that the Anarchists were coming. Nothing else—our comrades were attacked.

Of course they tried to defend themselves. You can imagine the result. Tony Fornasieri lived only a few minutes. August Maimelli died after five days' of agony, and Bortholo Testolini received a wound on one of his shoulders from the back. The others were all arrested—about twelve of them. While this was going on, one of the fanatic followers of the preacher tore the American flag and that made it harder for our comrades. I think you can conceive the struggle we are going through.

There is another big job on hand. The lawyer wants $3,000 to take up ther defense, $1,500 before the trial and the remainder afterwards. To tell the truth I have lost faith even in the lawyer, for I have found out it is just as bad to trust him as it is to trust bankers, in fact the lawyers are nothing but blood-suckers.

Yours faithfully,
SAM CASTAGNA.

Remember

The war not only means that, among many others, the "Mother Earth" Magazine has been silenced, but also that Emma Goldman has been gagged. That cut off one of the most important avenues of resources. Although it is almost a certainty that Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman will have to return to Jefferson and to Atlanta respectively, not for one minute must the fight lag. We must not for one instant lay down our arms and allow free speech to be utterly wiped out in the United States. Free press is practically in its grave, but the voice of Liberty must not be strangled. You, comrades, are the only ones who can win our rights to express our opinions and to blaze the trail toward a free society where men and women and children can live and love and be happy together, a world without war, without exploitation, without tyranny and hatred.

Although "Mother Earth" has been suppressed, our activities will be continued and our new publication, "Mother Earth" Bulletin, will appear every month and will contain important news vital to the movement, as well as a report of proceedings of the various trials in the draft propaganda. "Mother Earth" Bulletin ought to have a large circulation. If your former subscription to "Mother Earth" has run out, won't you renew at once? If possible order some extra copies to give away. For $1.00 we will send you twenty copies.

If you want to be of genuine aid to us and to the struggle we are making, help us circulate our literature. We have just issued a new edition of Emma Goldman's "Anarchism and Other Essays," containing a biographical sketch of the author together with twelve propaganda lectures on Anarchism, labor, sex and other vital problems. The book sells for $1.00. We will send you six copies for $5.00.

In order to thoroughly familiarize yourself with the now famous Emma Goldman-Alexander Berkman draft case, we urge you to read their remarkable speeches made in court. We have issued "Trial and Speeches" in a paper edition at 40 cents; three copies for $1.00. We also have a handsome leather bound edition for $1.00. These speeches will live long after their authors. You cannot afford to be without them.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Miracles Do Happen / Emma Goldman.— p. 1 ; 27 cm. *In* Mother Earth Bulletin. —Vol. 1, no. 2 (Nov. 1917).

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MOTHER EARTH

BULLETIN

VOL. I. NOVEMBER, 1917, NEW YORK NO. 2.

Miracles Do Happen

Emma Goldman

Alexander Berkman has been released from the Tombs Prison without bail. On November 10th, the second thirty-day extradition period had expired. Again our friend had to go through the farce of signing himself back into the Tombs. It was even a more painful procedure than last month, in view of the fact that the motion for bail had been denied.

The group of faithful friends who had gathered in the court room on the morning of the 10th and who were given a chance to visit Alexander Berkman, with heavy hearts saw him go back to jail. Our gloom increased when we were told two days later that there was no legal ground for bail and that we had better make up our minds that Berkman must remain in the Tombs until he is sent back to Atlanta Prison.

..Then on Tuesday, November 13th, came the marvelous news which was conveyed to our Attorney, Harry Weinberger, by the District Attorney of Albany representing California: District Attorney Fickert temporarily withdrew the request for the extradition of Alexander Berkman until the appeal in the anti-draft case is decided. Harry Weinberger immediately got on the job to get A. B. released. But the red tape of the law robbed our friend of another day. Finally, Wednesday, November 14th, at noon, Alexander Berkman walked out a free man.

What caused the miracle? Did District Attorney Fickert have a change of heart? Did he wake up to the realization that for the last eighteen months he had been engaged in a black crime against innocent human beings? Did he wish to make good by letting Berkman go free, to be followed by the release of the others? That would have indeed been a miracle of the kind that never happens.

No, Fickert is still on the job holding on to his victims who had the misfortune to fall into his clutches. But there is the Federal Commission looking into his crooked cards. There, too, is his recall staring him in the face. There is the big movement which sprung up into being to save Alexander Berkman from the fate of Mooney and the others.

Last, but not least, there is the fact that as a Federal prisoner, A. B. would not have been turned over to San Francisco so easily. Anyway, District Attorney Fickert after a heart-breaking struggle decided not to insist for the present on the extradition of his sixth victim.

Well, our Comrade is free—free to go about, free to visit his friends, free to enjoy the glorious weather we are having in New York now. But let no one be deceived as to the safety of Alexander Berkman. So long as Billings is languishing in Folsom prison with his last chance of a new trial denied, so long as the gallows is awaiting Mooney, and Rena is still in jail, so long as Weinberg is being put through the same hideous farce of a trial, and Nolan is to come next, A. B. is not safe. Our work, then, must not stop for one single moment. There is too much danger ahead.

How Wars Are Made

* * * The loud little handful—as usual—will shout for the war. The pulpit will—wearily and cautiously—object—at first; the great, big, dull bulk of the nation will rub its sleepy eyes and try to make out why there should be a war, and will say, earnestly and indignantly, "It is unjust and dishonorable, and there is no necessity for it." Then the handful will shout louder. A few fair men on the other side will argue and reason against the war with speech and pen, and at first will have a hearing and be applauded; but it will not last long; those others will outshout them, and presently the anti-war audiences will thin out and lose popularity. Before long you will see this curious thing, the speakers stoned from the platforms, and the free speech strangled by hordes of furious men who in their secret hearts are still at one with those stoned speakers—as earlier—but do not dare to say so. And now the whole nation—pulpit and all—will take up the war-cry and shout itself hoarse and mob any honest man who ventures to open his mouth; and presently such mouths will cease to open. Next the statesmen will invent cheap lies, putting the blame upon the nation that is attacked, and every man will be glad of those conscience-soothing falsities, and will diligently study them and refuse to examine any refutations of them; and thus he will by and by convince himself that the war is just, and will thank God for the better sleep he enjoys after this process of grotesque self-deception."—Mark Twain, in "The Mysterious Stranger."

EMMA GOLDMAN - - - - - - Publisher and Editor

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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December Tenth

December 10th will be an epoch-making day for America. On that day it will be decided whether democracy is safe in America. A number of anti-draft cases will be argued before the United States Supreme Court. Among the questions involved are the constitutionality of the Draft Law, the constitutionality of sending conscripts to Europe, as well as the question of "conspiracy," the quality of the evidence in the cases of A. B., E. G., Becker and Kramer.

As far as our own cases are concerned, we are not in the least deceived as to what the Supreme Court will decide, but we are glad to let our friend, Attorney Harry Weinberger, fight the battle for which he has prepared royally. In fact, it will be Lawyers' Day on December 10th. Seven attorneys are to argue on that day. That alone should be enough to overwhelm the Solons.

The December issue of the BULLETIN may not be out before the decision is rendered. Therefore we take this opportunity to inform our friends that arrangements have been made to continue the publication should we be compelled to enjoy the hospitality of the Federal prisons for the next two years. It is not that we are aching to be the guests of Uncle Sam, but we know how persistent the host is, once he has decided to open to us the hospitable prison doors.

We are taking no chances of another surprise party, such as was accorded us last July, when we were rushed out of New York post-haste. The invitation to Atlanta and Jefferson may reach us any moment after December 10th. It shall find us prepared.

Meanwhile, we want to hear from you, friends—how you like the BULLETIN, how you feel about its continuance, what you think about the situation in general. Once we are in prison, discussion will be greatly handicapped. Won't you do it now?

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Special Xmas Offer

As we may celebrate our Christmas in Atlanta and Jefferson prisons, we want our friends to help the MOTHER EARTH BULLETIN to celebrate its Christmas in the following way: Include among your gifts, which no doubt you will give to your friends, this special Christmas offer in books:

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism: What It Really Stands For [Part 2] / Emma Goldman. – pp. 158-159 ; 36 cm. *In* The Spur [London]. –Vol. 3, no. 9 (Nov. 1917).

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Hostility to religion was indeed a part, and an important part of Carlile's work. But if it be true (as I believe it is) that very many people in advanced circles to-day think of him merely as a vigorous inconoclast against the God idea, then their thought of him is incomplete and, therefore, unworthy.

The Editor of this journal has done a good work in recent years in his attempt to rescue the body of Carlile's teaching from the shroud of a particular cause, and it is meet that some tribute should be paid to that work on this centenary.

Carlile was, then, not only a Freethinker in the narrow and special sense of that word. He was a Freethinker whose free thought ranged over the whole problem of human emancipation as it appeared in his day. It would not be technically accurate to call him a Socialist, but in spirit and in substance his ideals were, as Guy Aldred has often pointed out, those of the social revolution. The ideal of the social revolution must include many humanitarian and intellectual conceptions to the propagation of which separately, much time and attention is being given. But it is the supreme virtue of Carlile that when he saw a problem he saw it whole, saw how it involved essentially and inevitably the social, political, and religious spheres of thought and of action, and saw that a real advance must mean an advance along the whole front against the allied enemies of theological superstition, political privilege, and social injustice.

I may quote a passage from *The Republican* of January 21st, 1825, relating to Ireland in illustration of this point. Its significance is enhanced by the fact that the present situation in that country is an eloquent commentary on the far-seeing wisdom of Carlile:

> "Emancipation confined to matters of religion is not what Ireland wants. She wants emancipation from all religion, and from all external government. I hardly wish her the one without the other; for it would but raise up a new set of hungry men to prey upon her."

Continuing, Carlile wrote that what the Irish people want is

> "to be able to enjoy their produce, before they study how to improve it. They want great political lessons on government and religion. They want to be taught that all men are or ought to be equal, that priests and kings, and an aristocracy are alike, burthensome to them; and that to get rid of one, or two, without the whole trinity, will bring to them but little if any good."

Again in *The Lion*, of January 4th, 1828:

> "Were Ireland at once separated from, and independent of, the Government of England, it would possess but little of national freedom, or that kind of freedom which is made up of the socially and individually inquisitive character of man. The Roman Catholic Priests would suppress the enquiry, which they now in their humbled state profess to encourage."

I have quoted these passages because they seem to me to be charged with extraordinary point, even at this distance of time, but they are only examples of a feature of Carlile's work which could be illustrated by many quotations on many themes. That feature, the predominant feature is, as I have said, that Carlile was no sectary, riding the hobby horse of his pet remedy for the ills of mankind. He was a daring explorer of the realms of thought whose discoveries, veiled to some extent by the vocabulary of his time in which they were made known, belong to advance-guard of revolutionary propaganda. He was possessed of a thoroughness that was the equal of his courage, and of a mind not less notable than his pugnacity. He was in heart, and in purpose a revolutionary, and it is in that capacity that he should be acknowledged and honoured.

That there may be a susurration of protest against the purport of this article in certain quarters, is likely enough. But its thesis is incontrovertible. It is incontrovertible that there is an active tendency to confine the mental efforts of pioneers to limits less than those they choose for themselves; and it is incontrovertible that Richard Carlile has been a victim of that tendency.

It should be ours in such cases to remove the shrouds of particular causes, and to give to genius its place in that cause, which embraces all others that are worthy—the cause of humanity.

Anarchism

WHAT IT REALLY STANDS FOR.

(By EMMA GOLDMAN).

Unless it be the order of Warsaw after the slaughter of thousands of people, it is difficult to ascribe to Governments any capacity for order or social harmony. Order derived through submission and maintained by terror, is not much of a safe guaranty; yet that is the only "order" that Governments have ever maintained. True social harmony grows naturally out of solidarity of interest. In a society where those who always work never have anything, while those who never work enjoy everything solidarity of interests is non-existent; hence [illegible] ganised authority meets this grave situation is by extending still greater privileges to those who have already monopolised the earth, and by still further enslaving the disinherited masses. Thus the entire arsenal of Government laws, police, soldiers, the courts, legislatures, prisons—is strenuously engaged in "harmonising" the most antagonistic elements in society.

The most absurd apology for authority and law is that they serve to diminish crime. Aside from the fact that the state is itself the greatest criminal, breaking every written and natural law, stealing in the form of taxes, killing in the form of war and capital punishment, it has come to an absolute standstill in roping with crime. It has failed utterly to destroy, or even minimise the horrible scourge of its own creation. Crime is naught but misdirected energy. So long as every institution of to-day, economic, political, social and moral, conspires to misdirect human energy into wrong channels; so long as most people are out of place doing the things they hate to do, living a life they loathe to live, crime will be inevitable, and all the laws on the statutes can only increase, but never do away with, crime. What does society, as it exists to-day, know of the process of despair, the poverty, the horrors, the fearful struggle the human soul must pass on its way to crime and degradation. . . .

The deterrent influence of law on the lazy man is too absurd to merit consideration. If society were only relieved of the waste and expense of keeping a lazy class, and the equally great expense of the paraphernalia of protection, this lazy class requires, the social tables would contain an abundance for all, including even the occasional lazy individual. Besides, it is well to consider that laziness results either from special privileges, or physical and mental abnormalities. Our present insane system of production fosters both, and the most astounding phenomenon is that the people should want to work at all now. Anarchism aims to strip labour of its deadening, dulling aspect, of its gloom and compulsion. It aims to make work an instrument of joy, of strength, of colour, of real harmony, so that the poorest sort of a man should find in work both recreation and hope.

To achieve such an arrangement of life, government, with its unjust arbitrary, repressive measures, must be done away with. At best it has but imposed one single mode of life upon all, without regard to individual and social variations and needs. In destroying Government and Statutory laws, Anarchism proposes to rescue the self-respect and independence of the individual from all restraint and invasion by authority. Only in freedom can man grow to his full stature. Only in freedom will he learn to think and move, and give the very best of him. Only in freedom will he realise the true force of the social bonds which knit men together, and which are the true foundation of a normal social life.

But what about human nature? Can it be changed? And if not, will it endure under Anarchism?

Poor human nature, what horrible crimes have been committed in thy name! Every fool, from king to policeman, from the flat-headed parson to the visionless dabbler in science, presumes to speak authoritatively of human nature. The greater the mental charlatan, the more definite his insistence on the wickedness and weaknesses of human nature. Yet, how can any one speak of it to-day, with every soul in prison, with every heart fettered, wounded, and maimed?

John Burroughs has stated that experimental study of animals in captivity is absolutely useless. Their character, their habits, their appetites undergo a complete transformation when torn from their soil in field and forest. With human nature caged in a narrow space, whipped daily into submission, how can we speak of its potentialities

Freedom, expansion, opportunity, and, above all, peace and repose, alone can teach us the real dominant factors of human nature and all its wonderful possibilities.

Anarchism, then, really stands for the liberation of the human mind from the dominion of religion; the liberation of the human body from the dominion of property; liberation from the shackles and restraint of Government. Anarchism stands for a social order based on the free grouping of individuals for the purpose of producing real social wealth; an order that will guarantee to every human being free access to the earth and full enjoyment of the necessities of life, according to individual desires, tastes, and inclinations.

This is not a wild fancy or an aberration of the mind. It is the conclusion arrived at by hosts of intellectual men and women the world over; a conclusion resulting from a close and studious observation of the tendencies of modern society; individual liberty and economic equality, the twin forces for the birth of what is fine and true in man.

As to methods. Anarchism is not as some may suppose, a theory of the future to be realised through divine inspiration. It is a living force in the affairs of our life, constantly creating new conditions. The methods of Anarchism, therefore, do not comprise an ironclad program to be carried out under all circumstances. Methods must grow out of the economic needs of each place and clime, and of the intellectual and temperamental requirements of the individual. The serene, calm character of Tolstoy will wish different methods for social reconstruction than the intense, overflowing personality of a Michael Bakunin. . . . Equally so it must be apparent that the economic and political needs of Russia will dictate more drastic measures than would be necessary in England or in America.

Anarchism does not stand for military drill and [illegible] revolt, in whatever form, against everything that hinders human growth. All Anarchists agree in that, as they also agree in their opposition to the political machinery as a means of bringing about the great social change.

"All voting," says Thoreau, "is a sort of gaming, like checkers, or backgammon, a playing with right or wrong; its obligation never exceeds that of

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism: What It Really Stands For [Part 2] / Emma Goldman. – pp. 158-159 ; 36 cm. *In* The Spur [London]. – Vol. 3, no. 9 (Nov. 1917).

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expediency. Even voting for the right thing is doing nothing for it. A wise man will not leave the right to the mercy of chance, nor wish it to prevail through the power of the majority." A close examination of the machinery of politics and its achievements will bear out the logic of Thoreau.

What does the history of parliamentarism show?

Nothing but failure and defeat, not even a single reform to ameliorate the economic and social stress of the people. Laws have been passed and enactments made for the improvement and protection of labour. Thus it was proven only last year that Illinois, with the most rigid laws for mine protection, had the greatest disasters. In States where child labour laws prevail, child exploitation is at its highest, and though with us the workers enjoy full political opportunities, capitalism has reached the most brazen zenith.

Even were the workers able to have their own representatives, for which our good Socialist politicians are clamouring, what chances are there for their honesty and good faith? One has but to bear in mind the process of politics to realise that its path of good intentions is full of pitfalls: wire-pulling, intriguing, flattering, lying, cheating; in fact, chicanery of every description, whereby the political aspirant can achieve success. Added to that is a complete demoralisation of character and conviction, until nothing is left that would make one hope for anything from such a human derelict. Time and time again the people were foolish to trust, believe, and support with their last farthing aspiring politicians, only to find themselves betrayed and cheated.

(To be concluded).

Falling Leaves

(By PERCY W. HOWARD).

There is a mist over the fields and meadows, and in the early morning a touch of chill in the air. Summer has gone and Autumn is here. The last rose has faded, and the green of the trees has turned to a russet-brown. The softest of zephyr breezes stirs the branches, and the dead leaves drop with a shivering fall to the ground. What a message is conveyed in the falling of those russet-brown leaves! They whisper to me of the passing of youth—and of the coming of Death. Already, I feel the chill hand of Winter's icy blast upon me! One by one they fall, until the earth is covered with a thick, brown carpet. Poor, little, shrivelled dead leaves! Their work is done; they have gone the way of all Life. How symbolic of Humanity they are!

. . . . . .

Again the chill breeze blows, and there comes a rustling murmur from the ground beneath the trees. It seems that I hear the murmuring of many voices; there rise before my vision Ghosts of the mighty army of the Slain. I see a multitude of men, all garbed in military attire. Faces come out of the mist—faces of all nationalities and of many epochs—but they are always the faces of young men. In their eyes lurks the shadow of a great fear, and their features are drawn with pain. As they walk, they stagger with weariness, and their hands and clothes are dripping red with blood. . . . .

. . . . . .

The breeze ceases to blow, the leaves stop their rustling, and the voices and faces recede back into the mist from whence they came. Still the leaves fall one by one, but now the sun shines forth with full power and brilliancy. Deep within me I feel that thre is no death; that what I have witnessed is merely a change in external things. As surely as the trees will bloom again with the coming of Spring, so also will there emerge from out of these dark days of Pain and Suffering, a new Era where Happiness shall be the common lot of the People.

Life and Death

(By ERNEST CROSBY).

So he died for his faith. That is fine—
More than most of us do.
But say, can you add to that line
That he lived for it, too?

In his death he bore witness at last
As a martyr to truth.
Did his life do the same in the past
From the days of his youth?

It is easy to die. Men have died
For a wish or a whim—
From bravado or passion or pride.
Was it harder for him?

The Epistles

(By PETER PECKER).

At times I feel as if "our father which art," had implanted in my nature some especial concoction of hatred against grown-up people. I do not in the least feel contemptuous: I used to: but not now. That objectional characteristic, somehow or other has gone through the sieve, since I became a soldier of the king and of my country.

Whether or not I am entitled, as a child, to have pity for the grown-ups who exert so mighty, and at the same time, so feeble a power over us, I do not know; nor do I care. It just seems to me now that there is nuthing left but pity, nothing left of all the innumerable emotions that can flood our beings, but pity. But the pity is not the true undiluted stuff. It is adulterated. There are flecks of fire in it, flame-flashes that make it ghastly. Hatred lurks in it. In fact, often at nights, as I step from the dugout for a few breaths of fresh air, and I look towards the line, and see the flares making mock of the night, and the lightening-like gun flashes everywhere around us, I say to myself, my pity is like this.

The hatred in it makes it ghastly, makes it as penetratingly blinding as a gun flash, as uncanny as a flare.

The hatred is stronger to-night, than the pity, just as the gun-tongues, as I like to fancy them, are stronger than the darkness, and their voices stronger than a nest of thunderstorms. . . . Not altogether is this environment causing my resentment. The atmosphere is putrid with bad breath, and smoke from candles, and noxious with the human odour. For several weeks we have been on iron rations, bully and biscuits and stuff that is called tea, three meals per day, and spearmint by night. We would make bivvies and sleep in the open only Mr. Kamerade Fritz pushes hot stuff over here, and as none of us is inclined to be gassed, if we can possibly help it, we keep indoors at night.

Not altogether is it the desolation that surrounds us, us, nor the possibility of being knocked out at any moment by an unlucky lump of crystallised love should it happen to hit our temporary home, and tear us and it intu small pieces; nor is it that I am physically unwell.

No; I'm sorry for that fellow over there, with the grey eyes, and aristocratic face, and the gentle manners of refinement. I'm deuceedly sorry for him. He's younger than I am, in years; the age of him is so far beyond me in other respects that I cannot reckon it out.

The burden of the world's pain, thrown upon our young shoulders by thoughtless, inconsiderate, criminal grown-up people, is bearing him down.

The grey eyes are filled with heaviness. For weeks they have been over-clouded with the mist of the far-away land into which he has been gazing. Seeing nothing, imagining nothing, gradually his face has grown whiter, and become more and more pinched. He eats little. Health and optimism are the only cutlery that can be used for iron rations.

The great sickness has gathered around his heart. Hope has departed from him, taking spirit and energy and pleasure with it. He is weary; and he is not old. He is younger than I am, and I am only a child. All alone he has searched for the dawn, and has found naught but a dreary darkness that he cannot illume, nor we lighten for him.

But he is not dead. Sometimes he shivers when the shriek of a shell fills our ears as it speeds to destruction. He flings himself, cowering amidst his equipment, and he trembles and shakes, every nerve of his young body stricken by spasmodic palsy.

In our own language, modified, he has properly got the wind up. In other words, the fear of death abides in his soul; and he is younger than I am. But we, too, have experienced this feeling. To a greater or lesser extent we all have had the "wind up" properly; but it has a more poignant effect upon that young fellow's nature than it has upon ours. For him, there is nothing worth while. Brothers, sisters, parents, everything that is supposed to occupy a large portion of our emotional and pschological lives, are all negated. Love has become barren, useless and powerless. Endeavour, he might laugh at, if it were possible for him to laugh. For three weeks one though has totally engrossed his mind. He is staring death in the face; and an ugly, repulsive, hateful death too. Death walks by his side in the light, and in the darkness sleeps with him. His work is accomplished mechanically in the shadow. His path lies thro' the valley of fear. He is as lonely as truth, as friendless as justice, as self-centred as righteousness. He is one of your tragedies.

As I sit here in the candle-light, every now and then lifting my eyes from the paper to watch him, the anger keeps boling inside me. I feel as if I could, like Jesus Christ, who in the youthfulness of his revolutionary ardour, verbally chastised the grown-ups of his day, calling them whited-sepulchres, generations of vipers, and other terms that have been true at all times in their application to the

But unlike the humble Christ, I feel myself beroming desperately wicked as I watch the pain-clouds float over these eyes, and realise that I am too young, too weak, too powerless to accuse you

ness is a granary stored full to bursting wi
These people say—only experience will t
When they will not hearken to the voice
phets, then must they become students in
wherein misery and suffering and trav
masters.

Thus only can they be taught. But
are extremists, embittered by long years
the good of humanity without seeing one
arise above the dark earth of their sowi
have worked in vain: and they are dishe
the great lack of understanding you disp

They had dreamed that when the emer
you would be able to use the instructio
given you; they had hoped you would h
bered and, remembering, weighed
possibilities and actualities in the balance
before you plunged; and they had fancied
education had taken you above the
weaknesses of mob nature.

They had miscalculated the powers tha
this lowly house of justification. The r
thought, were empty. They were wron
sudden flood of hopelessness suured t
slavery—slavery of mind and body still occ
compartments. Prejudice and gullibility s
their tables to ostentation and flattery.
nic Judas still came forth from the dark
garret to kiss the fair face of the Christ of
Moral weakness crossed the corridor to
the feet of sucial corruption; and Mr.
Grundy still pussessed a whole suite of
which they lived right ruyally, majestica
ing their stolen wealth amongst their s
compatriots, and daunting their bravery i
bedimmed eyes of the cinderellas of the esta
The extremists forgot huw many were
cations for your criminal indifference. T
estimated the strength of the facturs tha
the moulds of your lives. They had for
haps, that you were still pawns in the
ternational game of chess, at which s
systems play with the lives of men for t
men.

As I sit here in this semi-gloom, tryin
together thought that *will* wander, my mi
turbed by noises of the devil rampant.
Fritz is shoving over seven seven's more rapi
the anti-aircraft are busy searching for
'plane that has already, near at ha
lightened itself uf its load of trouble.

With that pale white face and tremb
upposite me; with the rows of a n
quartet at my right, and a ruwdy sleep
left, I am vaguely wondering at the stup
consequence ut things. I can't quite figu
All this envirunment seems dreamlike.
ot falseness swamps it. It is not true.
cracked bell it rings distresslully. Sometim
I had not been taught anything at all of t
and nobler aspects of socialised life. It i
trast that overpowers the mind. Life as it
and life as it is, the easiness wherewith t
might be realised, and the difficulty of t
the simplicity ut the one and the umptee
dictions uf the other, do not lead one into
contemplative frame of mind. They upset
tend towards pessimism at one time and
ness at another.

When I look at that young chum ove
when I think of the rottenness we have
and will yet suffer, I would fain straf the g
whose negligence is responsible for it all, s
unmercifully, but. . . .

Perhaps the reason tor my inability lies
incomprehensibility. I cannot "get" you
times you seem all powerful, at other ti
seem so weak that you cannot stand upon
legs. I cannot understand how it is that y
submissive, so foolish, and so inconsistent
with the one hand, taking away with th
loving and yet sacrificing your loves to ha
honouring nobility and countenancing vice
ing for life and love and laughter and dipp
souls in an orgy of tragedy. It is a strang
queer old world this you have manufacture
We children do not like it. We do not feel
clean or wholesome in it. Too soon we
corroded; too early in life do we become c
ated. All the time we are at a disadvant
insignificant to attract the attention of g
who possess us body and soul, and spirit.
up people have yet tu change their opinions
ing us. We were brought into the w
lile surely. Must the shadows *always* f
us. Must we be taught, as the primar
of existence that the gloom of death is th
environment for the blossom and fruit of life.
thing is wrong somewhere. You are too
You do not consider us as the first propo
importance; but we are. Around our liv
the problems that assail you, all the possib
the future, and in our lives you will find sol
the difficulties that hang like gyves and
upon your own limbs. Our ill-fare is you
well-being is the fullness and ripeness of y
lives. Our future is your present salvation.
" lights out " brings the darkness.

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MOTHER EARTH

BULLETIN

VOL. I. NOVEMBER, 1917, NEW YORK NO. 2.

Miracles Do Happen

Emma Goldman

Alexander Berkman has been released from the Tombs Prison without bail. On November 10th, the second thirty-day extradition period had expired. Again our friend had to go through the farce of signing himself back into the Tombs. It was even a more painful procedure than last month, in view of the fact that the motion for bail had been denied.

The group of faithful friends who had gathered in the court room on the morning of the 10th and who were given a chance to visit Alexander Berkman, with heavy hearts saw him go back to jail. Our gloom increased when we were told two days later that there was no legal ground for bail and that we had better make up our minds that Berkman must remain in the Tombs until he is sent back to Atlanta Prison.

..Then on Tuesday, November 13th, came the marvelous news which was conveyed to our Attorney, Harry Weinberger, by the District Attorney of Albany representing California: District Attorney Fickert temporarily withdrew the request for the extradition of Alexander Berkman until the appeal in the anti-draft case is decided. Harry Weinberger immediately got on the job to get A. B. released. But the red tape of the law robbed our friend of another day. Finally, Wednesday, November 14th, at noon, Alexander Berkman walked out a free man.

What caused the miracle? Did District Attorney Fickert have a change of heart? Did he wake up to the realization that for the last eighteen months he had been engaged in a black crime against innocent human beings? Did he wish to make good by letting Berkman go free, to be followed by the release of the others? That would have indeed been a miracle of the kind that never happens.

No, Fickert is still on the job holding on to his victims who had the misfortune to fall into his clutches. But there is the Federal Commission looking into his crooked cards. There, too, is his recall staring him in the face. There is the big movement which sprung up into being to save Alexander Berkman from the fate of Mooney and the others.

Last, but not least, there is the fact that as a Federal prisoner, A. B. would not have been turned over to San Francisco so easily. Anyway, District Attorney Fickert after a heart-breaking struggle decided not to insist for the present on the extradition of his sixth victim.

Well, our Comrade is free—free to go about, free to visit his friends, free to enjoy the glorious weather we are having in New York now. But let no one be deceived as to the safety of Alexander Berkman. So long as Billings is languishing in Folsom prison with his last chance of a new trial denied, so long as the gallows is awaiting Mooney, and Rena is still in jail, so long as Weinberg is being put through the same hideous farce of a trial, and Nolan is to come next, A. B. is not safe. Our work, then, must not stop for one single moment. There is too much danger ahead.

How Wars Are Made

* * * The loud little handful—as usual—will shout for the war. The pulpit will—wearily and cautiously—object—at first; the great, big, dull bulk of the nation will rub its sleepy eyes and try to make out why there should be a war, and will say, earnestly and indignantly, "It is unjust and dishonorable, and there is no necessity for it." Then the handful will shout louder. A few fair men on the other side will argue and reason against the war with speech and pen, and at first will have a hearing and be applauded; but it will not last long; those others will outshout them, and presently the anti-war audiences will thin out and lose popularity. Before long you will see this curious thing, the speakers stoned from the platforms, and the free speech strangled by hordes of furious men who in their secret hearts are still at one with those stoned speakers—as earlier—but do not dare to say so. And now the whole nation—pulpit and all—will take up the war-cry and shout itself hoarse and mob any honest man who ventures to open his mouth; and presently such mouths will cease to open. Next the statesmen will invent cheap lies, putting the blame upon the nation that is attacked, and every man will be glad of those conscience-soothing falsities, and will diligently study them and refuse to examine any refutations of them; and thus he will by and by convince himself that the war is just, and will thank God for the better sleep he enjoys after this process of grotesque self-deception."—Mark Twain, in "The Mysterious Stranger."

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The Boylsheviki Spirit and History

Alexander Berkman

Some day the finger of history will point out the truth concerning the Boylsheviki of Russia and the tremendous significance of that movement. Nor need the time be long postponed, for the essential features of the Maximalist Revolution stand out in bold relief on the darkened horizon of Russia, all wilful and malicious press disfigurement notwithstanding.

A brief synopsis of recent Russian events may clear the view.

The dethronement of the Tsar and his clique came over night, and almost bloodlessly. The most powerful and feared autocrat of the world passed like a shadow, leaving hardly a trace of his existence. The régime of brutality and slavery had thoroughly undermined its own foundation, and the intensive revolutionary propaganda finally swept away the tottering pillars. A puff, and the whole structure was gone.

But the Constitutional Democrats, risen to power, had absolutely nothing to offer to the people. Representing the upper and middle business classes—the Russian *bourgeoisie*—the only *raison d'être* the cadets had, politically, was the protection of the interests of the landowners and commercial elements. Aside of paper constitutions and hollow "reforms" they could afford no relief to long-suffering Russia. But the people, the great proletariat of field and factory, was clamoring for the *fruit* of the Tsar's fall. It demanded Land and Well-being. The Cadets could not serve two masters, as no one can. The political representatives of Russian capitalism, they could not satisfy the need of the masses. The Cadets had to go.

The Kerensky government realized the situation. It knew that the people must have something more concrete than "Liberty" blazoned from the Winter Palace. Kerensky, the social revolutionist, began with a drastic measure—the famous Military Order No. 1, proclaiming the equality of soldiers and officers as common *tovarishchi* (comrades) of the Revolution. Differences of rank were virtually abolished, the soldier was not required to salute his officers, and the rank and file organized their own committees which chose officers for command. This endeared Kerensky to the army. It was the outward symbol of real Liberty to come, the first significant gesture of the Social Revolution. And Kerensky felt safe in the saddle.

But "gestures" alone, however revolutionary and unique, could not long still the passionate hunger for Land and Well-being. Nor could the most eloquent speeches of Kerensky and Co. The soldier-peasant took him at his word, literally, with the peasant's splendid naivity. He had real liberty this time, he was told. Liberty meant to him Land, and by the hundred thousand the soldiers dropped their guns, and went back, peaceful and happy peasants, to the land, *their* land at last.

"Why, indeed, continue to fight," the soldier-peasant argued. "It's the Tsar's war, and now we're rid of him and his brood. Let's go home, then."

He did, almost two millions of him.

Kerensky faced a profound dilemma. The people—the city workers and the peasants—demanded the immediate solution of most vital problems: the redistribution of the land, the confiscation of royal, ducal, church, etc., property, and the arrangement of economic and industrial life according to the program of the Social Revolutionary Party, the program propagated by Kerensky for many years.

Gigantic as the task was, it was neither impossible nor impracticable. The bulk of the country expected it; nay, demanded it. The people were ready for it. It was a job for a strong man. But Kerensky, the Hamlet nature, vaccillated between the Social Revolution and the middle classes. He sought to compromise with the latter by inviting Cadets into his Cabinet, and ended by compromising the Revolution.

The Boylsheviki alone have the faith and the strength of actually putting the program of the Social Revolution into operation. All the revolutionary parties of Russia have preached it—the Social Democrats and the Social Revolutionists, the Bundists, Anarchists, Syndicalists and Internationalists. The Boylsheviki are of all these parties, though mainly of the Social Revolutionists and Social Democrats. Their practical program has been repeatedly stated in the writings and speeches of Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev and other Maximalists. They are clearly formulated in a pamphlet by Lenin, published some time ago, under the title "Political Parties and the Problem of the Proletariat."

Were the American correspondents in Russia not so densely ignorant of Russian conditions, not so superficial and *bourgeois* minded, the American press would not teem

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with the infamous lies and downright forgeries masquerading as "Petrograd news." There could be no more insidious poisoning of the public mind, and conscious falsification of history, than the persistent insinuation and even direct charge that Lenin is an agent of Prussia and the Boylsheviki movement the result of German propaganda. The "special correspondents," male and female, that set afloat and propagate these poison gases will be branded by true history as the usual type of mental prostitutes so prevalent in capitalist journalism.

In the work of Lenin referred to, the demands of the Maximalists—properly the Social Democratic Labor Party, were clearly set forth. They comprised:

(a) A democratic Republic managed by the Sovieti (Councils) of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies.

(b) Convocation of the Constitutional assembly at the earliest possible time.

(c) Opposition to *all* wars waged in the interests of international commerce and exploitation.

(d) Speedy *general* peace. No indemnities and no annexation. Abolition of all secret treaties. The peoples themselves, through chosen representatives, to hold conferences and make inter-nation agreements.

(e) Return of the land to the peasant population, according to need and actual working ability.

(f) Control of industries by the proletariat.

(g) The formation of an International in all countries for the complete abolition of all monarchies and capitalism, and the establishment of international brotherhood.

The Boylsheviki are now in power in Russia. It is to be expected, of course, that all the conservative and reactionary elements will combine against them. For the program and the will to do of the Boylsheviki threaten every vested interest, every established and prosperous wrong.

Whatever the immediate outcome of the Boylsheviki revolution, the raising of the Maximalist banner is itself the greatest and grandest event of these eventful days. The unbiased and clear-sighted future historian will hail it as the most significant phase of the Russian Revolution, the most inspiring moment of our whole civilization. It is rich with the promise of a true Social Revolution, the first joyous glimpse of which shall nevermore permit the people of Russia to bow to autocracy and capitalism.

Truly has Trotsky said that the Russian Revolution is continuous, permanent, till Liberty, Land and Well-being are *in fact* the heritage of the people.

Reflections

The New York *Public* recently published a very thoughtful essay by David Starr Jordan, on "The Scheme of Pan-Germany." The Pan-German League, made up of the Junker land-holding nobility, iron manufacturers, military leaders, some intellectuals, etc., Professor Jordan correctly characterizes as the chief promoter of the World War and the chief obstacle to World Peace. In the course of the article we meet this significant passage: "The current of feeling against these 'murderers of the state' (to use the words of a German editor) rises higher and higher in Germany as throughout the civilized world. *But only the Germans themselves can suppress Pan-Germanism.*" (Italics are ours.)

Ever since the war started, we—the Anarchist internationalists—have been arguing that democracy cannot be shot into people with bullets. We are glad that Professor Jordan, and many others with him, no doubt, have at last realized this. But if only the Germans themselves can suppress Pan-Germanism, Junkerism and autocracy, where, then, is the sense of continuing the war?

* * *

They say that war means misery and pauperization, heartaches and death. But certain statistics do not seem to substantiate this notion.

For instance, in the year preceding the beginning of the war, the Steel Trust had a clear profit of the comfortable sum of about $85,000,000. But that is a mere bagatelle compared with present "earnings." The first nine months of 1917 have netted the Steel Trust, over and above all expenditures, just $380,000,000.

The Steel Trust is only *e pluribus unum*: And surely no one but a maniac would expect the profiteers to kill the goose that lays such golden eggs. No, indeed; they are too good patriots to stand for such treasonable talk.

* * *

As we go to press, the news comes of the indictment against the *Masses* group. It was to be expected that the growing reaction would not stop with the mere suppression of radical publications, but that it will also reach out for the men and women who speak through the published medium. Were

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it not for this fact, we should feel deeply sorry to have been a contributory cause to the trouble of the *Masses*.

To speak a sympathetic word for Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman is now considered a crime. But, then, almost anything that shows independent thinking and kindly feeling is criminal in our days.

* * *

Frank Little, a crippled strike leader, taken out of bed in the dead of night and lynched hy corporation gunmen in Utah, U. S. A.

President Wilson a few days later proclaims that America must crush barbarism in Prussia.

Dr. Bigelow kidnapped and whipped by vigilantes in Kentucky, U. S. A., for a speech he was about to deliver.

The President issues his Thanksgiving Proclamation, calling upon the people of America to be thankful for the privileges and liberties they enjoy.

Seventeen men—some of them members of the I. W. W.—beaten, tarred and feathered in Tulsa, Okla., and driven half-naked and bleeding into the brush.

Will Washington now issue another proclamation to carry the blessings of American civilization into Germany?

* * *

Two prisoners in the cell adjoining mine were having a heated argument.

"Bloody well you know," the Britisher was shouting, "there are things about England much superior to your country."

"T' hell you say!" the Bowery boy retorted.

"You see," the Britisher persisted, "Britain is a monarchy, and you can shame the king into decency, but a democracy has no king and no one to shame."

"Whatcher mean, you pudd'nhead?"

"You see, there is that hunger striker, Alice Paul, in jail in Washington. We in the monarchy didn't let them die. We turned them loose, and, guilty of arson, too, they were. But you people will let her croak, for nothing, too; just carried a banner. Get the point, m' boy?"

There was no reply. We could hear distinctly the muffled steps of the approaching guard.

* * *

Why does the superstition persist that we are ruled by majority will, in spite of all the facts to the contrary? To take an illustration of recent events:

Judge Hylan has been elected Mayor of New York City by about 250,000 voters. The population of the city is over five millions, but they will be ruled by a man who is the choice of only *one-twentieth* part of the inhabitants of New York. Is that majority rule?

Even if we consider only the voting population, then we will also find that the next mayor is not the choice of the majority. The total of ballots cast for Hillquit, Mitchel and Bennett was far greater than the vote in favor of Hylan.

Where, then, does "majority rule" come in? It is a myth.

* * *

Samuel Gompers knows that a concerted attack is to be made upon his "policies" at the Buffalo Convention of the American Federation of Labor. He knows and evidently fears it. His betrayal of the workers will be exposed, and his throne might be rudely shaken. But Sammy has learned something by his association with the military men on the War Board. Camouflage is a useful thing on the field of hattle—why not also in the A. F. of L. Convention?

Saving thought! Let's get the President of the United States to address the delegates and furnish a fresh luster on the tarnished Labor Czar.

Free Speech

Whoever hesitates to utter that which he thinks the highest truth, lest it should be too much in advance of the time, may reassure himself by looking at his acts from an impersonal point of view.

Let him duly realize the fact that opinion is the agency through which character adapts external arrangements to itself—that his opinion rightly forms part of this agency—is a unit of force, constituting, with other such units, the general power which works out social changes, and he will perceive that he may properly give full utterance to his innermost conviction, leaving it to produce what effect it may.

It is not for nothing that he has in him these sympathies with some principles and repugnance to others. He, with all his capacities and aspirations and beliefs, is not an accident but a product of the time. He must remember that while he is a descendant of the past he is a parent of the future, and that his thoughts are as children born to him, which he may not carelessly let die. Not as adventitiousness, therefore, will the wise man regard the faith which is in him. The highest truth he sees he will fearlessly utter.

Knowing that, let what may come of it, he is thus playing his right part in the world, knowing that if he can effect the change he aims at—well; if not—well also; though not so well.—Herbert Spencer.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Mother Earth Bulletin Vol. 1, no. 2 / Emma Goldman, *et al.* – New York : Emma Goldman, 1917 Nov. – 8 p. ; 27 × 18 cm.

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Chicago, 1887—San Francisco, 1917

Read this short chapter on two tragic events in the American labor movement, and then consider whether there is any reason to maintain that real justice has made any headway in this country. Do this in memory of August Spies, Albert Parsons, Adolf Fischer, George Engel, who died like heroes on the gallows on the 11th of November, 1887; and of Louis Lingg, who committed suicide in his cell shortly before he was to be led to his death. Also do not forget Tom Mooney, now in prison, under sentence of death, and Warren K. Billings, condemned to life imprisonment. The same sinister forces that demanded the blood of Parsons and his comrades are now at work also in San Francisco, demanding the blood of Tom and Rena Mooney, Weinberg, Billings, Nolan, and Berkman.

On May 4th, 1886, a meeting took place at the Haymarket in Chicago for the purpose of protesting against brutal police assaults upon striking workingmen and their meetings. The assembly was peaceful, and Mayor Harrison, after listening to several speakers, told Police Captain Bonfield to order his reserves to go home. Towards the close of the meeting, when Fielden was speaking, a force of about 180 policemen appeared on the scene in quick step and fighting formation. They made ready for attack, when suddenly a fiery something flew through the air, alighted amongst the police, and exploded. One policeman, E. J. Degan, was killed outright, seven died later, and about fifty received injuries. The few hundred people remaining on the square fled in all directions, pursued by the firing police.

The speakers of the meeting were arrested, except Albert Parsons, who had left Chicago. He presented himself to the court later, when the trial started and danger was near. A reign of white terror began. Labor papers were suppressed, printing plants demolished, spokesmen of the toilers imprisoned for no other reason than that they helped the workingmen to better their conditions. The big daily papers convicted the prisoners on the charge of murder before the trial had even begun.

Who threw the bomb no one knows to this day. The authorities of Chicago did not bother much about that. What they were after was the seizure, conviction and hanging of those labor agitators whom Big Business considered dangerous to its exploitation privileges. The Grand Jury on May 17th indicted August Spies, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Albert Parsons, Louis Lingg, Adolph Fischer, Geo. Engel, Neebe, Schnaubelt, and Seliger for murder. Schnaubelt could not be found and Seliger turned informer against his former comrades. About 1,000 persons were examined for the jury, of which number not half a dozen belonged to the working class. Most of the prospective jurors declared they had a prejudice against anarchists, communists, and socialists; but according to Judge Gary, who presided, that was no cause to exclude them from the jury.

Later, in an affidavit included in a motion for a new trial, it was sworn that the official bailiff, Henry Rice, had said to well-known men in Chicago that "he was managing the case and that he knew what he was about; that those fellows should hang as sure as hell, and that he was only summoning such men as jurors as would not be acceptable to the defendants."

The most important witnesses for the State were Waller, Schrader and Seliger, all former comrades of the prisoners, now turned informers from fear of the gallows or hope of gain promised them by the police. The testimony of this trio was highly suspicious and very flimsy. The police had in some cases to admit payments of moneys to the witnesses. They contradicted each other in a compromising way, and disappointed even the prosecution by their hesitation and confusion. It was clear the State could not prove that the accused had instigated or advised or even known of the bomb throwing. But they had committed a crime that was in the eyes of the rich and influential people worse than bomb throwing. They had written and spoken against the tyranny of capital and State against exploitation and suppression. That was the real issue.

On the 20th of August the eight accused men were condemned, seven of them to die on the gallows, and Oscar Neebe to be sent to the penitentiary for fifteen years. The sentence against Schwab and Fielden was commuted to life imprisonment.

In the name of the law, murder had been committed. A few years after the crime had been consummated, the Chicago *Herald*, after investigation, published some interesting data. About three hundred leading American capitalists had met secretly to plan the destruction of Anarchy. They formed themselves into The Citizens' Association, and subscribed $100,000 in a short time. A like sum, it was stated, was guar-

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anteed to the police and their agents every year, but some years later, about 1892, the payments stopped.

The wrongs and legal lynchings committed in this infamous trial against the Chicago Anarchists, the Governor of Illinois, John P. Altgelt, summed up and set forth when he made public his reasons for setting free Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe in the year 1893. In this document the mask was torn off the face of capitalistic justice, showing how pliable it is in the hands of those classes of society that accumulate power and wealth out of the labor and the misery of the masses.

* * *

If one changed the names, dates, and location one might just as well use the foregoing short account of the corrupt methods used in the Haymarket trial for the characterization of the shameful proceedings that have been carried on in the Preparedness Parade bomb case. But now the rich and influential people are better organized. Their organization in San Francisco is called the Chamber of Commerce. They did not start out with a measly $100,000 to lure on graft, bribery, and perjury. They were ready to sacrifice a whole $1,000,000 for that noble purpose. Also it may be said that the prosecution in the San Francisco cases excels the Grinnels and Bonfields of Chicago in the fine art of lying and conspiring to murder innocent workers. But these are only external dissimilarities. In principle both cases are alike. A bomb explosion, the perpetrator of which is not known, is made the excuse for murder charges against labor agitators obnoxious to Big Business, by using every form of deception and dastardly scheme to have them hanged.

But in Chicago these murderous schemes became known too late. The victims of a prostituted justice lay buried in their graves for years. It is different in San Francisco. There deception and corruption stare in the face of everyone who cares to look. The whole construction of the frame-up crumbles piece by piece, and Labor is aroused to the terrible conspiracy. The hope may be expressed that Tom and Rena Mooney, Billings and Weinberg, Nolan and Berkman may yet be torn out of the clutches of the legal murderers, to live and work with us for many years to come.

A New Interpretation of the I. W. W.

There is something of "the heroic accent of truth" in the searching analysis of the I. W. W.,—its principles, its tendencies and its relation to a war-committed social group, by Carleton H. Parker in the November issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*. When the major portion of this country is openly and tacitly encouraged by press and administration in threatening and actually carrying out their threats of violence against the I. W. W., a faithful and unbiased interpretation of the movement becomes as much an expression of courage as it is of the truth. There is nothing of the apologist in Parker, nor of the hypocrisy of that school of social thinkers who congregate about the market place in swarms, dropping their tracts and facile quotations in justification of all that is wanton and misleading and hate-inspiring.

There has been a crying need, since the I. W. W. has become a potent force in the industrial life of America, for some clarification of its position and its influence. Few lucid or even accurate explanations have been written, few forceful studies of the evolution of the I. W. W. have been hitherto granted a misinformed and curious public. The leaders of the movement themselves have never, according to Parker, seemed able to do more than inspire the heterogeneous elements in the I. W. W. through a strike period; never explain or crystallize their vision, and only meagerly have they expounded the motives of this potential force in the industrial life of America. The work remained untouched necessarily, until someone with a detached view, the approach of the impassive scientist, undertook the problem. The I. W. W. as a phenomenon, particularly characteristic of America, has at last been adequately studied.

Parker considers this organization as both a symptom of a diseased industrial body and as a genuinely American palliative for the apathy which threatens labor in this country. That the A. F. of L. has been dead for a long time did not have to be proven to him by the recent autopsy held in Buffalo.

It is Parker's contention that the I. W. W., by their eagerness for more fundamental economic knowledge, by their having thrown off all traditional illusions our edu-

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eation tries to foster in the working class. by their being no longer grateful for their slavery, have attained to the first effective form of economie resistance. As he says: "In strike alone is the I. W. W. an illuminating thing." When this lesson is learned by the laboring classes there is a chance of democracy abiding with some degree of safety in this war-debauched world.

Appeal

In November, 1916, men representing Eight Billion Dollars of Corporate wealth organized at New York City and openly announced a purpose to crush organized labor. They selected the Industrial Workers of the World as the first organization to concentrate upon. Since then the I. W. W. has been subjected to most unbelievable and inhuman, illegal violence. We have thousands of affidavits for proof. Strikers have been deported into deserts and left to die. Frank Little was murdered at Butte. Hundreds of union men thrown into sickening "Bull-pens," starved, beaten and shot. The climax is reached by the present indictment at Chicago of 166 officers, members and sympathizers of the Industrial Workers of the World, on charges of conspiracy. The lies of "German Gold" spread broadcast by the serpent press was proven false. The present charges will prove false. Yet, Labor's right to organize and to strike is in danger. As Jas. H. Maurer, President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, said in a recent address, "To-day it is the I. W. W.; to-morrow it will be the A. F. of L." The charges against the I. W. W. are industrial in character and can be turned against any labor union.

Capital counts upon clouding the issue with cries of "Treason" and accentuating the petty differences between labor groups. If Freedom of Labor,—if the Right to Organize—the Right to Strike,—means anything to you, forget these petty differences and aid those men and women now in jail, whose lives prove their faith to Labor in word and deed. They are willing to spend their lives in prison and leave their bones beneath its walls rather than see the dearest rights of Labor lost to you.

Defense is now organized and asks your help. Send funds to the undersigned. Receipts will be forwarded and itemized statement rendered at close of trials. It is a fight for life and liberty of Labor. Act now.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE.
WM. D. HAYWOOD, *Secretary-Treasurer*,
1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Inquirer: The correct spelling is: Boylsheviki, Lenin, Trotsky, tovarishch (comrade), tovarishchi (plural).

Political Prisoners Defense League of America

Through this appeal we are bringing before you the case of Herman B. and David Jay Smith, aged twenty-one and nineteen respectively, who have been sentenced to prison in San Francisco for their activities in the Socialist and Peace movements.

They were charged with conspiring to defeat the operation of the Selective Service (Draft) Act and with violating the Espionage Law. They were prosecuted by a spiteful district attorney, found guilty by a jingo business men's jury, and sentenced by a prejudiced judge.

These boys have been actively engaged in fighting the battles of the oppressed. THEY HAVE TAKEN A FIRM POSITION, as do all comrades imbued with the spirit of brotherhood. All through their trial the Class Struggle, War and Peace, and Socialism were the main issues. Both boys argued and defended their own cases, and made a clean, open fight on the issues.

The United States District Attorney repeatedly urged these boys to refrain from their agitation, and in an open meeting the answer was sent back:

"As long as there is breath left in me, a heart that continues to beat, a voice that can make itself heard, so long will that breath, that heart, and that voice uphold the principles that I hold dear. If it means a term in prison, I will gladly go to jail. If it means being lined up against a wall, I will not hesitate."

These are the sentiments of these two young comrades.

Herman B. and David J. Smith are still on the job, explaining the class struggle and their opposition to war. WE ARE DETERMINED TO KEEP THEM THERE. You must help us. WILL YOU DO IT? WE MUST RAISE Two Thousand Dollars.

The boys are dangerous to class privilege. Anything that is a menace to your enemy is a help to you. STAND BY THE BOYS THAT STOOD BY YOU AND YOUR CAUSE. Don't lay down at this critical time. Let us show our oppressors that when they put their claws on any of our comrades that we stand ready to defend them with our last cent, and if necessary, with our last drop of blood.

SEND ALL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE POLITICAL PRISONERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE, 1256 Market St., San Francisco, California.

POLITICAL PRISONERS' DEFENSE LEAGUE OF AMERICA, Robert Whitaker.

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December Tenth

December 10th will be an epoch-making day for America. On that day it will be decided whether democracy is safe in America. A number of anti-draft cases will be argued before the United States Supreme Court. Among the questions involved are the constitutionality of the Draft Law, the constitutionality of sending conscripts to Europe, as well as the question of "conspiracy," the quality of the evidence in the cases of A. B., E. G., Becker and Kramer.

As far as our own cases are concerned, we are not in the least deceived as to what the Supreme Court will decide, but we are glad to let our friend, Attorney Harry Weinberger, fight the battle for which he has prepared royally. In fact, it will be Lawyers' Day on December 10th. Seven attorneys are to argue on that day. That alone should be enough to overwhelm the Solons.

The December issue of the BULLETIN may not be out before the decision is rendered. Therefore we take this opportunity to inform our friends that arrangements have been made to continue the publication should we be compelled to enjoy the hospitality of the Federal prisons for the next two years. It is not that we are aching to be the guests of Uncle Sam, but we know how persistent the host is, once he has decided to open to us the hospitable prison doors.

We are taking no chances of another surprise party, such as was accorded us last July, when we were rushed out of New York post-haste. The invitation to Atlanta and Jefferson may reach us any moment after December 10th. It shall find us prepared.

Meanwhile, we want to hear from you, friends—how you like the BULLETIN, how you feel about its continuance, what you think about the situation in general. Once we are in prison, discussion will be greatly handicapped. Won't you do it now?

EMMA GOLDMAN.

Special Xmas Offer

As we may celebrate our Christmas in Atlanta and Jefferson prisons, we want our friends to help the MOTHER EARTH BULLETIN to celebrate its Christmas in the following way: Include among your gifts, which no doubt you will give to your friends, this special Christmas offer in books:

For $1

Modern Science and Anarchism, by Peter Kropotkin	$.25
Trial and Speeches of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman (cloth)	.75
God and The State, by Michael Bakunin	.50
	$1.50

For $2

Anarchism and Other Essays, by Emma Goldman (third new edition)	$1.00
The Poems of Oscar Wilde	.60
The Way of All Flesh, by Samuel Butler	.60
Trial and Speeches of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman (paper)	.25
	$2.45

For $3

Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist, by Alexander Berkman	$1.50
One year's subscription to the MOTHER EARTH BULLETIN, or renewal	1.00
Beyond Good and Evil, by Friedrich Nietzsche	.60
Evolution in Modern Thought, by Ernest Haeckel	.60
	$3.70

For $5

Married, by Strindberg	$.60
Poor People, by Dostoyevsky	.60
Beyond Good and Evil, by Friedrich Nietzsche	.60
Thus Spake Zarathustra, by Friedrich Nietzsche	.60
Origin and Ideals of the Modern School, by Francisco Ferrer	1.00
Anarchism and Other Essays, by Emma Goldman	1.00
Trial and Speeches of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman	.75
One year's subscription or renewal to the MOTHER EARTH BULLETIN	1.00
	$6.15

We can fill only a limited number of these offers, and would therefore ask you to send in your order at once. Make check or money order payable to Stella Comyn.

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Thus Spake Zarathustra, By Friedrich Nietzsche, (Postage 10c extra).....60

Sold by Mother Earth, 226 Lafayette Street, New York, N. Y.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Anarchism [What It really Stands For. Part 3] / Emma Goldman. – p. 164 ; 35 cm. *In* The Spur [London]. –Vol. 3, no. 10 (Dec. 1917).

Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, CA.

to a second lecture, and was rewarded by the sight of a very different kind of audience and the hearing of a very different kind of address. This time the lecturer was Comrade Cannan, as he has now the right to be called, having lately joined the I.L.P., after earning fame as a novelist.

He is a striking figure, pale-faced and high-browed, with eyes that on due occasion can blaze with passionate idealism. This typical member of the Intelligentsia was speaking to an audience representative of the rank and file of the movement, workers all, men and women, listening intently and, when the time came, criticising closely. The whole scene breathed a vastly different atmosphere from that of the Holborn Café. Here were the people who were really "up against it," people who were in contact with realities every day of their lives. And the address was correspondingly more vital, nearer the bedrock of truth, expressing a saner and more complete view of things.

The subject as advertised was "Russia Leads the Way." The lecturer delivered a passionate vindication of the Russian Revolution, from which nobody could fail to detect his hope of an International one. He foresaw, while believing that the revolution would ultimately succeed in establishing itself, that there would be a great effort on the part of German and American capitalists to gain economic control of Russia and exploit her.

Already, he said, the Trans-Siberian railway was mortgaged to American capital. Germany and America, however, would fail to fasten the shackles of Capitalism on Russia, as the traditions of the Russian people (essentially a nation of peasants who never had passed and never would pass through the Industrial Revolution), would be too strong for them. The soil of Russia would eventually be wholly transferred to the people of Russia.

Here in proof of our early contention, Mr. Cannan appeared to show a want of ability to distinguish between peasant proprietorship and Socialism.

Throughout the lecture the recognition of Capitalism as the ultimate enemy and the real war-making force was evident and clearly expressed. Behind all the talk of liberating smaller nationalities, about destroying Autocracy and crushing Militarism, lie the aims of Rhondda, Northcliffe, Bottomley, the British representatives of the sinister interests of International Capitalist Imperialism, which is ready to sacrifice millions of the young men, the hope of the world, to its greedy dreams.

Anarchism.

(Concluded)

(By EMMA GOLDMAN).

It may be claimed that men of integrity would not become corrupt in the political grinding mill. Perhaps not; but such men would be absolutely helpless to exert the slightest influence on behalf of labour, as indeed has been shown in numerous instances. The State is the economic master of the servants. Good men, if such there be, would either remain true to their political faith and lose their economic support, or they would cling to their economic master and be utterly unable to do the slightest good. The political arena leaves one no alternative, one must either be a dunce or a rogue.

The political superstition is still holding sway over the hearts and minds of the masses, but the true lovers of liberty will have no more to do with it. Instead, they believe with Stirner, that man has as much liberty as he is willing to take. Anarchism, therefore, stands for the open defiance of, and resistance to, all laws and restrictions, economic, social, and moral. . . . It is but recently that law and Government have attempted to crush the trade union movement, and condemn the exponents of man's right to organise, to prison as conspirators. Had they sought to assert their cause through begging, pleading, and compromise, trade unionism would to-day be a negligible quality. . . .

People are either not familiar with their history, or they have not yet learned that Revolution is but thought carried into action.

Anarchism, the great leaven of thought, is to-day permeating every phase of human endeavour. Science, art, literature, the drama, the effort for economic betterment, in fact every individual and social opposition to the existing order of things is illumined by the spiritual light of Anarchism. It is the philosophy of the sovereignty of the individual. It is the theory of social harmony. It is the great surging living truth that is reconstructing the world, and that will usher in the dawn.

Glasgow Anarchist Group.

Rooms: 10 Windsor Street (off New City Road).
Meetings are held every Sunday evening at 7 p.m.
Addresses for the month:—

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 2nd—
Speaker: Wm. Livingstone.
Subject: (See local paper)

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 9th
Speaker: Miss W. Barlow.
Subject: Militarism and the State."

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 16th—
Speaker: John Wilson.
Subject: "The Harmonial Philosophy."

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 23rd—
Speaker: Robert Selkirk.
Subject: "Harmony of thought and Action."

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 30th—
(See local paper).

(From VOLNEY).

What is this new prodigy? What this cruel and mysterious scourge? We are a numerous people, and we want strength. We have an excellent soil, and we are destitute of provision. We are active and laborious, and we live in indigence. We pay enormous tributes, and we are told that they are not sufficient. We are at peace without, and our persons and property are not safe within. What then is the secret enemy that devours us?"

From the midst of the concourse, some individual voices replied: "Erect a standard of distinction, and let all those who, by useful labours contribute to the support and maintainence of society, gather round it, and you will discover the enemy that preys on your vitals.

The standard being erected, the nation found itself suddenly divided into two bodies of unequal magnitude and dissimilar appearance; the one, innumerable and nearly integral, exhibited, in the general poverty of their dress, and in their meagre and sunborn faces, the marks of toil and wretchedness; the other, a pretty group, a valueless faction, presented, in their rich attire, embroidered with gold and silver, and in their sleek and ruddy complexions, the symptoms of leisure and abundance. Considering these men more attentively, I perceived that the large body was constituted of labourers, artisans, tradesmen, and every profession useful to society, and that in the lesser group there were none but priests, courtiers, public accountants, commanders of troops, in short, the civil, military, or religious agents of Government.

The two bodies being front to front assembled, and having looked with astonishment at each other, I saw the feeling of indignation and resentment spring up in the one and a sort of panic in the other: and the large said to the small body:

Why stand you apart? Are you not of our number?

"No," replied the group; "you are the people, we are a privileged class; we have laws, customs, and rights, peculiar to ourselves."

People: And what labour do you perform in the Society?

Privileged Class: We are not made to labour.

People: How then have you acquired your wealth?

Privileged Class: By taking the pains to govern you.

People: To govern us! And is this what you call governing? We toil and you enjoy: we produce, and you dissipate, wealth flows from us, and you absorb it. Privileged men, class distinct from the people, form a nation apart, and govern yourselves.

Then, deliberating on their new situation, some amongst the group said: "Let us join the people, and partake their burthens and cares, for they are men like ourselves." Others replied: "To mix with the herd would be degrading and vile; they are born to serve us, who are men of a superior race." The civil governors said: "The people are mild and naturally servile: let us speak to them in the name of the king and the law, and they will return to their duty. People the king decrees, the sovereign ordains."

People: The King cannot decree anything which the safety of the people does not demand, the sovereign cannot ordain but according to law.

Civil Governors: The law calls upon you for submission.

People: The law is the general will; and we will a new order.

Civil Governors: You are in that case rebels.

People: A nation cannot be a rebel; tyrants only are rebels.

Civil Governors: The King is on our side, and he enjoins you to submit.

People: Kings cannot be separated from the nation in which they reign, our King cannot be on your side; you have only the phantom of his countenance.

Then the military governors advanced; and they said: "The people are timorous; it is proper to threaten them; they will yield to the influence of force. Soldiers, chastise this insolent multitude!"

People: Soldiers, our blood flows in your veins! Will you strike your brothers? If the people be destroyed, who will maintain the army? . . . And the soldiers grounding their arms, said to their chiefs:

We are a part of the people; we whom you call upon to fight against them.

Then the ecclesiastical governors said: There is but one resource left. The people are superstitious: it is proper to overawe them with the names of God and Religion.

Priests: Our dear brethren our children, God has appointed us to govern you.

People: Produce the patent of his commission.

Priests: You must have faith: reason leads men into guilt.

People: And would you govern us without reason?

Priests: God is the God of peace; religion enjoins you to obey.

People: No; justice goes before peace; obedience implies a law and renders necessary the cognizance of it.

Priests: This world was intended for trial and suffering.

People: Do you then show us the example of suffering?

Priests: Would you live without Gods or Kings?

People: We abjure tyranny of every kind.

Priests: You must have mediators, persons who may act on your behalf.

People: Mediators with God, and mediators with the King! Courtiers and priests, your services are too expensive; henceforth we take our affairs into our own hands.

Then the smaller group exclaimed, "It is over with us: the multitude are enlightened." And the people replied: "You shall not be hurt: we are enlightened, and we will commit no violence. We desire nothing but our rights: resentment we cannot but feel, but we consent to pass it by: we were slaves, we might now command, but we ask only to be free, and free we are." *Ruins of Empires*

Dear Editor,

I wonder if you would let me have [illegible] mutual pal Warwick, through you.

I am more or less inclined to agree [illegible] criticism is quite sound. In fact, I ha[illegible] my brains to discover some method wh[illegible] might be realised.

But it is not an easy task. On each [illegible] way there is a bog. The least divergenc[illegible] left may lead us into the mire of the ac[illegible] the equally disastrous regimes of poetry. [illegible] wick says we seem to be in both simu[illegible] is a pity. With the first slough of despon[illegible] to do. Perhaps even more vehemently [illegible] do I hate academical statements of princ[illegible] controversy. It touses my ire and makes [illegible] not because it fails to reach the averag[illegible] because it confuses and confounds, nor [illegible] it to be hopelessly useless where we ar[illegible] because, I suppose, the mental nature of [illegible] it. It gives me indigestion.

With regard to that other bog in wh[illegible] flowers and sensitive plants, I can only [illegible] Like most people, I am a slave of co[illegible] mind; and try as I have done to esca[illegible] ment, I have failed so frequently that [illegible] the endeavour altogether. I have been [illegible] poetry than by economics. Shelley has [illegible] master to me than Marx. Naturally eno[illegible] if so we may call it, of our ideas ap[illegible] greater power than the plain, matter-of-fa[illegible] writing, or the dry-as-dust academic trea[illegible] hotly contested favouritism of this, that or [illegible] In the scheme of things there are places [illegible] of these; and I hope there is a little n[illegible] aspect, also, the outlook that sees beauti[illegible] from the debris, that can fashion from [illegible] things as they are, even little loveliness [illegible] be altogether useless in the fight.

Right truly I recognise that warfare, [illegible] tellectual or physical, permits of few d[illegible] calls for hardness, endurance, fortitude, a[illegible] virtues; and that it is of very short pa[illegible] mentalism—I am not afraid of the word. [illegible] the charm of a phrase may be its streng[illegible] poets ever been fighters?

That the person of average intelligenc[illegible] within the scope of the academic, or even [illegible] of the distinctly literary influences, is [illegible] am not so sure that we want to have [illegible] with the person of average intellect.

He is a dangerous accomplice. His l[illegible] to his tongue too often. His conse[illegible] thoroughly treacherous to progress. I [illegible] to question if the popularity gained by [illegible] level would compensate for the corre[illegible] self-respect.

After all I suppose the goal propose[illegible] merely a series of plain statements on [illegible] one facts of the case; but if he thinks [illegible] the problem he suggests, I'm afraid he [illegible] average intelligence would still be outsi[illegible] with a mixture of Bottomley and Gar[illegible] more or less representative of the practi[illegible] cal boundaries of the ordinary intellect.

Fraternally yours,
ROBE[illegible]

November, 1917.

Dear Comrade,

Your paper has been to me an i[illegible] delight. The knowledge gotten from [illegible] ception has helped us greatly, and mo[illegible] we gained from witnessing the splendid [illegible] Comrade, Guy Aldred, of what we term [illegible]

Yours earne[illegible]

September, 1917, Australia.

Dear Comrade,

Peter Pecker is great. Is he really [illegible] as though the members of the "old" g[illegible] "in the neck" all round. They se[illegible] Bradley's pet target too.

Yours f[illegible]

Bow, E.

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How often I had heard that! The refrain has rung its sharp scorn throughout the ascent of life. As a youth, I remember, my bourgeois uncle gloated over my helpless discomfiture as he thrust the eternal sword at me, "Why do you always butt in? Let those darn kids fight their own battles. You'll get nothing but blows for helping them."

At school, in the factory, in prison—everywhere sounded the old refrain. It followed me from Atlanta to the Tombs, as it followed the social protestant since Socrates emptied the cup of hemlock for his beloved Greece. With the prisoner's eagerness I tore open my first letter in jail, and I read: "Are those stupid workers really worth all your sacrifice?"

Dear friends, near and far—you, my comrades, known and unknown, you whose glorious devotion filled my dark cell with the brightest of sunshine; you, men and women, aye, and the children that worked so restlessly in my behalf; you who gave so heartily of the meager earnings of constant toil; to you all, and to the world at large and to all the disheartened ones I would fain shout in the ecstacy of the wonderful, glorious comradeship you have given me,

It is worth it! Worth it a thousand times, worth all the pain and the sacrifice of a dozen lives!

ALEXANDER BERKMAN

The Russian Revolution

Emma Goldman

Shortly after the European cataclysm swept over the world, American correspondents and magazine writers told glowing stories about the marvelous unity which existed in Russia between the people and the Tsar. They would have the world believe that the struggle of well-nigh one hundred years against Tsarism had ceased over night, to give way to perfect harmony between the Russian autocracy and the people. They told marvelous tales about the kindness and humanity of the Russian officers to soldiers who had hitherto known nothing but the knout from their superiors. They described in glowing colors how the persecuted, exploited workers, and the flogged, famished peasants, were as one with their government, imbued with one passion in the great war.

Barely three years after these shameful lies of the war unity in Russia, the Revolution swept Tsarism into the gutter, and dispelled the myth that the Russian people wanted the war, that they were eager to die in the trenches for their Batiushka. In one mighty voice the people thundered from every nook and corner of Russia for peace, for fraternization with the people of Germany and with all their oppressed and disinherited brothers. That was their reply to the wilful misrepresentations which had been sent broadcast to Western Europe and America about the unity of the people with their governing class.

To understand the Revolution one must trace its beginnings to the heroic movement which had for nearly a hundred years carried on an incessant battle against the dark forces of Russian autocracy. During that period the blood of the Russian martyrs had nurtured the seed of idealism and rebellion in the womb of the Russian soil. The hosts that had been done to death in the Peter and Paul Fortress, in Schluesselburg, in Siberia, by the knout and the scaffold, have come to life in the Russian Revolution. The message of the men and women with the white hands—the intellectuals—the Petroshevskis and Tchernishevskis, the Sofia Perovskayas and Helfmans, the Alexander Herzens, Vera Figners, Spiridonovas, Babushkas, and thousands of others, had borne fruit. Their message was: Death to tyranny, and Life to the people. Human brotherhood and social well-being was their slogan.

Through a slow and painful process, and at the expense of the best and finest of the Russian generations, this message was carried to the hearts and minds of the people, the

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On the very eve of Russia's entry into the war, she was seething with revolution. The General Strike spread like wildfire in the industrial centers. Discontent and rebellion imbued the slow peasant and rejuvenated him to aetion. It is not at all unlikely that war was weleomed by autoeracy as a check on tbe rising revolutionary tide.

Blind to the tendencies of the time, autocracy, even as all other governments, coereed the people into the war, but it was stupid to assume that they would submit very long: that they would so easily betray their martyrs who had died for universal peaee and social brotherhood, that they would forget the tortures inflicted upon them, the sufferings and horrors endured at home, and rush off, bayonet in hand, to make Germany safe for democraey.

The Russian Revolution was the culminating expression of all the aeeumulated longings of the Russian people. It was the breaking point of the hatred for the old regime, and the realization of the great dream, cherished by the people for so long. Coming from the very depths of the Russian soul and spirit, how eould anything so deep-rooted, so overpowering content itself with the overthrow of the Tsar, and his replacement by some cheap liberal regime, embodied in a Milliukof, a Lvof, or even a Kerenski.

Kerenski's regime was a compromise between politieal Soeialism and eeonomic liberalism, both eontrary to the revolution and its promise. It seems to have been Kerenski's dream to see "law and order" triumph, while leaving intact the social conditions which the revolution purported to change. Kerenski's regime played the same role as all privisional governments temporarily washed in by a revolutionary tide. From the very first day of their appearance, they proelaim the end of the revolution. They take possession of power; but power, like all gods, ean tolerate no other god beside it. Starting from this autocratic premise, the provisional government in Russia inevitably became reactionary, a new despotism, ready to strangle the revolutlon before it had made a decisive step.

The powerful revolutionary conseiousness of the Russian people eould not be stayed by the command of a renegade. The revolution would not stop because the provisional government attempted to check its march. It only struek deeper and went on in lts persistent demand. The revolution whieh managed to overeome the sge-long despotlc regime of the Tsar, was not likely to collapse beeause of the obstaeles placed ln lts way by politiclans a la Kerenskl. The Russian Revolntion has trlumphed over prisons, Slberia, and scaffolds. Pogroms have falled to slay lt. The knout, cutting deep lnto lts fiesh, hss been unable to stifle lts rplrlt. How, then, was it to be domlnated by a few upstarts of the moment?

To the Russian people the Revolutlon means a fundamental change in the political and eeonomic arrangements of life. Primarily lt means tbe confiscation of the land and the sources of production from those who had grown rich upon them while keeping the people in poverty. The Russians have begun to realize that mere political liberties are not lasting; that nothing is gained unless a fundamental change has been brought about to sustain the newly aehieved political advantages.

All preceding revolutions were in this respeet a warning and instructive example for the Russian Revolution. They never went much beyond the change of government. The people shed their blood, but reeeived as reward nothing save the old despotism hidden under a new mask of hypocritieal liberalism. How easily sueh a mask can be worn, the Russian people had ample opportunity to learn from the modern bourgeois republics of Europe and America. Yes, even easier than under a monarchy bas it proven in republics to enslave the people, mentally and physically.

The new phase, the Boylsheviki Revolution, lifts Russia out of the paralyzing position of a merely political machine into a virile, aetive eeonomie force. Verily, this new phase shows how inexbaustible the Russian Revolution is. How many times she has already been buried, and yet how many times she has arisen! Nor is it the end, but rather the beginning of the real Soeial Revolution.

The very fact that sueh an extreme Marxian as Lenin, and revolutionists like Trotsky and Kollontay can work together with the vast number of Russians who will not eontinue to shed their blood and waste their lives for the perpetuation of the world war, proves that they are actuated, not by German money, but by the inner psyehie neeessity of the Russian Revolution to proelaim the ultimatum of "Universal Peaee and the Land to the Peo ple" to the rest of the world. Great as the Lenins, the Trotskys and the others may be, they are but the pulse-beat of the people who, as Lineoln Steffens justly said, are the only heroes in Russia. They are worn and weary witb everlasting strife and bloodshed. Tbey want peaee as a means of getting back to themselves, of getting back to their land, of reconstructing their beloved Matushka Rossiya.

In the midst of the confusion and horrors of war, the Russian Revolution raises in its mighty arm the torch to illumine the horizon for all the peoples of the world. What irony that the light of real liberty and justice should emanate from a people who until very recently were considered the most primitive, uneducated and uncultured, a half-Asiatic race. Yet it is well for the Russian Revolution that her people have remained primitive. That ls why they can face life and life's problems in a slmple, unspoiled and uneorrupted state of mlnd, with true feeling and sound judgment. After all, true intelligence is primitive because it orlginates withln man. It is not brought about through external, mechanical methods of education. It ls well for the Revolution that her people are uneultured, uneducated. That means not yet drllled lnto blind obedience, lnto automata, into cringing slaves. It were desirable that the peoples of other eountrles had remalned as primltlve and unedu-

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cated. They would then have the courage for independent thinking, and the zeal of independent revolutionary action.

The demand of the people for universal peace, as the only basis for the working out of the fulfillment of the revolution, is the greatest victory of modern times, a victory which will satisfy the yearning not only of the Russian people, but of the people of the rest of the world. Out of it we must drink new hope and strength for the overthrow of the tyranny and oppression which have ruled humanity so long. Out of it must come the new hope of a brotherhood which shall put an end to war and militarism, and give to the world freedom of mind and body, freedom of life, and the joys which come from social harmony and a mutual understanding of the peoples of the earth.

At Home and Abroad

Beneath the helpless rage against the Boylsheviki, shared by the dark forces everywhere, there is noticeable a hidden sense of respect. To think that the Lenins and Trotskys demand no less than—well, everything!. And all for the people, nothing for themselves. Even that most unblushing reactionary and frank champion of capitalism, the New York Times, does not always succeed in masking its secret admiration for the daring genius of the Russian Revolution.

But the Boylsheviki must be destroyed, in spite of everything. They are a menace to privilege and exploitation, such as the world has never seen before. If the landlords are to be dispossessed and the common peasant permitted to till the soil for his own benefit, what will become of profits? And—worse yet—if capitalist paper titles should be declared mere scraps of waste, and the industrial producers given the use of their product, the very bulwarks of civilization would be destroyed.

Such things cannot be tolerated. No, not even in Russia, for the example set by those ignorant folk will inevitably have a powerful effect upon the workers of other countries.

Therefore, and quite suddenly, the editorial scribe of The Times resurrects the Internationale. He graciously admits that "that once renowned association was started from the meetings of French workingmen visiting the London exhibition in 1862." But "Internationalism is now dead. save in the United States. It was killed by the French Communists playing directly into the hands of Germany in 1871."

As a piece of subtle assassination, this editorial prostitution of history has no rival. The Paris Communards, slaughtered by the perfidity of the French government, were the only true internationalists of their day. The government of France consented even to open the gates of Paris to the Prussian enemy without, in order to crush the demand for bread and liberty within. The Communards were the unsuccessful predecessors of the triumphant Boylsheviki. No wonder that the scribes of The Times, and the class they speak for, are foaming at the mouth at the very mention of the popular demand for liberty and peace, and of the victory of the INTERNATIONALE in Russia.

* * *

The decision just handed down by the U. S. Supreme Court, in connection with the litigation of the United Mine Workers and the Virginia coal companies, will affect the American Federation of Labor in a most fundamental way.

In essence the decision says that, while unions are perfectly legal, the attempt to organize workers with the intent of a subsequent strike is "malicious and illegal," because calculated to interfere with the accustomed pursuit of business by the employer. In other words, unions are all right as long as they don't unionize.

The decision practically wipes out all organizing effort and paralyzes even defensive labor activities. For no union is of the least benefit to its members unless it can unionize the unorganized in its particular trade and thus protect itself, so far as possible, against the despotism of the employer, the reduction of wages, etc.

This is apparently the reward Mr. Gompers is receiving as the unofficial member of the President's official family. Gompers suspended the labor struggle during the war. But capital knows no armistice with labor. It rather takes full advantage of the opportunity, offered by the time-serving attitude of Gompers, to check and disorganize the labor forces to the point of complete ineffectiveness as a labor movement.

It is apparent that Gompers promises more than he can make good. He has pledged the whole labor movement, but he represents only a small part of it, and does not control even that. Strikes have multiplied since Gompers announced that the workers would not strike during the war. The explanation of it is that discontent is wide-spread among the workers with the conditions in general; besides, the whip of hunger is more compelling than the pleading or even the threats of Gompers & Co. Even drastic decisions of the highest courts are powerless to stay the rising tide.

* * *

The U. S. Supreme Court, we are informed, will not reach the appeal cases of Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Louis Kramer and Morris Becker before the middle of December. A number of similar cases, involving the constitutionality of the draft law and kindred matters are on the calendar, to be heard in the same week. Our attorney, Mr. Harry Weinberger, is in Washington, D. C., ready to present his argument. We have read the brief prepared by him for the Court, and we think it a masterly presentation of the questions at issue. It contains a thorough analysis of the various legal phases, but what appeals most to us is the broad human view taken by Mr. Weinberger in his analysis of the social values, and the fine vision that is the keynote of his argument. Of course, we are only laymen, with minds untrained in legal finesse. Therefore we may be misled into giving undue importance to matters of purely human interest, such as justice and liberty, while perhaps underestimating the more essential need of strict compliance with legal forms and precedents venerable with age.

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Beneath the helpless rage against the Boylsheviki, shared by the dark forces everywhere, there is noticcable a hidden sense of respect. To think that the Lenins and Trotskys demand no less than—well, everything!. And all for the people, nothing for themselves. Even that most unblushing reactionary and frank champion of capitalism, the New York Times, does not always succced in masking its secret admiration for the daring genius of the Russian Revolution.

But the Boylsheviki must be destroyed, in spite of everything. They are a menace to privilege and exploitation, such as the world has never seen before. If the landlords are to be dispossessed and the common peasant permitted to till the soil for his own benefit, what will become of profits? And—worse yet—if capitalist paper titles should be declared mere scraps of waste, and the industrial producers given the use of their product, the very bulwarks of civilization would be destroyed.

Such things cannot be tolerated. No, not even in Russia, for the example set by those ignorant folk will inevitably have a powerful effect upon the workers of other countries.

Therefore, and quite suddenly, the editorial scribe of The Times resurrects the Internationale. He graciously admits that "that once renowned association was started from the meetings of French workingmen visiting the London exhibition in 1862." But "Internationalism is now dead. save in the United States. It was killed by the French Communists playing directly into the hands of Germany in 1871."

As a piece of subtle assassination, thia editorial prostitution of history has no rival. The Paris Communards, slaughtered by the perfidity of the French government, were the only true internationalists of their day. The government of France consented even to open the gates of Paris to the Prussian enemy without, in order to crush the demand for bread and liberty within. The Communards were the unsuccessful predecessors of the triumphant Boylsheviki. No wonder that the scribea of The Timea, and the class they speak for, are foaming at the mouth at the very mentlon of the popular demand for liberty and peace, and of the victory of the INTERNATIONALE in Russia.

* * *

The decision just handed down by the U. S. Supreme Court, in connection with the litigation of the United Mine Workers and the Virginia coal companies, will affect the American Federation of Labor in a most fundamental way.

In essence the decision says that, while unions are perfectly legal, the attempt to organize workers with the intent of a subsequent strike is "malicious and illegal," because calculated to interfere with the accustomed pursuit of business by the employer. In other words, unions are all right as long as they don't unionize.

The decision practically wipes out all organizing effort and paralyzes even defensive labor activities. For no union is of the least bcnefit to its members unless it can unionize the unorganized in its particular trade and thus protect itself, so far as possible, against the dcspotism of the employer, the reduction of wages, etc.

This is apparently the reward Mr. Gompers is receiving as the unofficial member of the President's official family. Gompers suspended the labor struggle during the war. But capital knows no armistice with labor. It rather takes full advantage of the opportunity, offered by the time-serving attitude of Gompers, to check and disorganize the labor forces to the point of complete ineffectiveness as a labor movement.

It is apparent that Gompers promises more than he can make good. He has pledged the whole labor movement, but he represents only a small part of it, and does not control even that. Strikes have multiplied since Gompers announced that the workers would not strike during the war. The explanation of it is that discontent is wide-spread among ths workers with the conditions in general; besides, the whip of hunger is more compelling than the pleading or even the threats of Gompers & Co. Even drastic decisions of the highest courts are powerless to stay the rising tide.

* * *

The U. S. Supreme Court, we are informed, will not reach the appeal cases of Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Louis Kramer and Morris Becker before the middle of December. A number of similar cases, involving the constitutionality of the draft law and kindred matters are on the calendar, to he heard in the same week. Our attorney, Mr. Harry Weinberger, is in Washington, D. C., ready to present his argument. We have read the brief prepared by him for the Court, and we think it a masterly presentation of the questions at issue. It contains a thorough analysis of the various legal phases, but what appeals most to us is the broad human view taken by Mr. Weinberger in his analysia of the social values, and the fine vision that is the keynote of hls argument. Of course, we are only laymen, with minds untrained in legal finesse. Therefore we may be misled into giving undue importance to matters of purely human interest, auch aa justice and liberty, while perhaps underestimating the more essential need of atrict compliance with legal forms and precedents venerable with age.

* * *

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Every day almost our friends inquire about the outcome of the appeal in the Cleveland case of Ben Reitman. It was surely not lack of interest which has prevented our writing more often about the matter. It is only that anything connected with Birth Control now seems too insignificant compared with the world conflagration that is devouring human life and spreading disaster everywhere.

We had been assured by Ben's attorney that his appeal would not be heard before Spring. Two weeks ago the case was suddenly called in the Appellate Court of the State of Ohio. To quote from Ben's letter, written after the hearing:

> "The hearing lasted forty-five minutes. My attorneys, Mr. Ewing and Mr. Eisler, had just started to go into the testimony when one of the Judges announced that 'time is up.' Hostility was apparent from the start."

In other words, our friend having looked into the faces of the judges, seems less hopeful than when he consented to the appeal. It is very likely that a new trial before a judge less antiquated than Judge Cull may result in an acquittal. But even if he were convicted, the sentence would not be so excessive as the present one of six months and one thousand dollars' fine. The attorneys are working very hard for a new trial, but nothing definite will be known until the middle of January.

Whatever the outcome, Ben Reitman will meet it bravely. With his usual Christian faith he writes: "Fate will not permit her chosen ones to reform. Those of us who had any inclination to leave the revolutionary movement know now that the Gods will not permit them."

Not being a Christian, I am not so sure of the intentions of Fate. But this I know: The Courts seem determined to hide from sight every disturbing element, especially in these truly democratic times.

* * *

Things in this country are really coming to a terrible pass. Not enough that the anti-militarists, anarchists, I. W. W. and other disloyalists are worrying the government with their inconsiderate and ill-timed talk of such petty matters as high profits, low wages, forced service, soap-boxing and similar stuff, not to speak of the stubborn strikers who hold up government work because, forsooth! their wives won't Hooverize on coal and eats—as if all that were not enough to try the patience of an angel—now come the cops of Philadelphia, and declare a strike!

Unheard of! The very men whose business it is to break up assemblies and club strikers into submission, themselves on a strike! When the very guardians of Law and Order begin to act like I. W. W., things may become very serious. Have they caught the spirit of the rabble and are they going to desert the masters? It is ominoua. Perhaps, even, they may fraternize with strikers and pickets! Who knows? They may have been reading of those cursed Workers' and Soldiers' Councils in mad Russia. Perhaps the papers had better not write more about those terrible things. They are catching.

* * *

An illuminating sidelight on the alleged even-handedness of Justice is thrown by two incidents of recent occurrence.

A workman and strike leader, Frank Little, member of the I. W. W., is forcibly dragged from his bed at night and lynched by a patriotic mob. The press of the country comments cynically on the infamous deed, practically condones the outrage, and openly gloats over the salutary effect the murder will have on the friends and sympathizers of the strike leader.

No one is punished; indeed, no attempt is made by the authorities to discover the masked, but virtually known, vigilantes. Vice-President Marshall, returning from his Western trip, indulges in the cheap and atrocious pun that "a Little hanging goes a long way" in stabilizing industrial conditions.

Then a bomb, discovered by some passerby near a church in Milwaukee, and carelessly handled in the police station, suddenly explodes, claiming a number of police victims. Immediately every persona non grata to the police is arrested in the city, and a veritable man hunt for "Italian dynamiters and Anarchists" started throughout the country. Men by the score are thrown into jail, without rime or reason, and persons are arrested in other cities who by no stretch of the imagination could have any possible connection with the explosion. But the net is spread, the innocent and guilty look alike in police eyes, vengeance is a-thirst, and victims must be found, so the country will feel properly saved.

Indeed, Justice is blind. It neither sees nor seems to care, so long as the weak are the victims.

* * *

Thirteen Negro soldiers have been hsnged by the military authorities in Texas. Not a word had been said about the trial, the evidence—not a line, until thirteen human bodies were stiff in death, dangling at the end of a rope, and forty-one others immured in prison for life.

This is the first time in this country, since the Mexican war of 1848, that such a thing has been possible—under cover of journalistic silence. Not even the terrible Civil War produced such horrors. One wonders what this universal birth of democracy is yet to produce.

ANARCHISM—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

* * *

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM — Voluntary economic co-operation of all towards the needs of each. A social arrangement based on the principle: To each according to his needs; from each according to his ability.

* * *

DIRECT ACTION—Conscious individual or collective effort to protest agsinst, or remedy, social conditions through the systematic assertion of the economic power of the workers.

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More of the Frame-Up

Alexander Berkman

The frightfulness and corruption involved in the San Francisco labor cases pass all belief. Every day, almost, brings new disclosures of the devilish plot to hang the militant labor men now on trial in California. The latest development is the sworn confession of Mrs. Allie Kidwell, now in the hands of the Federal Investigation Commission, that District Attorney Fickert forced her to perjure herself, with the threat of exposing her past life and that of her daughter, Estelle Smith, the chief witness of the prosecution. Mrs. Kidwell now reveals that her testimony before the Grand Jury was false in every particular; that she had never seen Mooney, Billings or Weinberg till they were pointed out to her in the jail; that her identification of them was staged by the police, and that she and her daughter were promised payment for their part in the conspiracy.

The "honest cattleman," Oxman, "Dopey" McDonald, the ex-crook Crowley, the two Edeau women, and Estelle Smith—all important witnesses in the frame-up—have long ago been exposed as bribed perjurers. The Kidwell confession merely completes the rotten circle, and stamps the whole case as the most stupendous conspiracy against labor men ever hatched in this country. Indeed, there are only two other instances, of international renown, besides the foul murder of the Chicago Anarchists, that are comparable to the San Francisco cabal: the case of Dreifus in France, and that of Beiliss in Russia. Both of these men, victims of race prejudice and persecution, were ultimately exonerated by the power of awakened public sentiment. Is there a sufficient sense of justice in America, in these days of universal war," to liberate the victims of the industrial strife?

The acquittal of Israel Weinberg was a rude jolt to Prosecutor Fickert. The blow was the more painful because the jury, with the passionate demand of the prosecutor for the blood of Weinberg still ringing in their ears, unanimously agreed on the acquittal of Weinberg WITHIN THREE MINUTES. They congratulated each other, smoked a cigar, and announced their verdict to the Court in less than 25 minutes after they had retired to consider the "evidence."

As a matter of fact, the perjured witnesses of the Billings and Mooney trials having been discredited, no evidence was forthcoming against Weinberg. The whole case fell to pieces at the first touch of the critical hand. No wonder the prosecution spent all of its time in bitter invective and denunciation of the "enemies of the country," pleading with the jury to wreak their patriotism on Weinberg. But the citizens of San Francisco seem to be sick of this kind of camouflage: they refused to save the country of Fickert and of his Chamber of Commerce masters by sending an innocent man to the gallows.

The Fickert beast, however, shows no signs of letting up. Whomever the gods want to destroy, they first make mad. The labor crushers of San Francisco are going right ahead with their program. They have announced that Ed Nolan is to be put on trial shortly. And Weinberg and Rena Mooney are still in jail, Judge Dunne refusing to permit them bail, in spite of their acquittal

The backbone of the Frame-up is broken. But the claws of the vampire are tenacious, and it will require a stiff and long fight before the beast is forced to give up its prey. As the case stands now, Billings is in the penitentiary at Represa, Cal., serving a life sentence; Tom Mooney is sentenced to hang; Rena Mooney and Israel Weinberg have been acquitted, but the prosecution threatens to try them again, and again, if necessary, on nine charges of murder; the demand for extradition of Alexander Berkman has been withdrawn, but ONLY TEMPORARILY and subject to renewal; Ed Nolan is to be placed on trial in the near future.

This means that the fight is by no means won or ended. Eternal vigilance, continued agitation and efforts are necessary to save our friends from the Chamber of Commerce hangmen.

The fate of our San Francisco prisoners also depends, to a large degree, on the result of the recall movement instituted against Fickert.

The special election, which is to take place on the 18th inst., will decide whether the voters of San Francisco approve of his methods and want him to remain in office. If Fickert is recalled, the citizens will have voiced their protest against perjury, bribery and the framing of labor men. Some means will then have to be devised of liberating Mooney and Billings. The report of the Federal investigators, if it will expose the frame-up, will considerably help in this matter. But if the dark forces of San Francisco succeed in re-electing Fickert as District Attorney, the people will have to do more than pass resolutions if the lives of Mooney et al. are to be saved. The decent citizenship of San Francisco is opposed to Fickert and his infamous procedure. But the denizens of the underworld, including the Chamber of Commerce and Roosevelt, are very active. At Fickert's request, Roosevelt wired him "full support in his patriotic fight against disloyalists." As usual, patriotism is the last resort of the Fickerts. Roosevelt, when his own friends informed him of the true situation in San Francisco, and asked him to withdraw his misinformed statement and pledge to support Fickert, refused to do so.

The reactionary forces have pooled their strength in San Francisco as the allies of Fickert, filth and frame-ups. They are determined to crush labor on the Pacific Coast. But Labor will have the last word, ultimately.

A Woman Martyr

German frightfulness and a sincere desire to make the world safe for democracy have forced us into the European brawl. Washington says so, the press says so, the pulpit says so, and the man in the street is beginning to say so. Whether it is really true, no one can or dare discuss. No matter what people think, they

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are obeying the law and are keeping their mouths shut.

The most astounding thing is how thoae who point to German frightfulness, and who sincerely feel called upon by Providence to make the world safe for democracy, can reconcile their high motives in the war with the frightfulness at home. To be sure, President Wilson in his Buffalo speech before his faithful brother workers did protest against the frightfulness of lynching, whipping, etc., but he had in mind lawless frightfulness. What about the perfectly lawful frightfulness occuring in every court and committed by numerous judges? What about them?

In Iowa a man who dared to exercise his democratic right to disagree, D. Wallace, was given twenty years in prison. And now comea a judge in Seattle who goes his Iowa colleague one better in loyalty. He haa sentenced a woman to forty-five years for opposing conscription. The name of this judge is Neterer; that of hia victim, Louise Olivereau. We quote from a letter from our friend, Minnie Rimer, of Seattle:

> "I have just come from the courtroom, where I heard the judge pass the 'merciful' sentence upon Louise Olivereau, sending her to the state prison at Canyon City, Colo. She was convicted on six counts. The judge gave her ten years on each of three counts, and five years each on the other three. Then he said he was being lenient and was passing sentence in the name of liberty and justice. He told her that she declared herself an Anarchist and that the Anarchist was against organized society, and therefore dangerous to the country and the flag, which stood for liberty and justice. He added, however, that Anarchism was not the issue.
>
> "Louise conducted her own case and did it magnificently. She took her sentence bravely and quietly. I am trying to get enough money together to get the Court transcript of Louise's case. It is mighty good stuff."

What have the hatera of German frightfulness and the lovers of democracy for the world to say to this barbarous frightfulness at home? And what have the radicals to say? Will they content themselves with lobbying in Washington while Louise Olivereau wastes her young life in Canyon City prison? Or will they rally to her support, help with the appeal. arouse public interest to make a reversal ol the "lenient" sentence possible? Write to Minnie Rimer, 516 Third Avenue, West Seattle, Wash., at once. Send money for the appeal.

The I. W. W.

The lack of understanding for fundamentals on the part of most American wrltera ls quite amazing. It does not matter whether lt ls drama, fiction, or the ordinary newspaper artlcle wherein social aspects are portrayed: always one ls impressed wlth the superficlallty of the approach, and wlth the lnabillty to bring the matter to a logical conclusion. It must be that these wrlters feel ln relation to the great problems of our eocial complexes, like the tired business man on a visit to Greenwich Village. They bring to it the spirit of slumming, the desire for some ticklish aensation. They go from cafe to cafe, but get no further than the stuffy air, the pretense, the gaudy display. The struggling, starving, aspiring artist and that which makea life tragic to him, the slummer never seea.

Our writera are in the same position. They touch the social problems only on the surface. Occasionally they may mean to dig deep into the very foundations of it all, but before very long they grow bewildered by the wealth of material—or is it that they dare not face it?

The New York Evening Post sent its representative, Mr. Robert W. Bruere, to Arizona to investigate the so-called I. W. W. troubles which resulted in the brutal deportation of hundreds of workers. Mr. Bruere, by the way, is a very ahle investigator and has written a series of brilliant reports which ought to be read by everyone. To those of us who have gone through the horrors of San Diego, in 1910, there ia nothing very startling in the methods employed by the hirelings of the copper magnates in Arizona. Beating and deporting the I. W. W., or those suspected of being such, has been done so often, it has become almost a daily sport for the respectable mob all through the country.

Mr. Bruere may be forgiven for indulging in the commonplace error of calling the criminal practices of the propertied class "anarchy," but when he winds up hia able report with the following superficial conclusion, he showa either lack of understanding or lack of conrage to face fundamental social facts:

> Thus are "Wobblies" made, and thus are their evangelists scattered, like the seed of the thistle, broadcast throughout the country. Victims of lawlessness, they disparage the law of collective agreements; their strikes broken hy violence, the preach sabotage—the furtive strike on the job.

No, Mr. Bruere, it is not lawlessness which brought the I. W. W. into being. It is the conservatism, the snobocracy, the ineffectiveness of the American Federation of Labor and the corrupt methods of its leaders, which made the I. W. W.—the conservatlsm whlch persists that there is something in common between the lamb and tbe wolf; the snobocracy, which looks down upon unskilled labor as something less that the poor dependent dub who makes $2.50 a day; the inadequacy which automatically excludes large groups of workers because of its exhorbitant initiation fees and dues; and finally, the corruption of the leaders who betray the workers for money, power, or because of cowardice, as the occasion may require.

That, and certain economlc factors, foremost among them, the realizatlon that eraft unionism has outlived its time and purpoae, have created the I. W. W. And what la more, they have eome to stay, deportatlon, whlpplng, lynching and imprisonment notwithstanding.

We are not in agreement wlth the theoretlc reasonlng of the I. W. W., but we reallze that thete hounded, persecuted, outraged and mlsunderstood people represent the worth-whlle revolutlonary splrit ln the desert of the organlzed labor of America. That is why the I. W. W. are eo hated and feared.

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Crimes of Charity

A Book Review By Leonard D. Abbott

Even in time of war, stress, struggle and persecution, a careful perusal of Konrad Bercovici's "Crimes of Charity"* is worth while. The book indicts organized charity in New York. John Reed, in an introduction, calls it "a sort of epic of our City of Dreadful Day." It is warm, throbbing, and carries on every page evidences of the author's fierce indignation against oppressors of the poor and helpless. The stench of slums, the sorbid life of tenements, the pitiful struggle of weak men and women to keep their heads above the waters of the industrial whirlpool, have all gone into the making of this remarkable book. Bercovici speaks with admiration of Marguerite Audoux's "Marie-Claire," and he quotes Charles Lamb's classic description of the blind beggars of London. His own writing has something of their sincerity and simplicity.

A "nutty scribbler" the children of the streets called Bercovici when they saw him making notes of his experiences. An "anarchist" is the accurate designation that some of his associates gave him. It seems that Bercovici was employed for a time as an investigator for a charitable institution in New York. He hoped, at the beginning, that he could really do some good. He was soon disillusioned. He saw the system from the inside. And he vowed that he would tell the world what he saw. The report that he makes is an apalling indictment of organizations that set out, ostensibly, to help the poor and that have ended by battening on them.

Bercovici's arraignment is two-fold. He attacks, first of all, the andministration of Organized Charity and declares that it is rotten through and through. He attacks, in the second place, the contributors to Organized Charity, and points out that capitalists affiliate themselves with charitable institutions because they recognize that Organized Charity gives them indispensable help as slave-drivers.

The charity organizations, as at present carried on, depend upon an elaborate system of "investigations." The "investigators" are all women, and their work consists in probing into the private lives of applicants for relief. Bercovici thinks it almost impossible for investigators to remain human beings. The milk of human kindness is squeezed out of them by their daily experiences. They have to make a living, like the poor wretches that come to them for assistance. The one unforgivable sin is to be "too tender-hearted."

Investigation, as it works out in practice, means a denial of all privacy. The sancity of the home is destroyed. "It is," says Bercovici, "as though the family were living in some one else's—in the charities' — home. The investigator comes into the house unannounced any time of the day or night, questions anybody she finds in the house, criticizes the meals, the curtains; goes around to the grocery, to the neighbors, looking for a 'clue' that will give to the institution the right to cease helping the particular 'case,' to 'cut her' as they say." No wonder that this system has created a class of professional paupers who meet inhumanity from above by deception and wiles from below.

The motives of those who contribute to the support of Organized Charity tend to become equally inhuman and machine-like. Bercovici tells of manufacturers who affix to the outside of their office-doors signs carrying the words, "Members of the Organized Charities," simply because it saves them trouble and serves to drive away the hungry and needy. In many cases, Bercovici charges, the emploment bureau of a charity institution is little better than a strike-breaking agency. When he protested against the sending of men to a factory in time of strike, he was told, quite frankly, that charitable institutions were supported by the rich and not by the poor.

Bercovici finally became almost frantic at the injustices and inhumanities that he saw about him. He says that they drove him to drink. Where the finest discrimination and delicacy, the warmest sympathy, were called for, he found the dullest stupidity and cruelty. He saw the office boy in the charity office spit in the face of applicants for relief and he determined to get even with him. "I got hold of him, boxed his ears soundly, and before any one had time to interfere I had turned up his head and spat upon him full in the face. It was a disgusting act, but a sweet revenge. I did it, then called out, 'Feel how it tastes—you do it to every one.'" Needless to say, Bercovici himself was soon expelled from the office.

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The note of indignation is what gives the book its tone. Bercovici feels as a humane, warm-hearted man ought to feel in presence of frailty and suffering. He sets before us picture after picture. We recognize the quality of different nationalities. We see what Poverty actually means to helpless women and to little children.

In the eyes of Organized Charity, Poverty is a crime, to be punished; but after reading this book it is easy to understand that the real crime is not Poverty, but Organized Charity.

A Letter

Maurice Frucht

This letter was refused publication by the Ann Arbor *Times News*. It was written after the school board adopted the following resolution:

> "Resolved, That in view of the fact that certain of the Ann Arbor high school students are now in jail for refusal to obey the registration laws of the United States that the board of education direct that all credits and recommendations be withheld in their respective classes, until all disability is removed and the laws of the land are complied with by said students,"

which was aimed against Mr. Elwood B. Moore, a student of the Ann Arbor High School, who refused to register on June 5th for the selective draft because he felt that this was the most vigorous method of voicing his objections to conscription.

Editor the Ann Arbor *Times News*

Dear Sir:

The action of the school board, at its last meeting, in adopting the resolution "to withhold all credits and recommendations" of Mr. Moore "until all disability is removed," reminded me of an incident that occurred to me when I was but a boy. Of course, it did not happen in America. It happened while I was still in "darkest Russia."

I was brought up in a little town near the border of Russia and Germany, where no person, according to law, was allowed to leave his house without carrying with him his "border passport." Otherwise he was subject to arrest.

So it happened that one Sunday afternoon, as I was strolling along the border, and not having my passport with me for identification, I was arrested and brought to the Shtab (*i. e.*, the Captain). The Captain, on discovering my nationality, decided to inflict upon me the most horrible punishment he could inflict upon a Jew, *i. e.*, to force a piece of pork into my mouth. I was but nine years old then. Of course I resisted, but he nevertheless succeeded in his idiotic aim. I cried. I thought the world would come to an end because I had committed such an outrageous crime as *eating pork*. My tears, I imagine, irritated the Captain, and suddenly he burst out: "If you don't eat pork, get out of this land!" I was quite dumbfounded for a minute or so. For indirectly he revealed to me a new idea, that perhaps there was some place in the world where people were not forced to eat pork against their will. Of course I obeyed him and got out of the land. But if I shall ever return to Russia I shall certainly look up that Captain and treat him with a good pork dinner, so as to show him my gratitude for sending me out into the wide, wide world. That Captain, I must confess, though unintentionally, did me a great deal of good. He opened my eyes to life.

As time went on, America became the object of my dreams. I pictured it to myself as the embodiment, the symbol of justice and equality. Very well do I remember the keen feeling that pervaded my being before I left Europe, and the expression I gave to it in a letter to one of my friends before departure, in which I said, " . . . there I go to build my future, to work and to learn. There, on the American soil, on the soil where mobs do not butcher women and infants because of religious differences, where they do not degrade human beings to the level of animals, where they do not oppress and persecute, where the gates of knowledge and truth are open to everyone, where a person may think for himself and follow his own conscience . . . there I want to build my future, there I want to spend my years and energies, there I want to live and help the world move on."

To be concluded.

BY ALEXANDER BERKMAN

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MOTHER EARTH

BULLETIN

VOL. I. JANUARY, 1918, NEW YORK NO. 4.

Farewell, Friends and Comrades!

The Supreme Court of the United States has spoken. Rest in peace, dear Fatherland! Firm stands the guard—at Washington.

The draft law has been declared constitutional. The good citizen need worry no more about the justice of forced military service: it is constitutional. Involuntary servitude should give the free sovereign no more anxiety: it is constitutional and democratic. The humanity of forcing men to bear arms in violation of their conscience may not be questioned any more: it is constitutional, it is democratic, it is final.

The highest judicial tribunal of the United States has sustained the verdicts of the lower courts of the various states, EN MASSE. Without wasting its time on facts or arguments, the United States Supreme Court has decided, virtually, that the government has the right to do anything it pleases, and that there is no more to be said about it.

The decision also upholds the so-called conspiracy cases appealed from New York, Ohio, and other States, and affirms the sentences of Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Morris Becker and Louis Kramer, convicted in New York for anti-draft agitation.

The action of the Court does not surprise us. We expected it. But we cannot refrain from expressing the pain we have felt at the limited social vision of the well-meaning friends who were so naively hopeful of legal justice, in spite of the all-too-numerous lessons to the contrary.

Be of good cheer, good friends and comrades. We are going to prison with light hearts. To us it is more satisfactory to stay behind prison bars than to remain MUZZLED in freedom. Our spirit will not be daunted, nor our will broken. We will return to our work in due time.

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The BULLETIN will continue, with your help, even in our absence. It will have a thorny path, but we know we may depend on your interest and co-operation as generously and faithfully as you have helped in the past. By means of the BULLETIN we shall keep in touch with you, while we are in retirement, and you shall hear the voices that cannot be stifled by stone walls.

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The Trotsky Idea

Alexander Berkman

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All of a sudden the tune has changed. Quite unblushingly the New York Times, heretofore foaming at the mouth at the very mention of the Boylsheviki, now writes: "The reactionary press (in England) has misrepresented Trotsky as an agent of Germany." It would be rather interesting to know what peculiar kind of journalism the ultra chauvinist Times regards as reactionary.

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later. Tostalin was slightly wounded in the shoulder.

In the general shooting several policemen were slightly injured. The usual hysterical arrests and round-up of Italians began. Anyone who could not prove good standing or respectable connections were dragged off to jail, among them the young wife of one of the men, Mary Nardini, the mother of a five-year-old child. The club rooms were raided and "dangerous" evidence, consisting of pictures of Karl Marx and Peter Kropotkin, as well as Anarchist and Socialist literature, was confiscated. Then, after a process of elimination, eleven Italians, ten men and one woman, were held as the originators of the police riot. Though charged with the shooting, the defendants were really tried and convicted for the bomb explosion that happened long after they were arrested and while they were in jail. Witnesses for the defense were arrested and terrorized, so that of fifty witnesses only six dared appear at the trial. We quote from the statement of the attorney of the prisoners:

> "On November 24th Miss Richter, the Evangelist's chief aide, was supposed to find a bomb beneath the Evangelical Church. She got some member of the choir of that church to deliver the bomb to the police station. The bomb was supposed to have been under the church for several days. At the time this bomb was delivered to the police station, the Evangelical minister was out of the city. The bomb exploded in the police station, killing eleven persons and injuring others. At once the bomb explosion was associated with these defendants, the most preposterous thing in the world, because the defendants and their friends would be the last ones to place a bomb or to do anything of that kind on the eve of their trial, for nothing would prejudice more their chance of acquittal than anything of that kind.
>
> "I never spoke to these defendants except through an interpreter and never without a stenographer being present. The first time I spoke to them was in jail and after that I never saw them nor spoke to them except through an interpreter in the courtroom. The whole matter was investigated and the story above was fully corroborated. The defendants were forced to go to trial on the very morrow of the burial of these eleven people, with prejudice and feeling running high. Although we believe that we were entitled to nine challenges, we were only allowed four, and out of 37 men examined, over half were excused because of prejudice, and some of the men were made to qualify on the jury who had little education and fitness to sit in judgment upon a case that involved understanding and reading and scanning and perusing matters of historical and economic significance and importance.
>
> "Captain Sullivan, a very efficient and honorable officer, told me that he would be willing to let the whole bunch go free if the perpetrator of that bomb could be found; he believing honestly that the defendants were associated with that bomb throwing; I believing honestly that neither these defendants nor their associates had anything to do with the bomb whatever. There are many who believe that the bomb was placed by a friend of the Evangelist, some believe it was placed by an alien enemy, and others attribute it to a German. I make no personal comment on these statements.
>
> "The tragedy, which otherwise might have been the joke of the whole trial, was that W. C. Zabel, the Socialist prosecutor, permitted himself and his assistants to misinterpret philosophic and economic excerpts from some of the master works of the world into criminal, anarchistic doctrines and make Karl Marx and the red flag the objects of his vituperous attacks."

After the farce of a trial, the jury was out seventeen minutes, returning a verdict of guilty. Then the Socialist Prosecuting Attorney, W. C. Zabel, delivered himself of a wild patriotic harangue that Milwaukee must be rid of the murderous Anarchists and undesirables, and suggested a vote of thanks to the instigator of the whole terrible business, Rev. Guiliani.

The ten men and Mary Baldini were given 25 years each, and the State appropriated Mary's five-year-old child, although her people are anxious and well able to take care of the child.

It goes without saying that such a terrible crime cannot go unchallenged. Already an International Defense League has been organized in Chicago to begin a campaign of publicity so that the people may learn of this latest outrage in Milwaukee. For that and the appeal money is most urgently needed.

Send all communications and funds to William Judin, 1006 S. Ashland Blvd., care of Workers' Institute, Chicago, Ill. Arrange meetings! Bring the matter to the attention of people! The eleven unfortunate victims of Milwaukee must be saved!

In the Trenches

In the Federal Court of Kansas City, Mo., nine people have been convicted, on December 6, for alleged conspiracy against the Draft Act. Judge Van Valkenburg gave all but one of them the maximum penitentiary sentence of two years and also fined each of the nine $1,000. The one woman in the case, Lenora Warneson, mother of a babe of four months, he did not send to the "pen," solely because "this court does not want to set the precedent of sending babies to jail." The defendants are going to appeal and have retained Redmond S. Brennan of the firm of Frank P. Walsh; he states that there is sufficient reversible error in the record to make the case worth contesting.

The nine people are: Lenora Warneson, known throughout the country as a staunch anti-militarist school teacher; Raymond I. Moore, Secretary International Radical Club and former Socialist candidate; Earl R. Browder; William E. Browder; Edward W. Eagan; Harry I. Doile, and Elea Luboshey. All but the last two are militant trade unionists, the first five being members of the Office Workers' Union, Egan of the Iron and Tin Workers' Union, and Doile of the Typographical Union.

After war was declared, in the absence of a war-time program of the A. U. A. M., this group (except Doile and Luboshey, who were

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skys, and help them to appreciate the true character of the Russian revolution.

Trotsky—for the time being personifying the spirit of revolutionary Russia—has in two short months done more for peace and humanity than all the diplomats and politicians of the combined governments of the world. He has torn the mask off diplomacy, and shown to the world that diplomacy itself is one of the chief causes of the war. He proved that revolutionary consciousness and frankness of purpose is a veritable David to the diplomatic Goliath. The undiplomatic honesty of Trotsky has wiped diplomacy off the map. There is a grave menace to ALL government in such smashing of the sacrosanct.

By far the greatest significanee of Trotsky is the effect of his peace negotiations on the German people themselves. He has done more to discredit Prussian junkerism in Germany than all the military activities of the allies. Moreover, it is only too evident that the German government is more afraid of the Trotsky propaganda among German forces than of Allied artillery. Prussian militarists know that revolutionary IDEAS are more fatal to autocracy than the armed legions of the Entente. That is the true reason why Germany is loath to continue the peace parleys with Russia.

The world diplomats have entirely missed the mark. They fear a separate peace between Russia and Germany. Yet a separate peace may prove the undoing of Kaisertum. A general peace, on the contrary, will enable Prussian militarism, with the aid of its armies, to hold its own against an uprising at home. But with the necessity of keeping up the war against the Allies, a separate peace with Russia would prove a terrible menace to German militarism at home.

The original idea of Trotsky was a GENERAL peace, with the initiative taken by Russia. But the Allies failing to join in his efforts, he may work for a separate peace—a proletarian peace—fully aware of the moral debacle it involves for Prussian autocracy and militarism.

The Great Hope

Emma Goldman

The attitude of dense ignorance and stupidity toward the most gigantic event since the French Revolution, the Boylsheviki movement in Russia, is not typically American. All great movements have met with the same fate in every land, since stupidity and ignorance have never been the monopoly of any particular country.

The Boylsheviki, like all revolutionary movements, have faced three characteristic stages. First, calumny, misrepresentation, hatred, opposition, and persecution. After that came ridicule, scoffing, and cheap deriding of the movement. Finally, in the third stage, recognition—though stinted and grudging.

It took the great movements of the past more than a century to pass these varying stages, and that at the expense of untold suffering and sacrifice. The Boylsheviki have swept on and all but reached the third stage in just a few months. That itself is the most striking proof of how thoroughly the Russian soil was fertilized by the blood of her great martyrs since 1825. The Boylsheviki merely voice the inarticulate Russian people who, oppressed and supressed for centuries, have not yet acquired the power of speech.

Yes, the Boylsheviki are beginning to be recognized. In fact they have struck like lightning into the hearts and minds of the masses everywhere; yes, even the hitherto so contented and self-satisfied American workers. To be sure, there is still a vast mass which regards as gospel truth the adulterated mental food it finds in the Press. It has not yet learned that American journalism is the worst poison mixer and scurrilous falsifier of great ideals. But thinking people have learned from bitter experience not to believe the papers. These days almost the sole medium of information is the spoken word. But as most lecturers in America are either woefully ignorant on all matters Russian, or too poor of vision to grasp the vast and world-wide significance of the Russian Revolution, the people everywhere are at a loss to account for the miracle which is now holding the world in awe.

That explains, no doubt, the tremendous interest and response aroused by my lectures on the Boylsh viki and other phases of the Rusian Revolution. In fact, never in my thirty years' experience have American audiences turned out in such numbers nor evinced such spontaneous interest as they have during my visit in Chicago and Detroit. Never did they respond with such warmth and enthusiasm to the message of the Boylsheviki. Aye, "illiterate, backward" Russia is yet going to become the spiritual awakener of the American masses, the bugle call to battle against the powers which have kept the peoples of the world in bondage.

The meetings in Chicago were arranged by the Nonpartisan Radical League, a body consisting of militant radicals. Among the most active in the League are our comrades William Nathanson, Billov, the Goodmans, and Slater, who were assisted by scores of other Comrades: Sadie Bernstein, C. V. Cook, Sara and Harry Gruber, Ben Reitman, Sveda, and several of the younger rebels, the Baers, Sachs, etc. All worked like beavers against great obstacles, zero weather, and the difficulty of securing halls, but all enjoyed the fruits of their labors in tremendously enthusiastic meetings. There were nine in all, and a farewell banquet attended by 175 friends united by the spirit of solidarity and devotion that made me realize how very worth while it is to be ready to pay the price for one's ideal. It was a glorious farewell and an inspiring memory to take with me to Jefferson prison.

Detroit was the next city of joy. Four meetings arranged by Comrades Jake and Minnie Fishman and J. Yanovitch, with the co-operation of a Serbian Comrade, Mrs. Marcowitz, a most interesting and rare type of woman. There were also some others who helped, as they always do when there is important work on hand.

An overzealous Chief of Police came near depriving the Detroit people of an opportunity to hear the truth about the Boylsheviki, but our old friend Lee Smits, of the Detroit News, helped to change the official mind, and all went well to the end.

As in Chicago, the halls proved entirely too small for the mass of eager humanity that came to learn about the Boylsheviki, their aims and aspirations. At one meeting fully a thousand people were turned away. But most inspiring of all was the spirit of the people

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MOTHER EARTH

BULLETIN

VOL. I. JANUARY, 1918, NEW YORK NO. 4.

Farewell, Friends and Comrades!

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Trotsky—for the time being personifying the spirit of revolutionary Russia—has in two short months done more for peace and humanity than all the diplomats and politicians of the combined governments of the world. He has torn the mask off diplomacy, and shown to the world that diplomacy itself is one of the chief causes of the war. He proved that revolutionary consciousness and frankness of purpose is a veritable David to the diplomatic Goliath. The undiplomatic honesty of Trotsky has wiped diplomacy off the map. There is a grave menace to ALL government in such smashing of the sacrosanct.

By far the greatest significance of Trotsky is the effect of his peace negotiations on the German people themselves. He has done more to discredit Prussian junkerism in Germany than all the military activities of the allies. Moreover, it is only too evident that the German government is more afraid of the Trotsky propaganda among German forces than of Allied artillery. Prussian militarists know that revolutionary IDEAS are more fatal to autocracy than the armed legions of the Entente. That is the true reason why Germany is loath to continue the peace parleys with Russia.

The world diplomats have entirely missed the mark. They fear a separate peace between Russia and Germany. Yet a separate peace may prove the undoing of Kaisertum. A general peace, on the contrary, will enable Prussian militarism, with the aid of its armies, to hold its own against an uprising at home. But with the necessity of keeping up the war against the Allies, a separate peace with Russia would prove a terrible menace to German militarism at home.

The original idea of Trotsky was a GENERAL peace, with the initiative taken by Russia. But the Allies failing to join in his efforts, he may work for a separate peace—a proletarian peace—fully aware of the moral debacle it involves for Prussian autocracy and militarism.

The Great Hope

Emma Goldman

The attitude of dense ignorance and stupidity toward the most gigantic event since the French Revolution, the Boylsheviki movement in Russia, is not typically American. All great movements have met with the same fate in every land, since stupidity and ignorance have never been the monopoly of any particular country.

The Boylsheviki, like all revolutionary movements, have faced three characteristic stages. First, calumny, misrepresentation, hatred, opposition, and persecution. After that came ridicule, scoffing, and cheap deriding of the movement. Finally, in the third stage, recognition—though stinted and grudging.

It took the great movements of the past more than a century to pass these varying stages, and that at the expense of untold suffering and sacrifice. The Boylshevikl have swept on and all but reached the third stage In just a few months. That itself is the most striking proof of how thoroughly the Russian soil was fertilized by the blood of her great martyrs since 1825. The Boylshevikl merely vnice the inarticulate Russian people who, oppressed and supressed for centuries, have not yet acquired the power of speech.

Yes, the Boylsheviki are beginning to be recognized. In fact they have struck like lightning into the hearts and minds of the masses everywhere; yes, even the hitherto so contented and self-satisfied American workers. To be sure, there is still a vast mass which regards as gospel truth the adulterated mental food it finds in the Press. It has not yet learned that American journalism is the worst poison mixer and scurrilous falsifier of great ideals. But thinking people have learned from bitter experience not to believe the papers. These days almost the sole medium of information is the spoken word. But as most lecturers in America are either woefully ignorant on all matters Russian, or too poor of vision to grasp the vast and world-wide significance of the Russian Revolution, the people everywhere are at a loss to account for the miracle which is now holding the world in awe.

That explains, no doubt, the tremendous interest and response aroused by my lectures on the Boylsh viki and other phases of the Rusian Revolution. In fact, never in my thirty years' experience have American audiences turned out in such numbers nor evinced such spontaneous interest as they have during my visit in Chicago and Detroit. Never did they respond with such warmth and enthusiasm to the message of the Boylsheviki. Aye, "illiterate, backward" Russia is yet going to become the spiritual awakener of the American masses, the bugle call to battle against the powers which have kept the peoples of the world in bondage.

The meetings in Chicago were arranged by the Nonpartisan Radical League, a body consisting of militant radicals. Among the most active in the League are our comrades William Nathanson, Billov, the Goodmans, and Slater, who were assisted by scores of other Comrades: Sadie Bernstein, C. V. Cook, Sara and Harry Gruber, Ben Reitman, Sveda, and several of the younger rebels, the Baers, Sachs, etc. All worked like beavers against great obstacles, zero weather, and the difficulty of securing halls, but all enjoyed the fruits of their labors in tremendously enthusiastic meetings. There were nine in all, and a farewell banquet attended by 175 friends united by the spirit of solidarity and devotion that made me realize how very worth while it is to be ready to pay the price for one's ideal. It was a glorious farewell and an inspiring memory to take with me to Jefferson prison.

Detroit was the next city of joy. Four meetings arranged by Comrades Jake and Minnie Fishman and J. Yanovitch, with the co-operation of a Serbian Comrade, Mrs. Marcowitz, a most interesting and rare type of woman. There were also some others who helped, as they always do when there is important work on hand.

An overzealous Chief of Police came near depriving the Detroit people of an opportunity to hear the truth about the Boylsheviki, but our old friend Lee Smits, of the Detroit News, helped to change the official mind, and all went well to the end.

As In Chicago, the halls proved entirely too small for the mass of eager humanity that came to learn about the Boylsheviki, their aims and aspirations. At one meeting fully a thousand people were turned away. But most inspiring of all was the spirit of the people

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present. It was beautiful to see the light of understanding on the eager faces of my hearers as I portrayed the historic background which prepared Russia for the social and economic demands of the Boylsheviki. It was all very wonderful. Never again will I doubt the revolutionary possibilities of the American workers. If only one could reach them with the social truth now proclaimed to the whole world by the heroic Boylsheviki.

My last meeting in Detroit on the Spiritual Awakening of Russia would have capped the climax of interest; but it had to be given up. A hurry call from New York, informing me that the government demands our immediate surrender to the Federal authorities, compelled me to cut short what would have proven the most inspiring tour I ever made and my most worth-while contribution to the American understanding of the Boylsheviki.

With it all, America itself was not forgotten. A campaign for the amnesty of all political prisoners as soon as peace is concluded, was suggested at the farewell banquet in Chicago and placed before a huge audience in Detroit. The response was unanimous and overwhelming. Plans will be formed and the movement launched before we are taken back to prison.

To be sure, the American government is loath to recognize political prisoners. Like the ostrich hiding his head in the sand to deceive the hunter, our Democracy refuses to face the fact that every city has its quota of war casualties, men and women in prison for their political beliefs and activities. All other countries, whether monarchial or republican, recognize the right of amnesty. Will America, now engaged in war to make the world safe for democracy, refuse to do less than imperialistic Germany, autocratic Russia under the Tsar, monarchial England, or republican France?

It must be put to the test. Now is the time to awaken public interest in cases like those of Louise Olivereau, doomed to 45 years in the Colorado penitentiary (concurrent sentence of ten years on condition of "good behavior"); Daniel H. Wallace, serving 20 years in the Federal prison at Leavenworth, Kansas; eleven Italians condemned in Milwaukee to 25 years each, among them a woman with her little child taken away from her, and scores of others in every prison throughout the land, all convicted of "crimes" of a political nature, the result of the war and conscription, and whose sentences must end with the war.

Two lectures were scheduled for Ann Arbor, the Michigan seat of learning. They could not be held because the antiquated Daughters of the antiquated American Revolution scared the poor German Mayor of Ann Arbor into suppressing the meetings. Little did these poor revolutionary mummies realize that they were instrumental in starting Russian revolutionary underground agitation among the students of Ann Arbor, a large number of whom gathered in a private house and there listened breathlessly to the dangerous story of the dangerous Boylsheviki of Russia and their effect upon Boylshevism in America.

The flames lighted by the Russian people will illumine the horizon and point the path of the peoples everywhere back to the Internationale, back to a deeper and better understanding of economic and social freedom.

The Milwaukee Frame-Up

E. G.

We are constantly assured in America that a man charged with a crime is innocent until proven guilty. But that does not prevent the daily occurrence of men and women from the people being found guilty even though they prove their innocence by the most authentic evidence. The practice of frame-ups is common in the police departments of every city. But the public still adheres to the credulous belief that if an unfortunate victim is in the hands of the authorities he must be guilty, for surely the police wouldn't deliberately take away a man's liberty and life.

Well, the Frame-up in San Francisco which was given no publicity by the press of this country until the demonstration for Mooney in Petrograd, exploded the faith in the methods of the police. True, Billings continues to languish in prison. The noose is still awaiting Mooney. Fickert is back in the saddle to resume his criminal activities. Yet the San Francisco Frame-up is written in letters of fire upon the minds of the people, and unless Mooney and the others go free, San Francisco will go down to infamy for one of the blackest crimes upon Labor since 1887.

Now comes the news of another frame-up in Milwaukee—so cruel, deliberate and revolting as to arouse even the sluggish minds and hearts of those who never care what happens to others just so they are allowed to exist.

In the M. E. BULLETIN of September the beginning of this latest frame-up was reported. But for the benefit of those who have not read the issue, I will give excerpts from the statement prepared by the attorney of the eleven Italian victims who were framed up by an ex-priest and members of the police department of Milwaukee.

A group of Italian Anarchists, Socialists, I. W. W.'s and others of general liberal leanings organized a little social club where they gathered for entertainment, amateur theatricals, dances and occasional lectures on social topics. Their activities and success aroused the ire and envy of an unfrocked Catholic priest, who found it more profitable to use the methods of the Evangelic church to save souls. Especially was he enraged over the audacity of the young Italian who would attend the Reverend's soul saving open air meetings and heckle him as to the greater importance of saving the bodies of the people. At any rate, the heckling continued at every meeting until finally the ex-priest went to the police with the story that a dangerous lot of Anarchists, pro-Germans, I. W. W.'s had desecrated the American flag, denounced the President, etc., etc. Of course the reverend gentleman was given "protection."

On the ninth of September, just as the Italians were filing out of their club rooms after a lecture on Socialism by La Duca, Secretary of the Italian Socialist branch, Reverend Guiliani shouted to the police: "Here go the Anarchists, pro-Germans, I. W. W.'s!"

Immediately the police and detectives charged the crowd with drawn clubs and guns. Antonio Fornasier, an Anarchist, was killed instantly; nevertheless, ten shots were fired into the body of the dead man. Augusto Marinelli, another Anarchist, was mortally wounded. He died in the hospital five days

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later. Tostalin was slightly wounded in the shoulder.

In the general shooting several policemen were slightly injured. The usual hysterical arrests and round-up of Italians began. Anyone who could not prove good standing or respectable connections were dragged off to jail, among them the young wife of one of the men, Mary Nardini, the mother of a five-year-old child. The club rooms were raided and "dangerous" evidence, consisting of pictures of Karl Marx and Peter Kropotkin, as well as Anarchist and Socialist literature, was confiscated. Then, after a process of elimination, eleven Italians, ten men and one woman, were held as the originators of the police riot. Though charged with the shooting, the defendants were really tried and convicted for the bomb explosion that happened long after they were arrested and while they were in jail. Witnesses for the defense were arrested and terrorized, so that of fifty witnesses only six dared appear at the trial. We quote from the statement of the attorney of the prisoners:

> "On November 24th Miss Richter, the Evangelist's chief aide, was supposed to find a bomb beneath the Evangelical Church. She got some member of the choir of that church to deliver the bomb to the police station. The bomb was supposed to have been under the church for several days. At the time this bomb was delivered to the police station, the Evangelical minister was out of the city. The bomb exploded in the police station, killing eleven persons and injuring others. At once the bomb explosion was associated with these defendants, the most preposterous thing in the world, because the defendants and their friends would be the last ones to place a bomb or to do anything of that kind on the eve of their trial, for nothing would prejudice more their chance of acquittal than anything of that kind.
>
> "I never spoke to these defendants except through an interpreter and never without a stenographer being present. The first time I spoke to them was in jail and after that I never saw them nor spoke to them except through an interpreter in the courtroom. The whole matter was investigated and the story above was fully corroborated. The defendants were forced to go to trial on the very morrow of the burial of these eleven people, with prejudice and feeling running high. Although we believe that we were entitled to nine challenges, we were only allowed four, and out of 37 men examined, over half were excused because of prejudice, and some of the men were made to qualify on the jury who had little education and fitness to sit in judgment upon a case that involved understanding and reading and scanning and perusing matters of historical and economic significance and importance.
>
> "Captain Sullivan, a very efficient and honorable officer, told me that he would be willing to let the whole bunch go free if the perpetrator of that bomb could be found; he believing honestly that the defendants were associated with that bomb throwing; I believing honestly that neither these defendants nor their associates had anything to do with the bomb whatever. There are many who believe that the bomb was placed by a friend of the Evangelist, some believe it was placed by an alien enemy, and others attribute it to a German. I make no personal comment on these statements.
>
> "The tragedy, which otherwise might have been the joke of the whole trial, was that W. C. Zabel, the Socialist prosecutor, permitted himself and his assistants to misinterpret philosophic and economic excerpts from some of the master works of the world into criminal, anarchistic doctrines and make Karl Marx and the red flag the objects of his vituperous attacks."

After the farce of a trial, the jury was out seventeen minutes, returning a verdict of guilty. Then the Socialist Prosecuting Attorney, W. C. Zabel, delivered himself of a wild patriotic harangue that Milwaukee must be rid of the murderous Anarchists and undesirables, and suggested a vote of thanks to the instigator of the whole terrible business, Rev. Guiliani.

The ten men and Mary Baldini were given 25 years each, and the State appropriated Mary's five-year-old child, although her people are anxious and well able to take care of the child.

It goes without saying that such a terrible crime cannot go unchallenged. Already an International Defense League has been organized in Chicago to begin a campaign of publicity so that the people may learn of this latest outrage in Milwaukee. For that and the appeal money is most urgently needed.

Send all communications and funds to William Judin, 1006 S. Ashland Blvd., care of Workers' Institute, Chicago, Ill. Arrange meetings! Bring the matter to the attention of people! The eleven unfortunate victims of Milwaukee must be saved!

In the Trenches

In the Federal Court of Kansas City, Mo., nine people have been convicted, on December 6, for alleged conspiracy against the Draft Act. Judge Van Valkenburg gave all but one of them the maximum penitentiary sentence of two years and also fined each of the nine $1,000. The one woman in the case, Lenora Warneson, mother of a babe of four months, he did not send to the "pen," solely because "this court does not want to set the precedent of sending babies to jail." The defendants are going to appeal and have retained Redmond S. Brennan of the firm of Frank P. Walsh; he states that there is sufficient reversible error in the record to make the case worth contesting.

The nine people are: Lenora Warneson, known throughout the country as a staunch anti-militarist school teacher; Raymond I. Moore, Secretary International Radical Club and former Socialist candidate; Earl R. Browder; William E. Browder; Edward W. Eagan; Harry I. Doile, and Elea Luboshey. All but the last two are militant trade unionists, the first five being members of the Office Workers' Union, Egan of the Iron and Tin Workers' Union, and Doile of the Typographical Union.

After war was declared, in the absence of a war-time program of the A. U. A. M., this group (except Doile and Luboshey, who were

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NOT members) formed the Federation for Democratic Control to work for the maintenance of civil liberties and to prevent the passage of conscription. When the latter became a fact, an injunction suit was filed against the state and city officials charged with the execution of registration. In the midst of this case, while the attorney was filing the appeal, some of the defendants were arrested in the courtroom and charged with conspiracy against the draft. This was on May 31; on June 6 a special grand jury returned an indictment against the nine people named above, and also a tenth, H. D. Kleinschmidt, who had helped raise funds to test the legality of the draft law.

The government based its case upon insinuation and innuendo. Thus it was shown that Doile (whose only connection with the others, by the way, was that of printer of its literature) had printed the Federation's declaration of principles; Kleinschmidt swore that Luboshey (who was not a member of the Federation) had given him some of the cards bearing the legend "Kill Conscription—Don't Register" (which were alleged in the indictment as one of the overt acts of the conspiracy), and that he (Kleinschmidt) had distributed them; therefore, by implication, Doile had printed these cards. The government's charges were supported by secret service agents, government officials, and reporters and editors of the capitalist press. Most of it was pure fabrication. Kleinschmidt told a perjured story full of contradictions when he turned state's evidence. Samples of the government's testimony: Fred Tate, chief of the secret service agency, swore that he took an I. W. W. card from Eagan and that the color of the card was BLUE! Kleinschmidt testified that he was out of town on the date when the alleged cards were distributed. The judge's instructions to the jury were unfair and highly prejudicial against the defendants. The jury was made to understand that if it did not bring in a verdict of guilty, its members would be disloyal.

* * *

As, previously reported in the Bulletin, Daniel H. Wallace, president and organizer of the League of Humanity, with headquarters in Chicago, Ill., has been condemned under the Espionage Act to twenty years prison for a lecture delivered by him in Davenport, Iowa, on July 25th, 1917.

Wallace is the author of "Shanghaied into the European War," a unique book representing his experience of eleven months in the trenches of France, Belgium and the Dardanelles. He is now in the Federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kas., and no doubt he must be envying Karl Liebknecht, convicted in undemocratic Prussia of high treason and punished only with four years and one month prison.

* * *

It is not in the interest of those engaged in war to make known the number of conscientious objectors in the various camps and prisons. With the newspaper conspiracy of silence on this subject, the public at large is now under the impression that the great protest against conscription has fallen flat, and that conscientious objectors have at the last moment proven false to their convictions. Only occasionally, hidden in some corner of the papers, one is permitted to learn that there are still men who will not be daunted, no matter what the cost.

In a special to the New York Times the following case is reported from Camp Dix, Wrightstown, N. J.:

> Not even the remission of the death sentence, that probably would have been carried out to-day had it not been revoked by Brig. Gen. J. S. Mallory before relinquishing his command of Camp Dix, has failed to alter the defiance of military authority maintained by Rudolph J. Vrena, a drafted man from North Jersey. Vrena, a Bohemian, although he has spent all but six months of his 27 years in the United States, bases his objection to becoming a soldier on his claim of being an International Socialist.
>
> Vrena is the first man drafted into the national army to be sentenced by court-martial to the penalty of "death by musketry," for refusing to obey the order of Major J. E. Wilson to sign the declaration of a soldier and his assignment card and prepare for his physical examination. He pleaded not guilty, but was convicted on the first charge, and the court agreed on the death sentence. Brig. Gen. Mallory vetoed his sentence. Vrena, resting on his cot, displayed little interest in the outcome of his case this afternoon.
>
> "I'll not pose as martyr. I am a Socialist of the most radical branch. We believe in universal brotherhood, and I am obliged, no matter what the consequences, to refuse to become part of the army, at least until assured that labor is to have a part in settling the questions at stake." Vrena has refused to don a uniform.

Evidently the Boylsheviki are not confined to Russia. Significant, is it not?

Another very interesting case is that of H. Austin Simons, a young American and brilliant writer, now at Camp Grant, Rockford, Ill. The case is reported in the Chicago American as follows:

> H. Austin Simons, "conscientious objector," received a sentence of eight years before Judge Advocate Lieutenant Charles F. Dyer of the Three Hundred and Forty-second Regiment. When told of his sentence by the Chicago Evening American correspondent he merely smiled.
>
> He took up his pen and "poemed" a bit to show his feelings have not been disturbed. His verse, written extemporaneously, follows:
>
> "No moment more for weeping;
> Now courage comes—free, uplifting,
> With her I go to the long agony,
> And I will be sweet and glad in my great beauty,
> And with my love cheat the bitter seasons
> Of their bitterness."
>
> "What are these principles on which you object to wear the uniform of Uncle Sam?" His answer was:
>
> "A humanitarian principle, which makes it impossible for me to do any thing that will contribute to the death of another person. In the second place, a conviction that it is my duty to live for the future; and the belief that I cannot serve the future properly by going into military service."
>
> His last principle was that his life was dedicated to a creative impulse—art— particularly the art of literature; as art is

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creative and war is absolutely and entirely destructive.

"I am following the dictates of my conscience," were his final words.

During the trial another question asked of the objector was, "do you believe in God." His answer was, "Yes, a God." "You have a God of your own, then?" Simons' face lit up for a moment and he answered, "A God that is believed in by the philosophical world."

Are They Going to Hang Tom Mooney?

Ben Martin

Of the labor struggle on the Pacific Coast, in which the trump play of the employers was the most picturesque perjury conspiracy in history, the question is being asked, "What is the outcome; are they going to hang and imprison men after the world has gasped at the brazen fraud of their trials?"

We very much fear that the answer is, "Yes."

If this were not true, why are the two defendants who were acquitted after the perjury exposures held in jail to this day exactly as though they had been found guilty? Indeed, it is astonishing to hear half-awake persons ask whether the sentences corruptly obtained against Billings and Mooney are going to be enforced, while the sentence against Billings has already been enforced; for Billings is now actually in Folsom Penitentiary serving a life sentence, and it is intended to keep him there until he dies; while Estelle Smith, the chief witness who caused his conviction, has retracted her testimony and brands the whole case as a foul frame up, naming District Attorney Fickert and the detective Martin Swanson as instigators of the conspiracy.

Are they going to enforce the fraud-born decrees? They don't even bother to answer Estelle Smith's accusations- except that they are "unworthy of reply!" Estelle Smith is good enough to send Billings to a life of torture but is "unworthy of reply," when she recants!

Anyone who has cut his eye teeth in public affairs is aware that every process of law is a mere cover for something else. Behind every national, international or local act of Society's machinery, is a powerful class interest. When Leon Trotsky, the New York Jew, published the secret treaties that laid bare the sordid agreements and purposes of the world war, he exposed nothing new—nothing but the condition that exists in exact duplicate in the rotten politics of New York, and perhaps worse in self-righteous politics. It is the system; it is the same thing in Patagonia, Berlin, Bucharest and California — wherever private capital reigns.

When Frank C. Oxman falsely swore that he saw labor unionists commit the parade murders, he did not do it for fun, nor did he do it solely to win a few thousand dollars of reward. His was the voice of a great class demand, in committing that perjury; he would not have had the courage to do it without the moral backing of a powerful, self-justifying social force.

The Oxman crime was exposed by a bit of honesty in an unexpected quarter responding to another great social demand—the interests of the awakening masses.

Estelle Smith has recently told one of the most remarkable stories ever suppressed by the newspapers, the bald details of how she, with a peculiar native ability for playacting (which we had occasion to appreciate when she made her dramatic appearance against Billings), was used as instructress for a group of perjurers that gathered in a dental office to rehearse.

Estelle Smith's mother, Mrs. Alice Kidwell, has gone even further than the daughter into detail, and the story of how the employers' clique of California was able to command the death of its enemies through the gutter of police-trained perjury, is known as far as it can be known without the consent of newspaper capital.

But it is only the naive who will imagine that mere words of exposure will thwart the iron will that has decreed this attack upon Labor. The interest is still there; the will is unbroken, the motive has not been changed one whit by exposures. Capital was merely temporarily embarrassed. As soon as it can overcome the embarrassment, and the move to do so is now in progress, its will will be enforced. Oxman's acquittal was demanded and obtained by agreement between judge, defendant and the district attorney who hired the lawyer for the defendant. With Labor asleep, Capital is all-powerful and controls all the machinery of "justice;" it can do as it pleases, and it pleases that Billings rot and Mooney die.

Labor came very near waking up in this wonderful case. The newspapers are keeping quiet now until Labor can sink back into deeper slumber. Then Mooney will hang.

As if to show its power and its contempt for the rights of its subject class, Capital, through its contemptible servant, Judge Dunn, is keeping Weinberg and Mrs. Mooney in jail, after their acquittal, for the coming slaughter. And Nolan, who everyone thought had at least escaped from the murderous mesh, they now announce they will hang, too. They don't even let him know what the specific charge against him is, since the "high explosive" that a detective swore was found in his home, has proven to be epsom salts.

These victims will live or die, the victory will be won or lost, according as Labor allows it or not. No other power can do it; there is no other power than the two, Labor and Capital.

The report of the Federal Commission for the investigation of the cases has not been published at the time of going to press.

Indictment As A Social Institution

Joe Dunn

In the Russia of the old regime, everybody was born indicted. A blanket indictment for sedition was considered as covering the entire population, suspended only during the forebearance of the Tsar.

But in democracies it is different. The status of being under indictment is not born in one, but is voted upon individuals singly or in groups. This gives a power of discrimination in class making. The merit system can be applied.

In America we have a newly-created class

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of the Indicted. It includes all persons who write on advanced social questions. All persons who think, if they can be caught thinking. Those who engage in discussion of the problem of freeing labor are rounded up with especial eare and put into the class of the Indicted. Then all are placed under bail or under lock and key and the social order with the Unindicted in ascendancy is rendered safe.

The Indicted can be put in jail, fleeced or hanged at the pleasure of the Unindicted. It is a surprisingly facile luxury. A committee of the Unindicted can say, "Twenty thousand dollars," and, presto! one of the Indicted will have to pay up in a jiffy. Or "Ten years in prison!" and, just like magic, off goes an Indicted for whatever length of time the committee of the Unindicted may please to say. It is awfully easy. Try it yourself: "Ten thousand dollars! Twenty thousand dollars! Two years in prison! Fifteen years! Forty years! Life! Hanging! One is just as easy to say as another.

The Indicted are expected to go about with a weak-kneed, hang-dog look, and to be very much restricted in their actions.

It is a perfect riot of luxury for the Unindicted.

Why Has Academic Freedom Been Abolished?

Prince Hopkins

Recently we have witnessed a spectacle that puzzled many people. When our Republic entered upon a course of action—the war—that vitally concerned every citizen, citizens were deprived of the right to say that this policy was unwise and should be reversed. Had this deprivation been accompanied by a tearing off of the mask. a frank avowal that from a capitalist viewpoint the Prussian form of government had proved its efficiency, all would have understood the measure as a simple coup d'état. But what makes the situation vastly more interesting to a psychologist is the fact that the very party which has shown itself so cynically contemptuous of trusting democratic principles in a supreme test, has justified each autocratic step in the name of "democracy" or of "liberty." In the scientific analysis of motives, it is a fundamental principle that we should base our judgment upon the evidence of men's actions, rather than upon what they declare with their lips.

In taking our side in any controversy, we ought to judge the aims of the two opposing parties, not so much by what they profess, as by the weapons and tactics that the parties choose to employ. Especially is it true that we should avoid depending too much upon the avowed ideals that the parties put forth for the consumption of outsiders in the present age, because the present is essentially an age of camouflage. To-day we have the spectacle of some twenty nations engaged in a terrific war in which it is manifestly impossible that all the nations can be fighting either unselfishly or on the defensive, and yet every nation engaged in the conflict excuses itself on the ground of absolute necessity, and even puts forward certain idealistic aims as additional justification for its barbarities. What is true of nations is no whit less true of individuals. Hypnotists will tell you that when you have told a hypnotized subject that on awakening from his sleep he will perform some action, as, for example, that he will rush to the window and look out, when he awakes, he will perform this action in due course, but on your questioning him as to why he did so, he will not reply simply that he acted in response to an unreasoning impulse to rush to the window. Instead, he will evolve a rational justification for his act—such as that he saw a fire engine dash along the street; and he will persuade even himself that this was the true reason. We always try to make our actions seem to be rational, when, as a matter of fact, they are usually simply impulsive or instinctive. Bearing this in mind, we must not be surprised at the actions of financiers who profess, and in many ways put into practice, very high motives in the small details of their daily conduct, but whose entire public policy is guided by sordid interests of their social class, if not of their individual selves. We are not to consider that these men are consciously selfish in all cases, though they sometimes are so, but we must regard them as not fully understanding themselves and their own motives, and as projecting these personal motives into their social theories. When you hear of a governor who sends his militia to break up a peaceful assembly, or of a college president who must have his faculty intellectually docile, or of a mayor who makes belief in a military policy a requirement for membership on the school board—in short, wherever some one declines to play fair, it is profitable to enquire "What class, or what greed, owns this human tool?"

Test out this theory by the showing of the war. Don't the men whose welfare is linked with the success of big banking houses and manufacturing establishments line up squarely for a foreign policy that will down their Teutonic rivals in the world-market? And why did these men purchase, almost openly, the control of the "public press" save that they realized that the masses' realization of where lay their own interests would cause those masses to decline the sufferings and sacrfices of a war which would bring them no good—unless their judgment could be warped by misrepresentation of the facts.

To deny your opponent the right to state his case, is always a dangerous policy, since it at once excites hatred and mistrust. We therefore look to see such action only on the part of men who feel their case to be very hopeless, or know they lack the brains to defend it, or who are prompted by unworthy motives which they cannot confess to.

Certainly there is no lack of brains to defend the party of wealth. There are always able, honest brains to be hired by him who can pay for them. Therefore one or both of the other motives must be at the bottom of the present intolerance.

The anti-war party has only asked for a "fair field and no favor." In answer to the militarists' hypnotic iteration and reiteration of old disproven arguments, these pacifists have brought out continuously new and more clinching evidence for their contentions; they have been far from despair of ultimate triumph along this line. The I. W. W.—against whom the newspaper reports of setting fire to wheat-fields, spiking logs in the saw-mills, importing firearms, and accepting

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German gold, have never even been formally lodged by the government, and yet are charged against them by the papers—these men have not retaliated with lynch-law for lynch-law, but have gone to prison like the early Christian martyrs, with songs of a transcendant hope upon their lips.

How has it been now with the party that represents "law and order" and how with what has been called our "better controlled class?" Surely we shall find their utterances to be free from all vulgar soap-box extravagance? Surely they will conduct their side of the quarrel with well-bred tolerance, even if with a disdainful hauteur in their reserve? Surely the best people, with aristocratic confidence in their case and in their own ability, need never wallow in the muck of foul play?

Or has this party, on the contrary, mysteriously avoided free discussion, and drawn sophistical distinctions between free speech and "license," putting into the category of "license" every statement that seriously endangered its interests? Has it supported its mayoralty candidate with a million-and-a-half-dollar campaign contribution, and in this same campaign has it shown to every eye its control over the press, by swinging six of the seven available dailies into line? Has it mistrusted the people even while it preached a mission of democracy? Has it implied that college students were not mature enough to discuss public questions impartially, and secured the discharge of eminent professors because it was distrustful of their political position? Has it stooped so low as to catch even little children in its net, importuning them and sending them upon the streets to importune others for money to buy its bonds? Has it set them to work at drudging task to aid the military? Finally, has it peremptorily discharged all teachers who would not lend themselves to converting our public schools into mental straitjackets, to the end of indoctrinating childish minds with the official dogma, and warping innocence that can not defend itself?

..Gentlemen of the Jury, the facts are known to you. The law also is known to you—the psychological law that a man's conscience is disclosed by the way he fights his cause.

How meekly shall we stand for these things?

The Surgeon's Duty

Alexander Berkman

"How can you Anarchists approve of Trotsky and support the Russian Boylsheviki?" a pacifist friend recently asked me. "Most of the Boylsheviki are Social Democrats," he added; "believers in government. Moreover, Trotsky has resorted to methods of suppression, as in the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly. Can you explain why you support him?"

I shall try. As Anarchists we believe neither in government nor in violence, both of which are indeed synonymous in our philosophy. And no doubt we, the Anarchists, would be the first to oppose the Socialist Boylsheviki should they attempt to estsblish themselves as a PERMANENT government with the power to impose its authority upon the people. We believe, however, that the Russian Boylsheviki—consisting as they do of Social Democrats, Social Revolutionists, Syndicalists and Anarchists—do not represent the narrow-minded Socialist type whose ideal is a strongly centralized Socialist government. On the contrary, we have reason to believe that the Boylsheviki in Russia are the expression of the most fundamental longing of the human soul that demands fullest individual liberty within the greatest social well-being. That is why they have become, and are permitted to remain, the public voice of revolutionary Russia.

As to the Boylshevik activities at the present moment, and the immediate program of Lenin and Trotsky—I can only say that an extraordinary situation may demand extraordinary measures.

It is most unfair to judge Trotsky and his co-workers on the basis of actions forced upon them by the stress of a most momentous crisis. Take, for instance, the suppression of the Contituent Assembly. We know Trotsky and his views. We know that Trotsky does NOT believe in the limitation of the freedom of press and assembly, or indeed in suppression of any kind. But Russia is in the midst of a revolution, the greatest socio-economic upheavel of all times. A revolution is not a pacifist pink tea affair. A revolution is the reaction against the oppression of ages, and a violent reaction at that. As such it involves, necessarily, force and violence. It will be the great marvel of the future that this most momentous of all revolutions has been accomplished with comparatively so little violence, but has, on the contrary, been characterized by the greatest forbearance toward the hereditary tyrants, the most wonderful tolerance and kindliest humanity.

It is capitalist atrocities and governmental tyranny that produce crime and violence in time of peace, wholesale slaughter in war, and culminate in violent revolutions. Revolution is inherent in every social system based on slavery, and only the abolition of the system itself will usher in an era where force and violence will be things of the past.

Those that pretend to loathe violence and yet permit present conditions to continue, are in reality directly responsible for the perpetuation of the evil.

Russia is now by no means in a normal condition where our heart's desire of universal peace and brotherhood can actually be practiced. The great passion to make the world fit for such conditions, to clear the way for them, is the supreme justification of the Lenins and Trotskys, and is at the same time the explanation of our support.

The proletariat of Russia has suffered and bled for centuries. At last they have overthrown Tsarism and got rid of their tyrants. Shall they now meekly submit to a new set of bloodsuckers fastening themselves on their vitals? The Constituent Assembly was the saddle of the bourgeois exploiters eager to climb upon the back of the Russian proletariat. Away with the saddle!

"But two wrongs don't make a right," exclaims the non-resistant.

Oh, my good man, when the patient's life is in grave danger, the surgeon is justified—nay, it is his sacred duty—to perform an operation.

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A Greeting

Dear Comrade:—

Your letter has found me way up here among the hills, and it has burst open the door of a chamber in my heart from which long pent-up thoughts rush out tumultuous, irresistible. For months I have been out of touch with the world—the world of struggle, of striving, of achievement. My beloved teacher has been ill. * * *

We have been reading everything we could lay our hands on, and trying to catch up with the world. It is somewhat of a race; for as you know, things are moving very rapidly just now. Among other things we read of your arrest and "farcical trial." My heart was troubled, and I wanted to do something and I was trying to make up my mind what to do when your letter came. * * * Believe me, my very heart-pulse is in the revolution that is to inaugurate a freer, happier society. Csn you imagine what it is to sit idle in these days of fierce action, of revolutions and daring possibilities? I am so full of longing to serve, to love and be loved, to help things along and to give happiness, it seems as if the very intensity of my desire must bring fulfillment. But alas, nothing happens. I sit out here among the quiet hills under the pines and READ about the things I long to do with my whole heart. I cannot keep the pang of bitterness out of my reflections these days. Why have I this passionate desire to be part of a noble struggle when fate has sentenced me to days of ineffectual waiting? There is no answer. It is tantalizing almost to the point of frenzy.

But one thing is sure. You can always count upon my love and support. Those who are blinder than I because they refuse to see tell us that in dangerous times like these wise men hold their tongues. But you are not holding your tongue, nor are the I. W. W. comrades holding their tongues—blessings upon you and them—"Keep out of their vulgar brawls," beg those who are near to me in blood, but not in spirit. "Vulgar brawls"—that is what they call your efforts to raise up those whom the cruel system under which we live has beat down and crushed. No, comrade, you must not hold your tongue. Your work must go on, even though all earthly powers combine against it. Never were courage and fortitude so terribly needed as now. Society on the war-path is an unmitigated ruffian. It knocks down every decent sentiment and noble ideal in the human heart, and regards those who retain the capacity to think as "slackers," traitors, cowards.

You have been arrested and condemned to the penitentiary for "obstructing the operation of the military laws of the United States." What did you really do? You spoke and wrote openly against conscription—against forcing men to fight, whether they wish to or not. Your magazine was confiscated without any reason being given you for holding it up. Other radical snd Socislist papers have been suppressed, and in some instances the editors arrested without warranta. Meetings have been broken up, literature burnt ln the streeta, citlzens beaten and shot because they dared speak against militsrism. When we consider the lynching of Frsnk Little ln Butte, the lawless deportation of the miners from Bisbee, the expulsion of Fred Moore, the attorney for their wives and children, and the shameful "frame-up" in the Mooney case, we cannot but realize the need of brave men and women to protest against such despotism. How can there be a democracy unless people think and speak their minds freely—unless the minority is treated with tolerance and justice? All the outrages I have enumerated are the negation of every principle of democracy, and we are told that we must enter the Great War in order to make the world safe for democracy.

We frequently hear it asserted that this country does not want you or your kind—meaning those who oppose the ruling classes, those who fight against governments and authorities and the police for liberty and the elimination of poverty. You are told that this is a country of law and order where free men live. Are men free in a land where ten million Negroes are exposed to disenfranchisement, eviction and lynching? Are men free when whatever the workers have got has been wrested from employers by strike after strike? Was it law and order to deny you bail? It is law and order to break up meetings of protest, to suppress publications that voice the opinions of the people? All the atrocities of this impious war are committed in obedience to law and order. It would be considered treason if any man in the armies of the countries at war refused to perpetrate these crimes at the command of his superiors. Behold the ruin of European civilization. It was accomplished in the name of law snd order. * * * The light of the spirit is more important to s people than a hundred victories. He who destroyeth that light kills more than the body politic—he slays the nation's soul. Yes, comrade, America has need of you and your kind. Long may you abide among us until your mission is fulfilled.

My heart aches for the people of all the nations. They do not hate one another. They do not want war. They want peace and liberty to enjoy the fruits of their labor. I have traveled the length and breadth of the land, and I know that the people want peace. I am told on good authority that the people of Great Britain, Germany and Russia want peace. They would rejoice in a peace without victory. What military victory could compensate them for this terrible waste of human life and treasure? * * * We know that words once spoken will make their way. Although they fall upon the stony ground watered with tesrs and blood, yet they will spring up, and great shall be the harvest. They may imprison you, they may kill you; but the ideas for which you and my other comrades do battle are indestructible. In the yesrs to come you will be honored and loved for a devotion to humanity that life could not tire, or death quench, or calumny shake. When the veil of prejudice and ignorance is torn away from the eyes of men, and they aee with the sight God has given them, they will wonder at the blindness and stupidity of the gneration that put such a woman in jsil. For they will then see as I see now what you stand for.

I send you greetlngs from the everlaating hills—glorious symbols of the Eternal God that shall prevall. With a love that grows as I know more of you, I am,

Faithfully your comrsde,

Helen Keller

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Books on War and Militarism*

UNDER FIRE, by Henri Barbusse. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York ($1.50).

The author, a soldier in the French army, relates what he saw and experienced in the trenches. He writes as a keen observer of conditions and men who is not blinded by national hatreds and prejudices. The soldier he knows from intimate personal acquaintance is not the soldier of the bragging patriotic newspaper brand, who is described as most willing to split the head of the enemy, because he is imbecile enough to believe what he read in the paper, namely, that this enemy is the "outcast of the universe." Barbusse's soldiers are men, "good fellows of all kinds, rudely torn away from the joy of life. Like any other men whom you take in the mass, they are ignorant and of narrow outlook—disposed to be led and to do as they are bid." They act under the instinct of self-preservation and cling desperately to the hope of pulling through. One of them, Volpatte, has both his ears nearly shot off. It makes him happy. He says to a comrade: "Old man, it's a good wound after all. I shall be sent back, no mistake about it." Faradet, of the same squad, remarks on this occasion: "At the beginning it sounded comic when I heard them wish for a good wound. But all the same, and whatever can be said about it. I understand now that it's the only thing a poor soldier can hope for if he isn't daft."

Life in the trenches consists chiefly of dirt, stink, and lice, and when the squad is sent to a village to rest up and the soldiers are just dying to find a little comfort for themselves, the answer is: "No—you see, I've got officers—under officers, that is, you see, it's the mess for the band and the secretaries, and the gentlemen of the ambulance."

The nation demands your life, but the spoils belong to your superiors.

* * *

A GERMAN DESERTER'S WAR EXPERIENCE.—B. W. Huebsch, New York ($1.00).

Fourteen months the writer endured it on the western front, compelled to fight and to march with his regiment through burning cities and villages, the fleeing inhabitants of which scatter in all directions. Then he suceeded in making his escape into Holland, and from there arrived in a coal-bunker on these shores. As a civilian he is a miner, a working man opposed to the war from the very beginning. What he learns of its beastly practice teaches him that he was right—thousand times right—in his opposition. When the mobilization orders came the soldiers did not know who was to be the enemy. Even after the human cattle had already been entrained for the shambles, nobody took the trouble to give any information. They came very close to the Belgian frontier before they were told by their captain that the Belgian was their enemy.. "If we had been told," says the author, "the Hollander is your enemy, we would have been compelled to believe it, and would have shot him by order, for they give us our enemy and our friend according to the requirements of their own interests."

Sometimes it happens that this state of affairs does not create enough enthusiasm among the soldiers for the killing and burning business. Then the singing of patriotic songs may enliven them. But the company, tired and footsore, is not in a mood to sing. Up steps one of the officers and shouts at the men, "I tell you sing, you swine!" And the "swine" obey and sing, miserably though it sounds. There you have the wonderful discipline, the virtue, and the manhood of military life!

The revolutionary philosophy of the Boylsheviki may find a large field for action if Germany has many more young workingmen who hold opinions and convictions similar to those of the German soldier who wrote this book.

* * *

MILITARISM.—By Karl Liebknecht—B. W. Huebsch, New York ($1.00).

This book, translated from the German, is anti-militaristic from every point of view. It is not a pacifist treatise. Its arguments are those of the social revolutionist who knows that wars are the logical results of international capitalistic competition, and who is absolutely opposed to militarism because it has ever been the tool of the ruling classes to keep the proletariat in submission. By giving many examples of bloody military interference in strikes, etc., taken from the modern history of monarchies as well as of republics, the writer furnishes irrefutable evidence on this point. The American reader's attention may be especially called in this connection to pages 140-147. Considering that the German original of the book was published about eleven years ago, when talk of world peace and disarmament was much abroad, Liebknecht proved himself a prophet when he scornfully dismissed the twaddle of bourgeois pacifists a la Carnegie: "All the alleged plans for disarmament are thus seen to be for the present nothing but foolery, phrase-making and attempts at deception. The fact that the Tsar was the chief originator of the comedy at The Hague puts the true stamp on all of them."

The strongest features of the book are those parts which deal with the professional war promoters, the Krupps, Stumms, the Metal Trust, Powder Trust, etc. Karl Liebknecht's undaunted courage has earned him the special hatred of the German government. He was arrested after having spoken at an antimilitarist demonstration, and in the summer of 1916 he was sent to the penitentiary for four years and one month. High treason it was, the Court said—the usual reward in these days for those who love humanity and champion the cause of labor.

The three books make very good reading.

*To be had through Mother Earth Publishing Association.

A Letter

(Conclusion)

Years have passed since. The object of my dreams has become a naked reality. I am in America, among Americans, and in American schools. I am learning the American ideals, customs, and traditions.

But alas! The same phrase I heard fifteen years ago from the Russian Captain,

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telling me to get out of the land if I don't eat pork, I hear now repeating itself in just a slightly modified form: "If you don't like this land, you should get out of it!" To be sure, it comes no longer from a Russian Captain, but from a member of an American board of education, who wishes to deprive Mr. Moore of his diploma because he dares to stand firm for what his conscience tells him to be right. Think of it! Freedom of conscience, which was practically the watchword for the founders of this Republic!

Granting that Mr. Moore has committed a political offense, and disobeyed the law, the law provides the punishment, and Mr. Moore was perfectly aware of it, and submitted quietly and unresistingly.

There is no disgrace in being a political offender. We do not condemn O'Connel, Skeffington, Casement, of Ireland, who were executed in the most cruel and brutal manner, even though they were political offenders. Nor do we condemn Warren Hastings, John Brown, Garibaldi, Joan of Arc, Mme. Breshkovsaya, and hundreds of others, too numerous to mention. Not even Germany's '48ers. The greatest men in the world's history were for some reason or other political offenders. Even George Washington broke the laws of King George. But, as one of the members of the school board said: *"He* got away with it."

Mr. Moore has not stolen anything, nor has he robbed anyone, nor has he murdered anyone. He simply chose the alternative which the law provided for everyone who wanted to choose it, *i. e.*, register or go to jail.

Yet along comes a member of the honorable school board and states, "It would be improper to confer a diploma on a criminal under his present circumstances," and "Let us wait until all disability is removed."

To my question whether "forced registration" would be considered as removing the disability, it was emphatically answered "No! All he (Mr. Moore) will have to do is register." Very well, then; where is the difference between the "forced registration," which our government will ultimately bring to bear upon Mr. Moore, and the "voluntary registration" which the honorable board demands of him *in order that he should get his diploma?* I confess that I do not see the difference, and I am inclined to think that neither do the gentlemen. It is simply the alternative of "eating the pork or of getting out of the land."

MAURICE FRUCHT.

History To Be

Current events are chronicled, primarily, by newspaper reporters—persons, generally, of no superior intelligence, and selected chiefly for their "instinct for news" and the knack of securing a "scoop." Superficiality in observation, inadequacy of understanding, exaggeration, and even downright misrepresentation are the main characteristics of such description. Thus the press at the very outset often turns a false light upon events of importance, and the reading public becomes the unconscious victim of misinformation. The reader is still further deluded by the editorial bias which interprets important events from the narrow viewpoint of the particular group interests the editor happens to serve and often share.

Special contributors, magazine writers, etc., though of superior understanding than the average reporter, unfortunately but inevitably approach their task of investigation already influenced in some degree by the initial newspaper misinformation and the public atmosphere of prejudice already formed.

Subsequently a history of the event is written, based on contemporary chronicles and "data," and that is the reason why most of so-called history is so positively and mischievously false.

Vide the terrible judicial assassination of the pioneer idealists of America, in Chicago, in 1887, written down in American "history" as a "riot on the Haymarket that caused the death of a number of police officers, the murderous perpetrators expiating their crime on the gallows."

True history will be written only when the struggle of the classes will have been abolished, and no social group will be vitally interested in distorting the truth and misleading the people.

FUNDS

Money collected at E. G. lectures in Chicago and Detroit for the following purposes:

For the use of the I. W. W. prisoners in Cook County jail: Chicago, $216.50; Detroit, $76.00. Amount turned over to the Non-Partisan Radical League, Chicago.

For the Italian Victims of the Milwaukee Frame-up: Chicago, $175.50; Detroit, $76.00. Amount turned over to Secretary Checki and Judin.

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For the Appeal of Louise Olivereau: Chicago, $21.50; Detroit, $139.00.

Appeal for Comrade Levine: Chicago, $25.00.

MOTHER EARTH BULLETIN Sustaining Fund: Chicago meeting, $75.00; Banquet, $59.00. Promised pledges for Sustaining Fund, $40.00.

Campaign for Amnesty for the Political Prisoners in America on conclusion of Peace: Detroit, $167.60.

$170.00 collected in New York City for the I. W. W. was given as follows: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, for trip to Chicago in re New York cases, $150.00; for care of boys in Cook County jail, $20.00.

Will you help maintain the BULLETIN while we are in prison, and at the same time aid the propaganda?

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Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

JAN 18 1918 CHIEF OF STAFF WAR COLLEGE DIVISION

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WAR DEPARTMENT

REPORT FORM NO. 1.

	REPORT MADE BY:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
	E. J. Bamberger	Jan. 5, 1918.
	PLACE WHERE MADE:	DATE WHEN MADE:
	Chicago, Ill.	Jan. 8, 1918.

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:

In re: Emma Goldman, Anarchist -
Lecture on "The Bolsheviki, their True Nature and Aim."

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.:

At Chicago:

The following report is made by E. J. Bamberger, A. P. L. operative No. 1576.

This meeting was held Saturday, January 5, 1918, at 8 P. M., at the East End Hall, Erie and N. Clark Sts., Chicago, Ill.

The plugger announcing this meeting reads as follows:

"Do you want to understand the Russian revolution
and to know what the Bolsheviki are aiming at?
Emma Goldman
author of 'Anarchism and Other Essays,'
'The Social Significance of the Modern Drama,'
Saturday, January 5th, 8 P. M.
at East End Hall,
Erie and N. Clark Sts.
Questions and Discussions
Admission 25 cents
Subject - "The Bolsheviki - Their True Nature
and Aim'

"Miss Goldman is out on bail, pending a decision from the United States Supreme Court. She has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment in the Missouri State Penitentiary and $10,000 fine. This is her last tour, and we hope all of Miss Goldman's friends will turn out to bid her farewell.

COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

CHICAGO OFFICE AND A. P. L. OFFICE PAGE 2 7—877

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REPORT FORM NO. 1

1-5-18

E. J. Bamberger
In re: Emma Goldman, Anarchist -
"The Bolsheviki, Their True Nature and Aim."

"Under the auspices of the Non-Partisan Radical League
****

"Miss Goldman will also lecture Sunday evening, January 6th, at the Douglas Park Auditorium, Ogden and Kedzie Aves. - subject, "The Russian Revolution and its Fore-runners."

This plugger has union label number 358.

The chairman at this meeting was Dr. Ben Reitman. The hall and balconies were entirely filled, and the aisles were crowded with listeners. Considerable socialist and anarchist literature was sold. The "Mother Earth" bulletin was sold, also "Anarchy on Trial," Marriage and Love," and "Life and Speeches of Emma Goldman." The "Defense News Bulletin" was distributed free of charge among the audience. Operative noticed Mr. Wm. Nathanson among those present.

Previous to the meeting a Mr. Cook arose and made speeches to aid the sale of anarchistic literature. He is a tall man, wears a goatee, and resembles a doctor somewhat. It is operative's understanding that he is an officer of the League of Humanity. At the outset he said, "If there is anything more impressive than the word of mouth, it is the printed word. You will have a chance to purchase works of leading anarchists at several meetings." He spoke of "great superstitions" in the world,

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] The Bolsheviki, Their True Nature and Aim / Emma Goldman. – 27 cm. *In* E.J. Bamberger, "[Report to] War Department." – (Jan. 8, 1918).
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E. J. BAMBERGER 1-5-18

In re: Emma Goldman, Anarchist -
"The Bolsheviki, Their True Nature and Aim."

among them government and "Miss Grundy." He then announced for sale the book entitled, "God and the State," by Michael Bakunin, a copy of which operative has purchased. It was then 7:35 P. M. He continued his remarks with, "Miss Goldman will go to jail for several years, and meetings like this will be scarce."

He then announced for sale "Anarchist Morality," by Peter Krotopkin, stating that those who desired it might have a copy for 10¢. In this connection he remarked, "Possibly you are familiar with the philosophy of anarchism. Some condemn it without knowing its philosophy." He then spoke of a book by Voltairine DeCleyre "Selected Works." He said it was a large book, containing almost one thousand pages, and written by an American anarchist. He asked, "Did you ever hear of an American anarchist. Voltairine DeCleyre was born in American, and took her name from Voltaire. She was raised in a Catholic institution, and became a Free Thinker. A large part of her work is Free Thought. A considerable portion of the book is devoted to essays selected by Alexander Berkman. It is the only book of hers that has been published.

He also announced the following books for sale;

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"Anarchism and American Conditions," "Sex Slavery," "Social Significance of the Modern Drama," by Emma Goldman, which books were sold among the audience. The "Mother Earth" bulletin was sold at 5¢ a copy, and Mr. Cook announced a little booklet for sale entitled, "Women and the War," also Miss Goldman's book, "Anarchism and what it Really Stands For." "The voice of the minority," he said, "is often the voice of the majority." He then spoke of different essays in the last-named book, among them, "Patriotism," "Hypocrisy," "Traffic in Women," and "Marriage and Love." Then announced the sale of "Anarchism and Other Essays," by Emma Goldman, at 50¢; "Sabotage - Its Philosophy and Function," by Walker C. Smith, was spoken of; also a new book entitled "Women and the War," written by Charlotte Bruning and printed by John F. Higgins, printer, 576 W. Monroe St., bearing union label number 80. This book contains the following poem, by Mary O'Reilley, entitled, "The Answer of Women to the Men who make war:

"You ask for our sons for armies,
And amid the battles' roar,
You mowed down by thousands,
And dare to ask the mothers of nations
Whose blood-soaked earth is covered by dead and dying,
To suffer the pains of birth."

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Mr. Cook then stated that he had in his hand a copy of the brief which was prepared by Henry Weinberger, attorney for Emma Goldman and the others in the case pending before the United States Supreme Court. Mr. Cook said that this brief was on the constitutionality of the draft act, and that he would pass a few copies around; that it was only interesting to lawyers. Mr. Cook sold some of the briefs, and said, "You will think they have a chance if you read the book. Its cost is 50¢." He then proceeded to read a poem entitled, "Out of the Darkness." He said he noticed many Fedcral men present, and he recommended that it be read by all of them (applause).

At 8:23 P. M. Miss Goldman took the platform, being greeted by loud applause. Chairman Reitman turned to her and said, "I think I will be safe in saying 'Fellow Citizens,'" and he asked Miss Goldman if this was all right. She answered, "I think it is all right, for I still believe in free speech." The chairman then told of the conditions in Russia, and said everything that appeared in the newspapers could not be believed; that if anyone in America understands

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Russian conditions it is Emma Goldman, since she is a Russian herself; that those who in recent years have been called ignorant in Russia are now the leaders. He then said he was pleased to introduce Emma Goldman. Her speech was as follows:

"Friends, the applause that you gave me when I came on the platform is not intended for me but for the Bolsheviki. If you know anything of the great movements for social improvement in the past, you know that at first the movements were met by prosecution and persecution, by ridicule and then by success. The Bolsheviki could not expect to meet with anything else. The Bolsheviki movement is not American or Russian, for, in matters of stupidity, no country has a monopoly.

"I know something of the Bolsheviki, and will tell you something of them. They are bound to play a leading part in the political and economic reconstruction of the United States. You are not to believe what you read in the newspapers. I will define the word Bolsheviki. The word Bolsheviki means the party that represents the majority of interests; it is not what the press dictates. It means the working class, which we in

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In re: Emma Goldman, Anarchist -
TThe Bolsheviki, Their True Nature and Aim."

America call the fourth estate, the disinherited, the wage slaves, the workers. They represent the party that makes the greatest protest. The Bolsheviki party does not believe in reform, but it believes in revolution. It does not, however, believe in bloodshed. The Russian revolution has demonstrated that it is not necessary to take off the heads of the rulers to get reform; that it is only necessary to remove the throne or chair from under the rulers.

"Now, it is necessary for Americans to learn Russian. One language is not enough; it is too provincial to know only one language. It is also necessary to learn the language of the 'ignorant people or Russia,' as they are called.

"At the present time the Bolsheviki comprise the I. W. W.'s, revolutionists and other radicals as well as social democrats. They demand the fundamental reconstruction of society.

"Why is the Bolsheviki the most logical of movements since the Russian revolution? The impression is that when the Russian revolutionists overthrew the czar they had accomplished their mission. This is not

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so. During the last hundred years many men have lost their lives in this cause. The Russian revolutionist wants economic changes. The revolutionists' aim is not to take off the throne the person on the same and put another person on it, which is the understanding of some. The Russian people go deeper and aim higher than the people of other countries. Their aim is to change economic and political conditions. In the past the people were given liberty on paper only.

"The Bolsheviki, or new movement, that began with the overthrow of the Romanoffs and which will not end until the Russians have entire economic freedom, is a real movement for freedom. It is foolish to accuse Lenine and Trotzky of being German spies. This is childish. They are only emblematical of the movement. There are those who have put their ears to the ground. Just as the czar has gone, so so would Trotzky and Lenine go if they did not represent the people. The Russian people know that the governing class has no heart, and they want to make their voices heard in all countries, including the United States.

"Lenine and Trotzky need no defense, but since

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they have been misrepresented in the newspapers, I want to speak of few words for them. Lenine comes from a family or revolutionists. His brother was executed by the czar. Six of his family are in prison in the Russian dungeons. Anyone who says that Lenine is a German spy is only a knave, a fool, and a liar. It may surprise you to know that Lenine's book on political economy was secretly used in the Russian universities for many years previous to the revolution. All the accusations against him emanated from the newspapers of the United States.

"As for Trotzky, it is well he lived in the United States, that Americans have seen the conditions among which he lived. Trotzky, although he had no money to pay rent, would not sell his soul to the devil, the capitalist class. He would not go to work for the press. A subscription was taken at Halifax to pay his way to Russia. Regardless of what you accuse the German kaiser of, you cannot accuse him of overpaying his spies; they had to take up a collection in Halifax to pay Trotzky's way back to Russia. If all those who do not agree with you are German spies, they half of those who are in Germany must be German spies.

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"It is true that until recently the Russian people were considered Asiatic," and she quoted from Lincoln Steffens. "It is well that the Russians have retained their sympathy. The Russians are fortunate in that their movements do not suffer from the constipation of education. The American people must be educated from their education."

"The Russian calls the soil "mother soil" because he has never been given a right to the soil. That is why he was suppressed and repressed. The Russian's aim is that the land should go back to the people. They demand that the working class shall have freedom, not only on paper, to be celebrated on the 4th of July, but to be celebrated every day. The aim is to reconstruct Russia.

"The Bolsheviki want a separate war, it is true, a war to sustain the revolutionists. They do not want a separate peace. They could have gotten peace easily enough, but the United States has hardly recognized the Russian revolution.

" What the Bolsheviki want is that negotiations for peace shall not take place between the ruling classes,

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but between the oppressed people of all countries. That peace can be obtained only by the people themselves; that peace can come, not from the efforts of diplomats, not from a war of imperialism - and that is my idea of the present war in which the United States is engaged. The Russian people were not consulted about the war in Europe any more than the American people were consulted before war was declared by the United States. Any arrangements made and obligations incurred by the ruling class shall be settled by them. They are allies of the countries that want the czar. The Bolsheviki say we will only pay the debts that we have incurred. The Bolsheviki wanted peace. It shall be established without intermediates. The Bolsheviki want no imperialism. They know that while one man is enslaved anywhere in the world they will not be free.

"Were the Russian people asked if they wanted to join the Allies? They were forced to join the Allies. They say that our allies are the Americans, the English and the French. We won't desert our allies; that is, the American, the English and the French working people. We are not the allies of those who made the war, the

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allies of the governing class, not the allies of the rulers.

"When the Russians saw that the German peace meant the enslavement of Poland in the recent peace negotiations, they said, 'Nothing doing.' And, knowing the Russian people as I do, I am convinced that the Russian people will not make peace until the people of the world understand that the present-day idea is 'Don't touch private property, but kill all the human beings you want; that is what they were born for anyway.' And so they have learned that the first thing to do is to keep the people clothed. The Russian socialists said to the czar, 'Who gave you the title anyway?' Well, he is gone, and they say to the rest of the nobility, 'Go with him; only he is entitled to the soil who can till the soil.'"

"The Russians took possession of the banks, the money and lands so that they would be able to take care of the people's needs, so that the same thing would not occur there that occurred in France when French money was paid to the Germans, who killed the French working people. The Russian people believe that the working people only are entitled to the money

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in the banks. The Russians want to place everything in the hands of the people, not in the hands of the state. They want to abolish all the ranks; the officers, whose only contribution to war is, as in the Spanish-American war, to shoot the enemy in the back. They have done away with all ranks and degrees and all that divides the working class. They say that the officers are not necessary.

"Don't you see that the Bolsheviki are living up to what you have not lived up to; that if the officers lived through all the privations that the privates have to endure, they would want all wars abolished?

"The Bolsheviki want the courts abolished, doing away with all judges and lawyers. So the judges and lawyers in Russia are now doing menial work. They say, 'What does a judge or lawyer produce?' They are now teaching the judges and lawyers to make an honest living, so that when the system is changed they will have jobs.

"Some of the finest types in Russia are opposed to the Bolsheviki. This is because they have

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been deluded into wanting a democracy. They will find out that the people of an autocracy know they are not free, and in a democracy they think they are free when they are not free. In the near future the other revolutionists will appreciate that the Bolsheviki represent all that there is to freedom.

"I should not be surprised if the imperialists of other countries in Europe would make common cause with the anti-Bolsheviki in Russia. Terrible as the German ruling class is, it is not so powerful as the Bolsheviki. They will find themselves 'bucking up' against the 150 million Russians.

"Even if the Russian ideals of the Bolsheviki shall fail, the ideals and effect will still remain. It is just as though one were born color blind and suddenly were enabled to see beautiful sights. We can never be the same again. We will see that the light has risen and will do away with the idea that men go at each other's throats and make war upon each other. The Bolsheviki will embrace the world in one great human family."

This conoluded her speech, which was louddy

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applauded. It was then 9:30 P. M.

In response to the applause she again got up, and said: "I am not a prima donna. You have applauded the Bolsheviki that will lure you on to victory. You should be glad you are living in a day when the Bolsheviki are doing what they are now doing."

The chairman then said, "You can understand why a great crowd was at Miss Goldman's trial and why the United States is so interested in Miss Goldman."

He then announced a meeting to be held at the Douglas Park Auditorium, January 6, 1918, at which Miss Goldman would speak; and he said, "If Russia can have a revolution, maybe some other country can have one also. If one looks around in America he will see some conditions that preceded the Russian revolution."

He then announced a meeting to be held on Tuesday, January 8th, at 8 P. M., at the Berg school, Hoyne Ave. and Division St., at which Emma Goldman would speak on Maxim Gorki. He also announced a meeting to be held Friday evening, January 11th, at 8 P. M., at the Douglas Park Auditorium, at which she would speak on America and the Russian revolution; also a meeting of the "Dill Pickles Club," an organization of

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radicals, to be held at 18 Tucker Pl., behind 863 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, adding that they were having a dance there that afternoon. He told the audience Dr. Jones would speak Thursday evening at 2081 W. Oak St., Chicago; also announced that the "Hobo Club" was open, and all bums might be admitted.

Miss Goldman took the floor again and said: " There are Bolsheviki in America. They have not the same background as in Russia (meaning the 159 I. W. W.'s who are to be tried in Chicago. You know as much about the I. W. W.'s as you know about the Bolsheviki, from the newspapers."

She then quoted a reporter from the New York Evening Post, to the effect that after making a thorough investigation throughout the West he had come to the conclusion that there was no reason for accusing the I. W. W.'s of crime.

She said that the trial of the 159 I. W. W.'s in Chicago reminded her of the case in Russia where 193 were tried and which brought on the Russian revolution. She said she would try to get a fair trial for the 159 I. W. W.'s if a fair trial is possible in the

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United States, stating she would open the collection with $25.00, and asking if there was anyone else who would give $25.00 to aid the I. W. W.'s, the Bolsheviki of the United States.

The audience then sang some I. W. W. songs, after which it was announced that $185.00 had been collected. The total collections amounted to $200.50. Miss Goldman announced, and added that she was glad the I. W. W.'s were not without friends and that they would come to no harm.

She then announced a banquet to be held next Saturday evening on West 12th St., stating that her friends had arranged a farewell feed, to be held at the Co-operative Restaurant. She asked that only those who were subscribers to "Mother Earth" be present at that banquet. The tickets, she stated, would be 75¢, and the feed would last half the week.

She told the audience that since she spoke to them last a great many things had happened; that she had published "Mother Earth" for twelve years, that it was suppressed in June, 1917, that she would not ask for second-class privileges for another paper. She asked for first-class privileges for "Mother Bulletin,"

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she said. This booklet contains 18 pages. She asked her friends to subscribe for it if they had not already done so, and urged them to continue reading her writings when she was at her retreat at the University of Jefferson, stating that Mr. Abbott, of "Current Opinion" would mail them out in her absence. She told the audience that her Chicago friends would give her a banquet before she took up her prison fare.

She stated that she and other anarchists had been convicted, not because the state proved their guilt, but because they were anarchists. She told about her trial in New York, and the judge saying he was sorry she was not with the other class as she might help it greatly.

She was asked what her attitude would be if Germany refused the peace proposals. She answered that the Bolsheviki would then proceed to offer peace terms to the American and other people, and if the people did not respond because of stupidity, the Russians would proceed to perpetuate the rebellion.

Kerensky, she said, was a social democrat. He was dazzled by the possibilities. The Bolsheviki succeeded because they understood the needs of the

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people. Kerensky, she said, was not big enough for the occasion. He did not betray the people, but Russia needs an economic as well as political change. She told her audience that the Russians would clear the country of bribery; that all that is necessary is to take away the power of the rulers, that it is not necessary to take off their heads.

She continued with the statement that the Greek Catholic church is very rich, and that all the church property would be confiscated to make the people rich. She said that a constitutional assembly would be called when an armistice was called; that a constitutional assembly is not expressive of the will of the people any more than congress is expressive of the will of the people of America.

She stated that the Bolsheviki aim to do away with all standing armies and to let all the people be armed. She said that there were 3000 Russian anarchists who went back from the United States to Russia they told of the slums and other conditions and cruelties to the workers in the United States.

She concluded by saying. "Some say that we

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must fight until the last man is dead, but Bolsheviki say that what the Germans should do to the kaiser is what the Russians did to the czar."

Operative noticed reporters with whom he is acquainted, the names and addresses of whom he has, taking notes during Emma Goldman's entire speech. On questioning one of them concerning the matter, she informed operative that they were reporting the speech for Miss Goldman so that it could be printed later on.

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FORM NO. 1

REPORT MADE BY	PLACE WHERE MADE	DATE WHEN MADE	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE
American Pro. League	Chicago, Ill.	1-11-18	1-5-18

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION

In Re: Emma Goldman, Anarchist
Lecture on "The Bolsheviki, their True Nature and aim

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.

JAN 31 1918
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

AT CHICAGO

The following report is made by [illegible] Bamberger, A.P.L. Operative No. 1576.

"This meeting was held Saturday, January 5, 1918, at 8 P.M., at the East End Hall, Erie and N. Clark Sts., Chicagoo

The plugger announcing this meeting reads as follows:

Do you want to understand the Russian revolution and to know what the Bolsheviki are aiming at?

Emma Glodman, author of "Anarchism and Other Essays' The Social Significanoe of the Modern Drama.' Saturday, January 5th, 8 P. M. at East End Hall, Erie & N. Clark Sts. Questions and Discussions -- Admission 25 cents. -- Subject -"The Bolsheviki Their True Nature and Aim."

"Miss Goldman is out on bail, pending a dicision from the United States Supreme Court. She has been sentenced to two years' inprisonment in the Missouri State Penitentiary and $10,000 fine. This is her last tour, and we hope all of Miss Goldman's friends will turn out to bid her farewell.

Under the auspicis of the Non-Partisan Radical League

Miss Goldman will also lecture Sunday evening, January 6th, at the Douglas Park Auditorium, Ogden and Kedzie Aves. - Subject, "The Russian Revolution and its Fore-runners."

This plugger has union label number 358.

The chairman at this meeting was Dr. Ben Reitman. The hall and balconies were entirely filled, and the aisles were crowded with listeners. Considerable socialist and anarchist literature was sold. The "Mother Earth" bulletin was sold, also

COPY OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO

Chicago Office

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"Anarchy on Trial," Marriage and Love," and "Life and Speeches of Emma Goldman." The "Defense News Bulletin" was distributed free of charge among the audience. Operative noticed Mr. Nathanson among those present.

RECEIVED JAN 31 1918 Bureau of Investigation Department of Justice

Previous to the meeting a Mr. Cook arose and made speeches to aid the sale of anarchistic literature. He is a tall man, wears a goatee, and resembles a doctor somewhat. It is the Operatives understanding that he is an officer of the League of Humanity. At the outset he said, "If there is anything more impressive than the word of mouth, it is the printed word. You will have a chance to purchase works of leading anarchists at several meetings." He spoke of "great superstitions" in the world, among them government and "Mrs. Grundy." He then announced for sale the book entitled, "God and the State," by Michael Bakunin, a copy of which operative has purchased. It was then 7:35 P.M. He continued his remarks with, "Miss Goldman will go to jail for several years , and meetings like this will be scarce."

He then announced for sale "Anarchist Morality." by Peter Krotopkin, stating that those who desired it might have a copy for 10¢. In this connection he remarked, "Possibly you are familiar with the philosophy of anarchism. Some condemn it without knowing its philosophy." He then spoke of a book by Voltairine DeCleyre "Selected Works." He said it was a large book, containing almost one thousand pages, and written by an American anarchist. He asked, "Did you ever hear of an American anarchist? Voltairine DeCleyre was born in America, and took her name from Voltaire. She was raised in a Catholic institution, and became a Free Thinker. A large part of her work in Free Thought. A considerable portion of the book is devoted to essays selected by Alexander Berkman. It is the only book of hers that has been published.

He also announced the following books for sale:

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] The Bolsheviki, Their True Nature and Aim / Emma Goldman.— 27 cm. *In* E.J. Bamberger, "[Report to] Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice." —(Jan. 11, 1918).

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

"Anarchism and American Conditions," "Sex Slavery", "Social Significance of the Modern Drama," by Emma Goldman, which books were sold among the soldiers. The "Mother Earth" bulletin was sold at 5 cents a copy, and Mr. Cook announced a little booklet for sale entitled "Women and the War", also Miss Goldman's book, "Anarchism and what it Really Stands For." "The voice of the minority he said is often the voice of the majority." He then spoke of different essays in the last-named book, among them, "Patriotism", "Hypocrisy", "Traffic in Women" and "Marriage and Love." Then announced the sale of Anarchism and other essays, by Emma Goldman at 50 cents "Sabotage - Its Philosophy and Function," by Walker C. Smith, was spoken of, also a new book entitled, "Women and the War", written by Charlotte Bruning and printed by John F. Higgins printer, 576 W. Monroe St., bearing union lable number 80. This book contains the following poem, by Mary O'Reilley, entitled, "The Andwer of Women to the Men who make War:

"You ask for our sons for armies,
And amid the battles' roar,
You mowed down by thousands,
And dare to ask the mothers of nations
Whose blood-soaked earth is covered by dead and dying
To suffer the pains of birth."

Mr. Cook then stated that he had in his hand a copy of a brief which was prepared by Henry Weinberger, attorney for Emma Goldman and the others in the case pending before the United States Supreme Court. Mr. Cook said that this brief was on the constitutionality of the draft act, and that he would pass a few copies around, that it was only interesting to lawyers. Mr. Cook sold some of the briefs, and said, "You will think they have a chance if you read the book. Its cost is 50 cents." He then proceeded to read a poem entitled, "Out of the Darkness." He said he noticed many Federal men present, and he recommended that it be read by all

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of them (applause).

At 8:33 P. M. Miss Goldman took the platform, being greeted by loud applause. Chairman Reitman turned to her and said, "I think I will be safe in saying "Fellow Citizens," and he asked Miss Goldman if this was allright. She answered, "I think it is allright, for I still believe in free speech." The chairman then told of the condition in Russia, and said everything that appeared in the newspapers could not be believed, that if anyone in America understands Russian conditions it is Emma Goldman, since she is a Russian herself, that those who in recent years have been called ignorant in Russia are now the leaders. He then said he was pleased to introduce Emma Goldman. Her speech was as follows:

"Friends the applause that you gave me when I came on the platform is not intended for me but for the Bolsheviki. If you know anything of the great movements for social improvement in the past, you know that at first the movements were met by prosecution and persecution, bu ridicule and then by success. The Bolsheviki could not expect to meet with anything else. The Bolsheviki movement is not American or Russian, for, in matters of stupidity no country haas a monopoly.

"I know something of the Bolsheviki, and will tell you something of them. They are bound to play a leading part in the political and economic reconstruction of the United States. You are not to believe what you read in the newspapers. I will define the word Bolsheviki. The word Bolsheviki means the party that represents the majority of interests; it is not what the press dictates. It means the working class, which we in America call the fourth estate, the disinherited, the wage slaves, the workers. They represent the party that makes the greatest protest. The Bolsheviki party does not believe in reform, but it believes in revolution. It does not however, believe in bloodshed. The Russians

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revolution has demonstrated that it is not newessary to take off the heads of the rulers to got reform; that it is only necessary to remove the throne or chair from under the rulers.

"Now it is necessary for Americans to learn Russian. One language is not enough; it is too provincial to know only one language. It is also necessary to learn the language of the ignorand people of Russia, as they are called.

"At the present time the Bolsheviki comprise the I.W.W.'s, revolutionists and other radicals as well as social democrats. They demand the fundamental reconstruction of society.

"Why is the Bolsheviki the most logical of movements since the Russian revolution? The impression is that when the Russian revolutionists overthrew the czar they had accomplished their mission. This is not so. During the last hundred years many men have lost their lives in this cause. The Russian revolutionist wants economic changes. The revolutionists' aim is not to take off the throne the person on the same and put another person on it, which is the understanding of some. The Russian people go deeper and aim higher that the economic and political conditions. In the past the people were given the liberty of the paper only.

"The Bolsheviki, or new movement, that began with the overthrow of the Romanoffs and which will not and until the Russians have entire economic freedom is a real movement for freedom. It is foolish to accuse Lenine and Trotzky of being German spies. This is childish. They are only emblematical of the movement. There are those who have put their ears to the ground. Just as the czar has gone, so would trotzky and Lenine go if they did not represent the people. The Russian people know that the governing class has no heart, and they wand to make their voices heard in all countries including the United States

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"Lenine and Trotzky need no defense, but sincethey have been misrepresented in the newspapers, I want to speak a few words for them

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them. Lenine comes from a family of revolutionists. His brother was excuted by the czar. Six of his family are in prison in the Russian dungeons. Anyone who says that Lenine is a German spy is only a knave, a fool, and a liar. It may surprise you to know that Lenine's been on political economy was secretly usedin the Russian universities for many years previous to the revolution. All the accusations against him emanated from the newspapers of the United States.

As to Trotzky it is well he lived in the United States, that Americans have been the conditions among which he lived. Trotsky although he had no money to pay rent, would not sell his soul to the devil, the capitalist class. He would not go to work for the press. A subscription was taken at Halifax to pay his way to Russia. Regardless of what you accuse the German kaiser of, you cannot accuse him of overpaying his spies; they had to take up a collection in Halifax to pay Trotzky's way back to Russia. If all those who do not agree with you are German spies, they half of those who are in Germany must be German spies.

"It is true that until recently the Russian people were considered Asiatic," and she quoted from Lincoln Steffens. "It is well that the Russians have retained their sympathy. The Russians are fortunate in that their movement do not suffer from the constipation of education. The American people must be educated from their education.

"The Russian calls the soil "mother soil" because he has never been given a right to the soil. That is why he was supressed and repressed. The Russian's aim is that the land should go back to the people. They demand that the working class shall have freedom not only on paper, to be celebrated on the 4th of July, but to be celebrated every day. The aid is to reconstruct Russia.

"The Bolsheviki want a separate war, it is true, a war to sustain the revolutionists. They do not want a separate peace.

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They could have gotten peace easily enough, but the United States has hardly recognised the Russian revolution.

"What the Bolsheviki want is that negotations for peace shall not take place between the ruling classes, but between the oppressed people of all countries. That peace can be obtained only by the people themselves; that peace can come, not from the efforts of diplomats, not from war in which the United States is engaged. The Russian people were not consulted about the war in Europe any more than the American people were consulted before the war was declared by them. Any arrangements made and obligations inourred by the ruling class shall be settled by them. They are allies of the countries that want the czar. The Bolsheviki say we will only pay the debts that ew have incurred. The Bolsheviki wanted peace. It shall be established without intermediates. The Bolsheviki want no imperialism. They know that while one man is enslaved anywher in the world they will not be free.

"Were the Russian People asked if they wanted to join the Allies? They were forced to join the Allies. They say that our Allies are the Americans, the English and the French. We wont desert our allies; that is, the American, the English and the French working people. We are not the allies of those who made the war, the allies of the governing class, nor the allies of the rulers.

"When the Russians saw that the German peace meant the enslavement of Poland in the recent peace negotations, they said, "Nothing doing,". And, knowing the Russian people as I do, I am convinced that the Russian people will not make peace until the people of the world understand that the present-day idea is Don't touch private property, but kill all the human beings you want; that is what they were born for anyway."

And so they have learned that the first thing to do is to keep the people clothed. The Russian socialists said to the czar

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who gave you the title anyway?" Well he is gone, and they say to the rest of the nobility. "Go with him; only he is entitled to the soil who can till the soil.

"The Russians took possession of the banks, the money and lands so that they would be able to take care of the people's needs, so that the same thing would not occur there that occured in France when French money was paid to the Germans, who killed the French working people. The Russian people believe that the working people only are entitled to the money in the banks. The Russians want to place everything in the hands of the people, not in the hands of the state. They want to abolish all the ranks, the officers, whose only contribution to war is, as in the Spanish American war, to shoot the enemy in the back. They have done away with all ranks and degrees and all that divides the working class. They say that the officers are not necessary.

"Don't you see that the Bolsheviki are living up to what you have not lived up to, that if the officers lived through all the privations that the privates have to endure, they would want all wars abolished.

"The Bolsheviki want the courts abolished, doing away with all judges and lawyers. So the judges and lawyers in Russia are now doing menial work. They say, "What does a judge or lawyer produce?" They are now teaching the judges and lawyers to make an honest living, so that when the system is changed they will have jobs.

"Some of the finest types in Russia are opposed to the Bolsheviki. This is because they have been deluded into wanting a democracy. They will find out that the people of an autocracy know they are not free, and in a democracy they think they are free when they are not free. In the near future the other revolutionists will appreciate that the Bolsheviki represent all that there is to freedom.

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"I should not be surprised if the imperialists of other countries in Europe would make common cause with the Anti-Bolshev iki in Russia. Terrible as the German ruling people are, it is not so powerful as the Bolsheviki. They will find themselves "bucking up" against the 150 millian Russians.

"Even if the Russian ideal of the Bolsheviki shall fall, the ideals and effect will still remain. It is just as though one were born color blind and suddenly were enabled to see beautiful sights. We can never be the same again. We will see that the light has risen and will do away with the idean that men go at each other's throats and make war upon each other. The Bolsheviki will embrace the world in one great human family."

This concluded her speech, which was loudly applauded. It was then 9:30 P.M.

In response to the applause she again got up and said: "I am not a prima donna. You have applauded the Bolsheviki that will lure you on to victory. You should be glad you are living in a day when the Bolsheviki are doing what they are now doing."

The chairman then said,"You can understand why a great crowd was at Miss Goldman's trial and why the United States is so interested in Miss Goldman."

He then announced a meeting to be held at the Douglas Park Auditorium, January 6, 1918, at which Miss Goldman would speak and he said, "If Russia can have a revolution, maybe some other country can have one also. If one looks around in America he will see some conditions that preceded the Russian revolution."

He then announced a meeting to be held on Tuesday, January 8th, at 8 P.M., at the Berg school, Hoyne Ave., and Division St., at which Emma Goldman would speak on Maxim Gorki. He also announced a meeting to be held Friday evening, January 11th, at 8 P.M., at the Douglas Park Auditorium, at which she would speak on America and the Russian revolution, also a meeting of the "Dil

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Pickles Club" an organisation of radicals, to be held at 18 Tucker Pl., behind 863 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, adding that they were having a dance there that afternoon. He told the audience Dr. Jones would speak Thursday evening at 2081 W. Oak St. Chicago; also announced that the "Hobo Club" was open, and all bums might be admitted.

Miss Goldman took the floor again and said; "There are Bolsheviki in America. They have not the same background ad in Russia (meaning the 159 I.W.W.'s who are to be tried in Chicago. You know as much about the I.W.W.'s as you know about the Bolsheviki, from the newspapers.

She then quoted a reported from the New York Evening Post to the effect that after making a thorough investigation throughout the West he had come to the conclusion that there was no reason for accusing the I.W.W.'s of crime.

She said that the trial of the 159 I.W.W.'s in Chicago reminded her of the case in Russia where 193 were tried and which brought on the Russian revolution. She said she would try to get a fair trial for the 159 I.W.W.'s if a fair trial is possible in the United States, stating she would open the collection with $25.00 and asking if there was anyone else who would give $25.00 the aid the I.W.W.'s the Bolsheviki of the United States.

The audience then sang some I.W.W. songs, after which it was announced that $185.00 had been collected. The total collections amounted to $200.50, Miss Goldman announced, and added that she was glad the I.W.W.'s were not without friends and that they would come to no harm.

She then announced a banquet to be held next Saturday evening on West 12th St., stating that her friends had arranged a farewell feed, to be held at the Co-Operative Restaurant. She asked that only those who were subscribers to "Mother Earth" be present at the banquet. The tickets, she stated, would be 75 cents,--

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and the feed would last half the week.

She told the audience that since she spoke to them last a great many things had happened, that hse had published "Mother Earth" for twelve years, that it was suppressed in June,1917, that she would not ask for second-class privileges for another paper. She asked for first-class priviliges for "Mother Bulletin"

The Bolsheviki, Their True Nature and Aim." she said this booklet contains 28 pages. She asked her friends to subscribe for it if they had not already done so, and urged them to continue reading her writings when she was at her retreat at the University of Jefferson, stating that Mr. Abbott, of "Curant Opinion" would mail them out in her absence. She told the audience that her Chicago friends would give her a banquet before she took up her prison fare.

She stated that she and other anarchists had been convicted, not because the state proved their guilt, but because they were anarchists. She told about her trial in New York, and the judge saying he was sorry she was not with the other class as she might help it greatly.

She was asked what her attitude would be if Germany refused the peace proposals. She answered that the Bolsheviki would then proceed to offer peace terms to the American and other people and if the people did not respond because of stupidity, the Russians would proceed to perpetuate the rebellion.

Kerensky,she said, was a social democrat. He was dazzled by the possibilities. The Bolsheviki succeeded because they understood the needs of the people. Kerensky, she said, was not big enough for the occasion. He did not betray the people, but Russia needs an economic as well as political change. She tell her audience that the Russians would clear the country of bribery; that all that is necessary is to take away the power of the rulers, that it is not necessary to take off their heads.

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She continued with the statement that the Greek Catholic church is very rich, and that all the church property would be confiscated to make the people rich. She said that a constitutional assembly would be called an armistice was called; that a constitutional assembly is not expressive of the will of the people any more than congress is expressive of the will of the people of America.

She stated that the Bolsheviki aim to do away with all standing armies and to let all the people be armed. She said that there were 3009 Russian anarchists told of the slums and other conditions and cruelties to the workers in the United States.

She concluded by saying, "Some say that we must fight until the last man is dead, but Bolsheviki say that what the Germans should do to the Kaiser is what the Russians did to the czar." Operative noticed reporters with whom he is acquainted, the names and addresses of whom he has, taking notes during Emma Goldman's entire speech. On questioning one of them concerning the matter, she informed operative that they were reporting the speech for Miss Goldman so that it could be printed later on.

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REPORT FORM NO. 1

REPORT MADE BY:	PLACE WHERE MADE:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
E. J. BAMBERGER	CHICAGO, ILL.	JAN. 11, 1918	JAN. 8 1918.

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION:
In re: Emma Goldman's lecture on "Maxim Gorki"
Seditious utterances.

FEB 11 1918
10110-242
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WAR DEPARTMENT
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STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.:

AT CHICAGO:

Following is report of E. J. Bamberger, A. P. L. operative No. 1576, covering meeting of January 8, 1918, held at the Berg School, Hoyne Ave. and Division St., at which Emma Goldman spoke on "Maxim Gorki," the admission charge being 25¢, an additional charge of 3¢ war tax being made.

This meeting was very well attended. The hall proved to be too small, crowds outside clamoring to be admitted and disturbing the meeting with their noise. The normal seating capacity of the hall was about two hundred, but about two hundred and fifty were crowded into it. The audience was composed almost entirely of Russian and Polish Jews.

Mr. Cook, of the League of Humanity, acted as chairman. Previous to the meeting a book entitled "Anarchist Morality," by Peter Kropotkin, was sold. The "Chicago Socialist" of January 5, 1918, was distributed free of charge. The "Defense News Bulletin" of January 5, 1918, was also distributed free of charge. The bulletin which the usher announced takes the place of "Mother Earth," which has been suppressed by the United States government, was sold for 5¢; also "A talk between two workers," at 5¢, and "Anarchism, what it really stands for," 10¢. The "Social War" paper, "Philosophy of Atheism," and the "Failure of Christianity," were also sold. "Anarchy on Trial," by Emma Goldman, was sold for 25¢. A young man wearing tortoise shell glasses, a soft collar, and a gray suit, who spoke with a slight foreign accent, did most of the selling. He announced in offering the books for sale, "You also can become acquainted with the

CHICAGO AND R.P.L. OFFICES PAGE 2

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REPORT FORM NO. 2

E. J. BAMBERGER

In re: Emma Goldman's Lecture, "Maxim Gorki" 1-8-18
Seditious Utterances.

justice you get in our courts." "God and the State" was sold for 25¢. He announced that God and the state are two great superstitions. A dark haired woman, wearing a big red tie, also sold literature.

At 8:10 P. M. Mr. Cook, the chairman, said: "Time is the essence of existence. The printed word is as important as the spoken word; in fact, it is more important. The first thing we will offer is the "Speeches of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman," both of whom, as you have read in the newspapers, will probably spend two years in prison. We will sell these books at 25¢. This book contains the trial and speeches of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman before the Federal grand jury." The ushers proceeded to sell the books.

Mr. Cook then said that at one time he read a book that made him think he was in jail, that in reading it he went through all the emotions of being in jail. That book was "Prison Memoirs," by Alexander Berkman. He said they had brought a quantity of these books in a trunk, so did not have to pay any freight or express charges, and could sell them at a very reasonable price. Only four or five were left, and these were autographed by Alexander Berkman. They were sold by the ushers at $1.00 each.

A heavy-set man, wearing a full beard and mustache, announced, "To-morrow night, at the Douglas Park auditorium, I will speak on the European war from the racial point of view. I shall talk on the other races - the yellow and the black - as well as the Caucasian."

Mr. Cook then said: "I have been very much impressed with the fact that the people who go to church contribute generously to the upkeep of the church. Even the hired girl sometimes

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Seditious Utterances.

gives as much as $20.00 a year. The radicals are not making progress because the radicals are not educated up to radicalism, and its teachers are the poorest paid. Only the literature of Emma Goldman has survived. You cannot condemn anarchism until you read these works." He then spoke of "Anarchism and other essays," by Emma Goldman, saying, "Read her book; it is worth the price." It was sold by the ushers at 50¢. He then announced that all the essays were gone, but there were some pamphlets left, "Anarchy, What it really stands for," Anarchy and Other Essays," price 10¢. At this point (8:30 P.M.) Mr. Cook told of the difficulty he had had in finding the hall and said that Miss Goldman might also have trouble in locating it and might, therefore, be late getting there.

Mr. Cook said that a belief was a confession of ignorance. He told of a congress of religions held in the Civic Auditorium in San Francisco, Cal., at which Miss Goldman was denied the use of the hall. There was also a congress of Rationalists. Mr. Cook said he was a delegate at this congress. He said that Miss Goldman was the first person selected to speak, her subject being "The Philosophy of Atheism;" and they were compelled to allow her the use of the platform, although at times she was not granted that permission. He said she spoke for twenty-nine minutes, and there was great applause when she finished. The lecture was afterwards published. "The Philosophy of Athoism" and "Failure of Christianity" were then sold among the audience, at 10¢ a copy. The "Social War" was again sold. Mr. Cook said that the "Social War" was a magazine published by the International Propaganda Group, and that it contained some remarkable statements. He read a quotation from it, by Frederick the Great, to the effect that

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REPORT FORM NO. 2

E. J. BAMBERGER 1-8-18

In re: Emma Goldman's Lecture, "Maxim Gor. A"
Seditious Utterances.

if the soldiers knew what they were doing not one of them would remain in the ranks. "Social War" was then sold among the audience.

Mr. Cook further remarked, "If you were to ask yourself who are the seven greatest anarchists in the world, could you answer? One of these men was Peter Kropotkin. He was a prince, and laid aside his nobility to work among the poor. He wrote the book, "Fields, Factories and Work-shops." It is a book you can keep in your library and refer to. It is a text book on the land question." The book was sold among the audience at 25¢ a copy.

He then said, "It is getting late, but Miss Goldman left the hotel at 7:45 P. M. She has been dictating letters all day long to a stenographer, and has been busy signing them. Miss Goldman publishes a magazine of her own." For twelve years she published "Mother Earth." Last year the government put it out of existence. We have a couple of dozen still for sale. Miss Goldman will be the guest of the United States for the next two years. The bulletin can be had by mail for 10¢ and here for 5¢ a copy.

At 8:47 P. M. a paper to be signed by those who desired to help finance the I. W. W. prisoners in their coming trial was circulated among the audience.

Mr. Cook stated that the meeting was under the auspices of the Non-Partisan Radical League; that Miss Goldman would give considerable time to questions; that the following evening she would speak in Yiddish, at the West Side Auditorium, on the Bolsheviki; that on Thursday evening, January 10th, she would speak on Leonid Andreef, at the Northwestern Labor School, 2023 W. Division St. He also announced Friday, Saturday, and

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Seditious Utterances.

Sunday meetings at which Miss Goldman would speak. The lecture Sunday, at 3 P. M., at the West Side Auditorium, is to be on the subject, "The Spiritual Awakening of Russia." He announced a mask ball to be given by the Workers' Institute.

Miss Goldman arrived, and Mr. Cook announced, "We have with us a speaker who is sentenced to spend two years in Jefferson, and we will have but few chances to hear her before she does. I now take the pleasure of introducing Miss Goldman."

Miss Goldman took the platform at 8:50 P. M., making the following speech:

"I have been coming to Chicago for a great many years - a great many more years than some of you are old, but I have never seen such crowds attend my meetings as are now attending them. The committees in charge have shown poor judgment in selecting small halls, for they do not nearly hold all that want to come in to hear me.

"The subject to-night is Maxim Gorki. He is always interesting to those who have studied Russian literature, and should be interesting to all who are following the Russian revolution. He is one of the great spokesman of the Bolsheviki. His life is that of a typical revolutionist. He came from the lowest surroundings and ascended to the highest. Although he came from the lowest surroundings and tasted the human cup of suffering, was unaided by conventional education and had no regard for morals, he has risen high, on his own merits. This shows what he could do in overcoming difficulties. Such a life must either break or make a man. Many who had not the power or resistence that he had would go down. It is very fortunate that he was made of indestructible material.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Maxim Gorki / Emma Goldman. – 30 cm. *In* E.J. Bamberger, "[Report to] War Department." –(Jan. 11, 1918).

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

REPORT FORM NO. 2 E. J. BAMBERGER

In re: Emma Goldman's Lecture, "Maxim Gorki" 1-8-18
Seditious Utterances.

"To understand what Gorki's life must have been we must read of his childhood. When he was seven years of age he was put to work on Saturdays for the Jews, who would not light their fires on that day and hired Gentiles to light them. He supported himself in this way. In his home there were more blows than embraces. However, these experiences have crowned him with success.

"At the age of nine he ranaway from home, which was for him just a place to sleep and to get an occasional meal. His real name is not Gorki, but Peshkoff. He adopted the name Gorki, which in the Russian language means bitterness. At this age he went to work on the ship Vulga. It is a wonder he survived.

"At about fourteen years of age he quit this kind of life. He met students, who introduced him to the great classics of Russia. Those who have made a study of Gorki will see that those who wrote of the underworld, of the poor, had a greater effect on Gorki than did Tolstoi and others of his kind.

"Gorki gave us a confession of faith in a love story he wrote of one who lived and worked among the poor peasants. He talked and fell in love with a peasant girl and married her. After a while he left her, to talk and speak again among the peasants. This is a picture of life in Russia. He did not write of the men of the universities. He had a common love for those who stood in between. While Gorki loved the classics, they never made so great an impression on him as the Sespinki writers.

"When Gorki was quite a young man a writer and critic, Koremenka, introduced him to the larger literary life. He was accepted in all circles.

"It is necessary to go into the social and economic conditions of the time to understand Gorki. He came at a very

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psychological moment. They were tired of Tolstoi's "resist not evil." They thought those writers were paralyzing Russia. Therefore, Gorki became the inspiration for the youth of Russia. Gorki came before Russia from the type of men who spring from the lowest strata. They accepted the change of society. They created a class of their own, what we call in America the hobo class, who demand travel and constant change of scenery, those who do not like the sedentary life.

"We have writers in America, such as Jack London and Jeremiah Flint, who traveled among the poor people, but they never were compelled to take up this life and did so just to get material to write about such a life. Jack London did not really belong to the hobo class. He never had only the starry heaven above him when he slept as did Gorki. Gorki was part of that life." She spoke of Jack London's "The Abyss." She said that Jeremiah Flint always had enough money in his pockets to change his linen when he wanted to, to put on better clothes, and to get comfortable lodgings.

"Gorki's works," she continued, "are life itself. They could only be written by one who has great creative ability. They tell of people who have been cast out of society; those who would not have taken to the road except that it was necessary. They had to rebell. The revolutionary spirit was in them. Such people play a great part in the social conditions. The types Gorki portrayed were difficult ones, but were met with understanding. To him poverty was not due to man's weakness, but to certain economic and social conditions. He said his mission was to light the way for a better day, when the poor shall have vanished and we shall have a better world. Gorki always understood the conditions that he sought to change., He always strove to a higher and better social condition. Rarely do the masses

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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meet such personalities.

"In his life there was a social demarcation. He became dissatisfied with the writers, who, he said, were going away from the people. He believed that the artists went for their inspiration to the people. He proves that colleges, universities and all conventionalities are not necessary if man has strength in himself. There are individuals who would bring aid to the masses, and there are times when the masses do not appreciate the aid that the teachers and saviors bring and the people turn on them and hurt them with their ingratitude. The book 'Foma and Godiv' teaches that there is a gulf between the people. He said, 'Ours is an age of weakness. We have not the strength to commit big wrongs; we commit small, petty wrongs. This age sympolizes the idea of getting three meals a day, of begetting diseased children, not making efforts to improve conditions.' Gorki portrayed the idea of living a strong life, a life full of effort, with deep intensities."

She then spoke of the history of Stenkarism, the first great Russian revolutionist, stating that when you read this you realize that there us hope. She said that in another book, "Alofs," he writes of how all branches of society are aiding those who are diseased, that society is organized nowadays to help the crippled, the diseased, rather than the healthy; that the type that should survive, the geniuses who are forced to live in poverty, are stunted and kept from developing. She said that the Y. M. C. A., the Salvation Army, etc., are all organized to aid the crippled and diseased.

"He wrote Nadwa," she continued, "which represents that even in the most putrid atmosphere an individual can sur-

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E. J. BAMBERGER

In re: Emma Goldman's Lecture "Maxim Gorki" 1-8-18
Seditious Utterances.

vive and retain his honesty and his purity amid the struggles of poverty."

She spoke of Vaska, who was continually called a thief, so that in time he became one. Vaska shows that in such squalid circumstances a soul cannot survive.

"Gorki thought that labor was the redeeming feature in life; that labor is going to play a new part in society. Gorki tried to make us understand that labor is the great thing in life, that all else is secondary to labor. That is the great lesson in Nadwa. You cannot discuss the man Gorki without considering his works.

"For a time after the revolution in 1915 he was in exile, and he deteriorated. Gorki and a singer went out on the streets and collected money for the revolution in Russia. In America shall we ever live to see a singer and a poet who will collect money in the streets of America so that America will be redeemed?"

She told of "Tales between Two Countries," a story of the Italian workers, who did not believe that they could tunnel through a certain mountain. There was fear in the Italians. When the tunnel was finished the people said, "It is not God that rules the earth. If man can do this there must be a solidarity among men."

"If people believed this, they would go to work, not as they do to-day, oringing. Gorki could not be anywhere else but with the Bolsheviki. The Bolsheviki represent a movement that has gathered together the tramps, the 'Lumpenband,' all the workers, the skilled as well as the unskilled. They are united by a great revolutionary spirit. He is one of the leaders of the Bolsheviki movement. They are not on their knees, but

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In re: Emma (ldman's Lecture "Maxim Gor..." 1-8-18
Seditious Utterances.

with their heads erect, conscious of the right of the revolutionary movement."

She concluded at 9:58 P. M. Mr. Cook then said that those who were not anxious to remain for the questions might go.

Miss Goldman was first asked, "Why did not America let Gorki in?" She answered, "They let him in, but they kicked him out."

Miss Goldman then said, "I will remain out of prison a little while longer, the supreme court and God willing. The supreme court has decided one-half of the appeal; leave it to the supreme court to decide the other half.

"I am glad to be in Chicago during the last few days of freedom. I will speak tomorrow evening in Yiddish, at the West Side Auditorium, on the Bolsheviki. Thursday evening I will speak at the Northwestern Labor School on Leonid Andreef. I did not know there were so many schools in Chicago which would permit me to speak. In New York there is but one such school, the Farrar. On Friday evening I will speak at the Douglas Park Auditorium on "America and the Russian Revolution." I will draw a parallel between the forerunners of the Russian revolution and the revolution which I hope will come some day in America (this was loudly applauded). I will talk on "The Women Martyrs of Russia" Saturday evening, January 12th, at 8 P. M., at the East End Hall, and on 'The Spiritual and Intellectual Development of Russia' Saturday afternoon at 3 P. M. at the West Side Auditorium. A banquet is to be given in my honor Friday evening at the Co-operative Restaurant. There will be some entertainment in addition. "

She then called attention to the literature for sale.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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E. J. BAMBERGER

In re: Emma Goldman's Lecture, "Maxim Gorki" 1-8-18
Seditious Utterances.

She remarked that when she is in prison all her friends will continue to fight outside and she will write letters weekly to the editor of the Bulletin to help along the cause.

Miss Goldman was asked," Why are not Gorki's plays given on the American stage." She answered, "Because plays are not produced in America to shed light, but to amuse; to rest the nerves of the tired business man; and to enable the wife of the business man to display her clothes before the wife of the other business men. The theatre is a place of show. All sorts of displays of the human body are shown, but there is nothing back of it."

Someone asked if Gorki was not against the Bolsheviki, and she replied that she was receiving a Russian paper published by Gorki, "The New Life;" that it was started since the revolution and showed he was with the Bolsheviki. She remarked that what the American papers did not know about the Russian revolution would fill books.

"Gorki," she said, "was born in 1869. However, we have no choice in coming into life, so it does not make any difference when he was born. We have only a part in remoulding life. The war has put out of existence the mechanism of life."

As to Tolstoi, she stated she believed he would have been with the Bolsheviki unless, liks his son, he would have betrayed the radicals; that Tolstoi was not in favor of taking life, and did not believe in war and in shouldering a gun, as his writings show.

"America," she said, "has demonstrated that it is what G. B. Shaw called it, a provincial country."

She said that Gorki did not understand the conditions here; that all this talk about freedom in America is untrue.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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"Gorki," she concluded, "looked upon literature as a living bell which would make the dead and the living dead shiver - for there are people living that are dead. Would that this might come to pass in America."

The meeting adjourned at 10:50 P. M.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture. The Bolsheviki] / Emma Goldman.— 27 cm. *In* [Anatol] Rodau, "[Report to] Department of Justice." —(Jan. 16, 1918).

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

REPORT MADE BY:	PLACE WHERE MADE:	DATE MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
Informant Rodau	Detroit, Mich	1-16-1918	1-15-1916

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF ACT IN VIOLATION UNDER INVESTIGATION:

Re: Emma Goldman
Anarchist

RECEIVED
JAN 20 1918

SYNOPSIS OF OPERATIONS, EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.:

At Detroit, Mich.

Pursuant to instructions of Agent in Charge, I proceeded to the Social Turner Hall at 136 Sherman St. and attended a a meeting at which Emma Goldman spoke. She spoke about the Bolsheviki's and praising the great works of Trotzky and Lenine and other followers, saying that "the greatest lie ever produced by the American press is that Lenine is an Agent of the Kaiser and this shameless lie is still greater when applied to Trotzky; that I have known him personally; that he never worked for any money; that he was in great need when he was in America and a private collection had to be arranged to send him back to Russia and a man of his principal would certainly not sell themselves to the Kaiser for money. Any thing that he does is for the truth and the good of the workingmen; America is supposed to be fighting for freedom, for equality and for liberty and the Bolsheviki's are supposed to do the same but the difference between the two is, that President Wilson only talks and the Bolsheviki acts. We do not wish to have anything to do with those that represent capital; all those against workingmen are those that represent the Government."

"I may even go further and say that the Bolsheviki's may unite with Germany in order to stop the revolution with Russia. The reason why the Germans do not want the Russian's at the front is, that they are afraid that the Russian soldier with his spirit of freedom and revolution at the present time might influence the Germans, and America is a thousand times more afraid of the Russian soldier going back to fight because they will influence revolution

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Re: Emma Goldman (Con't) Informant Rodau for Tuesday, January 15, '18

in America and America hates a thousand times more a revolution than Germany. America claims that the Russian revolutionists have gone back to Russia, carrying along stories about atrocity of America, and believe me they have said the truth. Those that went back told how they were skinned in America as soon as they stepped from Ellis Island and how they were beat up in the factories and all they other hard-ships they suffered they have related to the Russian revolutionists.

This leacture was in the Yiddish language and attended by a large crowd. Sophie Markowitz, 1212 St. Antoine Street, a well known Detroit Anarchist and I. W. W. was present and going arm in arm with Emma Goldman after they had left the meeting, talking in the Russian language, Emma Goldman consoling her about something saying "Everything will be all right, don't worry, Sophie"

Otto Just (known as the wondering Jew) one of the Defendants in the Haywood I. W. W. case was present, Agnes Inglis - Emma Goldman's most intimate friend in Detroit was present; also Markowitz and many other I. W. W. and Anarchists, whose names I do not know at present. The whole lecture was conducted in the Jewish language. At this meeting they sold newspapers, namely "Der Yiddisher Kampfer" an organ of the Jewish Socialist Workingmen's party and the "Poila Zionist" which is published in New York, 256 Grand Street and appears every Friday also announcements in the Jewish language of the ball which will be given by the 337th. branch of the Workingmen's Ring on Saturday the 19th. of January in St. Andrews Hall, 109 Congress Street, East and also announcements in the English language as follows: "Last lecture tour of Emma Goldman before her commitment to Jefferson Penitentiary - do you want to understand the Russian situation. Subject - The Truth before the Bolsheviki. Wednesday, January 16th. 8:00 P. M. Women Martyr's of Russia. Thursday, January 17th. 8:00 P. M. at Social

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Re: Emma Goldman (Con'td) Informant Rodau for Tuesday, January 15th. 1918.

Discussions, Admission 25¢. Miss Goldman is out on bail pending a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. She has been sentenced to two years imprisonment and $10,000.00 fine. This is her last tour and we hope her friends will turn out and bid her farewell."

I am covering all her activities in Detroit in the best possible way and shall attend the series of lectures which she will give in Detroit.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] America and the Russian Revolution / Emma Goldman.— 27 cm. *In* E.J. Bamberger, "[Report to] Department of Justice." —(Jan. 18, 1918).
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

REPORT FORM NO. 1

REPORT MADE BY:	PLACE WHERE MADE:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
American Prc. League	Chicago, Ill.	Jan. 18th 1918	Jan. 11, 1918.

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION
In Re: Lecture by Emma Goldman subject: "America & the Russian Revolution".
Seditious utterances

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.

AT CHICAGO

E. J. Bamberger, A. P. L. Operative #1576 reports as follows: This meeting was held at the Douglas Park Auditorium, Ogden Ave. & Keddie Ave. Chicago, Illinois, January 11th, 1918 at 8 P. M. under the auspices of the Non-Partisal Radical League. An admission price of 30¢ which included 5¢ war tax was charged. The hall was nearly full and at 8:03 P. M. Mr. C. V. Cook, got up to speak and announced that anarchistic and socialistic literature would be sold before Miss Goldman arrived. The first book he offered for sale was "God and the State" by Michael Bakunin. Mr. Cook sold the book among the audience for 15¢. The Industrial Worker paper was also sold. Miss Sara Gruber was assisting him in selling the book. A petition was circulated and money collected for the defense of the I. W. W.'s. Mr. Cook said " The printed word is very important and without it, much is lost, but at all lectures literature is offered so that the spoken word is not lost, but if the United States Supreme Court found that the Draft Act is constitutional they will not find it difficult to convict Emma Goldman of conspiracy. Miss Goldman conducted her own trial and they were found guilty because they were anarchists." He they offered for sale Miss Goldman's book, "Anarchy on Trial" which was sold at 25¢ for a paper form and leather bound for 50¢. Miss Sara Gruber was also selling this book. Mr. Cook then told of the Christian Science movement and the Socialist movement and the Rationalist movement and said that these different movements had literature that the audience need to read Miss Goldman's works because she had been the largest

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A.A.P. 01-11-18
Emma Goldman

publisher of anarchist litorature on this continent. He then told of a book "Anarchism and other Essays" which contained a photograph of her and a biographical sketch, which book was sold among the audience. "That all movements do not move unless there are individuals behind them. The principals of anarchism existed two thousand years ago but they must be taught. You can get as many copies as you wish with Emma Goldman's autograph on them." They were sold at 50¢ a copy and formerly were $1.00. I bought one of these books and on the flyleaf is written "Last readings for two years. Emma Goldman, Chicago, 1918." The January number of the "Social War" and "A talk between two workers" were sold among the audience. Mr. Cook said " I must have made a poor talk on that last book, so few are sold. If you were asked what anarchism is, could you tell? I know what it is. Anarchism is the denial of violence toward any peaceable individual. I does not mean that you are going to let the tyrant walk on your neck. The first law of nature allows defense. Put it in your library, this book of essays." He then said that he would talk of the Bulletin published by Emma Goldman which is taking the place of "Mother Earth". It can put in an envelope and mailed for 3¢ and the mailman cannot look into the envelope, so it will be received. That the October, November and December issues of the Bulletin are for sale this evening at the Meeting. That they will throw in two of her lectures with each Bulletin tonight. He spoke of the lecture delivered by Emma Goldman in the Civic Auditorium at the Panama Exposition at San Francisco, Cal. That they gave to Miss Goldman the right to give the lecture on "Atheism" She delived it i. 29½ minutes but the hall was filled with many that were religious and irreligious

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and theireligious were astounded to see the roligious applaud Miss Goldman. The lecture was entitled "The Philosphy of Athesim and the Failure of Christianity" This was sold for 10¢. The Defense News Bulletin was also sold. Mr. Cook said "It may be that some of you would like to have something which is a short account of anarchism. The New York Times at one tiie made up their mind that they wanted such a short article. They paid Miss Goldman $150.00 for this article. Mr. Cook read from the book. It is entitled "Anarchism, what it really stands for". Miss Sara Gruber was selling this book at the meeting for 10¢. Mr. Cook asked the audience to cease smoking as it would interfere with Miss Goldmans speaking. He said he would call attention to another book "PrisoneMemoirs of an Anarchist" by Alexander Berkman. That he read this book and when he did so, he thought he was in jail. It has been acknowledged by the world as a classis that it has been sold at $1.50 but tonight you can get it for $1.00. At 8:45 P. M. Emma Goldman and Wm. Nathanson took the platform. A stenographer was on the platform at this time who I know and I believe was reporting this meeting for Miss Goldman. The hall was about two thirds filled. Mr. Nathanson called the audience to order. Mr. Nathanson said "I suppose you all know the subject tonight is "Russias and the Russian Revolution" that history has recorded many revolutions but there is one that has attracted attention. It was the French revolution, because it was the signal to pronounce religious and political freedom to the whole world. The Russian revolution has not followed the steps of the French Revolution and it would not be new for the world. The moment the Russian revolution took place, the Russians said to the whole world

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that the world has not seen political freedom. The freedom we have seen means only freedom to a certain class to exploit another class and so the Russian people said that after the Czar has fallen that there should be a political and social freedom and it will establich a new order not only for Russia but for the whole world. "Therefore," Mr. Nathanson said" It is necessary for everyone to get a true interpetation of the Russian Revolution." He said,"I have the pleasure to introduce the world's greatest interpeter of revolutions and the Russian revolution, Miss Emma Goldman. Miss Goldman spoke at first of her acquaintance with Madame Breshkoviskaia the mother of the Russian revolution who lived with Miss Goldman when she was in this country and Emma Holdman asked her often "How did you retain your revolutionary spirit after having lived for twenty five years in the Siberian prisons and dungeons?" and she would ask Miss Goldman "How could you retain your revolutionary spirit and live so many years in the Siberia of America?" That in Russia there is new light that instills new hope and we will live to see our dreams realized. We in America must draw inspiration either from ourselves or look across the Ocean to Russia. For many years we did not see the spirit of revolution. America is the child of revolution. Thanks to the founders of our republic we gained whatever liberty we had. The Jeffersons and the Henrys were the fathers of the revolution in the United States and if they were in England they would be so considered. The revolution

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of America must be classed among the great revolutions of the world and the document The Declaration of Independence so little known to the average person is the great document of the revolutionary spirit in the United States. For a time, this spirit seemed to be extinguished until again afterwards it arose in deliberators group. Those who spoke for the Black man those who faced the mobs and prejudice. They insisted that they could not be a freedom along with slavery. They revived the spirit of '76. Garrison and the others brought back the revolutionary spirit. It was them that brought back the revolutionary spirit in this great United States. It was John Brown who was the forerunner and so for awhile it seemed that there would be liberty in United States and afterwards again it seemed that all this spirit was dead. And so it is not surprising that this country of revolutionary past should stand aghast at the Russian revolution. I don't know how much you have read of those who were sent to Russia to bring back the story of the Russian revolution. You could not get a true idea from our daily papers. They are keyed to the mental caliber of those who are called educators. The American press represents the poison, it represents the greatest evil in the United States. It represents a greater evil than the Government, and the law. For the individual depends on the papers for his ideas. He thrives on that from cradle to grave, so he never knows the truth or hears the truth. The newspapers have sent men and women into Europe to study the

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great movements. Those that were sentwere not men and women connected with the uplifting of the masses but men and women of the capitalistic class. Those with Bushwana ideas who will color their articles to suit their readers. The reporters of the different papers and magazines represent a ghastly picture of conditions in Russia. Miss Goldman then called attention to a series of articles that appear in the New York papers written by a women by name of Reta Child Dorr who claims to be emancipated and if you have taken the trouble to read these articles you will get the same false ideas of the Russian revolution that you get when you read some of the French writers who wrote of the French revolution. This woman wrote that the Russians have disposed of the Czar and are a wild mob that need the United States to help them in building Russia up. Such men as Roosevelt or Mark Hanna Miss Goldman said. This same writer criticises Kerensky. She is one of the many in the scribbling profession. She found fault with him because he would not restore the death penalty. She wrote that the revolutionists in Russia have established the eight hour day in some parts, a six hour day in other places and two hour day in some other places and she asks what will become of the masters if the workers only work several hours a day. She tells of the English capitalists who came to Russia and the workers now refuse to be exploited by them and she regrets that the workers do not work in shifts and are not eating their dinners at lunch counters in great haste as the workers in the United States do and take but fifteen minutes for lunch and she regrets that now in Russia the factories are closed for two hours &c

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and the workers talk things over as the masters used to do. The workers in Russia now are not doing as the workers are doing in the great land of freedom, the U. S. A. She regrets that the exiled were allowed to return to Russia with all the liberty that America gives. She told of an exile who returned to Russia. Dont create such a republic as the United States for no Liberty exists there. This writer said that all those exiles that returned from United States to Russia should be placed in a ship and later dumped in the sea or placed in a ship and sent to the South Seas. Just like the Czar and the Russians and that the Czar and his party did not claim any other rights than this right. What is to become of the un-American American, Miss Goldman asked. But this writer this lady, claims to be a daughter of the american revolution, fails to see the writing on the wall. This writer tells of Mr. Root who had to stay indoors most of the time while he was in Russia recently. Perhaps he was told that the Russians had another kind of undertaker than they have in the United States. Root was sent by the United States Government to Russia and just imagine him representing the working class of the United States. It is marvelous how the Russians get along without law and she answers that the reason is because of the fact that they lived under the law so long that they decided they could get along better without the law. Those that went back to Russia from the United States and told the Russians of the poverty and suffering of the working class in the United States told nothing but the truth and they did not tell what exists in the United States. The soldiers after the Revolution took place in Russia, blew smoke in the face of the Czar. They turned off the gas on the Czar and he had no hot

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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water. It did not occur to that correspondent and writer that if a Czar had sent the prisoners to Toboak he would have choked them to death and tortured them and that if the Czar had one thousand lives he could not pay for the lives he took and this writer claims to be a daughter of the American Revolution. Miss Goldman said "It only means that although we are constantly told that freedom prevails in the United States and that this is the home of the brave and the free, that the Bushwaza Press only want a Czar in Washington to rule the foreigners in the United States." Recently there was reported a revolt at Kronstadt and it was only Charles Edward Russell that wrote a true article of the uprising. The men who were taken into the Army, the men who were ate the mercy of the officers, can you be suprised that these men, these soldiers remembering how they were spit in the face by the officers it is not suprising that they killed some of the officers. Miss Goldman quoted from Lincoln Steffens when he said "The Russian soldiers knew the kind of officers they killed and they never laid a hand on a kind officer". The American who reads the average article in the newspaper gets the idea that the Czar was killed too soon before the people were ready for that. The Russian revolution was the most peaceful of any revolution in the history of the world. It was like some great dream and it stands out among all revolutions in the past. Just as they got rid of the Czar they would get rid of a Mark Hanna and others of his type and they would have gotten rid of Government. They want to get rid of Government in a friendly peaceful manner

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Miss Goldman then told of how the Russian workers took away a house from one of the masters because he said he could not keep the house on $5,000.00 a year that the Russian workers said that was all he was entitled to after they took possession of his business that it is true that the American Government recognized the Bolsheviki after the Russian revolution, that capitalism can comit more crimes and outrage more people under a liberal government than under a Czar. They were recognized because they were the Red Specter that stood out to the world. Miss Goldman said that the pioneers of the revolution to come in the United States lie buried in Waldheim Cemetery. They are the anarchists who were hanged on November 11, 1887. Among them were Parsons and Spies. The Chicago anarchists are the pioneers of the revolution that will take place in the United States just as sure as the revolution is now taking place in Russia today. Just so do we have those who are the forerunners of the revolution to come in the United States. Those who were killed and imprisoned, the Haymarket Riot victims and the I. W. W.'s now awaiting trial in Chicago are the forerunners of the revolution to come in the United States and just as these writers did not see the revolution in Russia neither do they see what is to come in the United States. What you read in the papers of the I. W. W's. 166 were arr ested. All you know is that these I. W. W. these anarchsits are foreigners and all you need to do is get them out of the country and them go on eating three square meals a day and producing. Many of us foreigners would be glad if you sent us back to Russia, but

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what are you going to do with the Americans who think just as the Russian revolutionists did? It is not improbable that the revolution in Russia will affect the United States. May we have in the United States, not men like Mark Hanna and Theodore Roosevelt who get fat on the sweat of the oppressed worker but men inbued with the spirit of the Russian revolution.

"It is up to us Russians to bring to the American people the spirit of the Russian revolution. The great flame that has arisen in Russia has inflamed us and we will work until the American people will wake up and then we will have a real revolution in the United States."

This concluded Miss Goldman's speech.

At 9:45 P. M. William Nathanson got up and read from an article in the Chicago Tribune about Emma Goldman. Someone asked "Why should we pay a war tax when we are against the war?" But we thought this is so because we are opposed to war. With the consent of those in prison we are aiding others in prison than I. W. W.'s. We are buying food for these in prison, so you can see my friends how much truth there is in newspaper articles. He said that he would make several announcements in regards the remaining lectures. That tomorrow Miss Goldman would speak on the "Women Martyrs of Russia" at the East End Hall, Clark & Erie Streets, Chicago and next Sunday atnthe West Side Auditorium on "The Spiritual Awakening of Russia" and she will also answer the question "Will there be a spiritual awakening in the United States". The clipping that Mr. Nathanson read mentioned the Emma Goldman Lectures and war tax on the tickets and that Dectective Sergeants Mills

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and McDonaghue were at the meetings. L. J. Delson of the People's Council was present at this meeting. Questions and answers were not in order.

Mr. Cook asked if these who are attempting to oppose the revolution in the United States have any such men as they have in Russia.

Mr. Nathanson said that money was collected at the Goldman meetings which was used for the I. W. W.'s and other political prisoners. That they gave $130.00 to help the prisoners in Milwaukee. They were convicted to show that the Government is being kept busy and that the police are doing something. Only two of those prisoners are anarchists and I do not think that any of the other ten are socialists. The $130.00 was given to help all of the twelve prisoners. Mr. Nathanson then told of the Mask Ball to be held at the Hebrew Institute, Saturday evening next, and of the Banquet to the subscribers of Mother Earth to be held Sunday evening next. He said that only those whose names are on the records as subscribers to Mother Earth are given tickets. Miss Goldman said "I want to meet the workers and subscribers at this Banquet and we have only room for 150 persons but she would have liked to have a larger place for the banquet so that Detective Sergeants Mills and ~~Kniffen~~ McDonaghue of the bum squad could have been invited. That in time detectives will learn something and then they will not be detectives any longer that is when they begin to think. They will not arrange a plot at this banquet. Miss Goldman was asked "Have we writers in America like Tolstoy or Gorki? She answered "Yes, we have

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some in America. I want to called your attention Miss Goldman said, to a great forerunner of the revolution that is to come in America. Voltairine DeCleire. She is the greatest forerunner of the American rebellion. He martyrdom was not in prison. We have collected some of her works to let you know that there was a forerunner of the revolution in America. She told of another great forerunner of the rebellion in the future in the United States, although not an American he is a martyr to the cause- Alexander Berkman. He is a great contributor to the physological Mr. Berkman told of his prison term of fourteen years. She called attention to "The Social War" published in Chicago, which was sold at 5¢ a copy and also to the Mother Earth Bulletin. She also spoke of two books by Neitche entitled Between good and evil and Zarathustra which was sold at the meeting at 60¢. That Nietche has been held responsible for the present war. That they were selling a new edition of "Anarchism and other essays" with her greeting on the flyleaf in her handwriting "Last greeting for two years." The books were then sold among the audience, which she had just described. Miss Goldman then told of the latest judical outrage in Milwaukee where ten men and one woman were sentenced to 25 years in prison. Miss Goldman was asked "Will not the cutting down of profits interfere with industry"? She answered "If the incentive of the people is profit, if that is the case the people might not produce anything. She was asked "Whether the President of the Russian Railroad Men's Union

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regarding the Soldiers & Workers Council as a usurping power, has just as much truth as Mr. Gompers statement. The very idea that he does not go out among the Russians workers and goes to Washington is evidence that he is not the spokesman of the Russian worker. Miss Goldman was asked whether Eugene Debs was one of the forerunners of the Revolution to come in United States and she answered "Most decidedly he is one of the forerunners of the ecomic revoltuion to come in the United States. He sowed the seed of the revolution to come in the United States. She then told of the Ukranians. They are the property owners in a part of Russia who are aginst the Bolsheviki. What about the Government in Russia after the revolution? Said she did not know for sure what kind of a Government it would be but she said it wont be like the American Government that they will adopt. The Russians are not so ignorant that they need such a Government as we are unfortunate to have. To tell them how to manage. Miss Goldman was asked "Would it not be good if the Bolsheviki would send some of their people to the United States?" She said "Yes, but if they get here they could not think out loud and lets hope that some of us can get back there. In America for the present we must do a lot of talking while the Russians are acting. She was aksed" Who are the Bolsheviki?" The anarchist socialists and Industrial Workers, Bunds, etc. Miss Goldman said that the Bolsheviki cannot be helped by the governing classs, for until the governing class has

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it should not aid other classes, that before the United States should try and make the world safe for democracy it should make America safe for democracy.

This meeting was adjourned at 10:40 P. M.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] Women Martyrs of Russia / Emma Goldman. – 33 cm. *In* K.I. Herman, "[Report to] War Department." –(Jan. 25, 1918).

Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

REPORT FORM NO 1

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
...LIGENCE DIVISION

E. I. D.

[redacted] OK BY:	PLACE WHERE MADE:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
American Pro. League	Chicago, Ill.	Jan. 25, 1918.	10/10 - 13/4 Jan. 9, 1918

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION

In Re: Lecture under auspicies of The Non-Partisan Radical League Douglas Park Auditorium. Neutrality.

...DEPARTMENT

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.

CAPT. HAYES
M. I. 1-11
Encl 4-5-6
1/23/19

AT CHICAGO

Inspector K.I.Herman makes the following report:

A lecture was given at the Douglas Park Auditorium Kedzie and Ogden Ave., Sunday evening, Jan 6th. 1918, under the auspicies of the Non-Partisan Radical League. An admission of twenty-five cents was charged, no charge was made for war tax.

There was about five hundred people in attendance, most of them of Jewish extraction. A majority of them very young men and women averaging between the ages of twenty two and twenty five. Women and men equally proportioned. Most of those present were foreigners.

Circulars were placed on each vacant seat announcing three future meetings at which Emma Goldman would lecture.

Sat. Eve. Jan. 12th, 8:00 P.M. East End Hall, Clark & Erie Sts. "Women Martyrs of Russia."

Sun. afternoon Jan. 13th. 3:00 P.M. West Side Auditorium, Taylor & Racine Ave. "Subject not given.

Fri. Eve. Jan. 11th. 8:00 P.M. Douglas Park Auditorium, Kedzie & Ogden, "America and the Russian Revolution".

All of these lectures were to be conducted by the Non-Partisan Radical League.

Books and pamphlets were sold from five cents to [illegible] dollar and a half a copy. Several books, autographed [illegible] Alexander Berkman, were sold at a $1.00 a copy, and th[illegible]

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

Lecture under auspices of Non-Partisan Radical League.

purchasers were informed that by reason of that, the "Book would be very valuable as Alexander Berkman will be the Russian Ambassador to America." Pamphlets sold for fifty cents containing the printed arguments of counsels before the U.S. Supreme Court in behalf of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.

Announcement made that the Magazine known as the Mother Earth which has been suppressed by the Government was being published in a small form, and was being sent now through the mails for three cents under first class postage. The "Mother Earth" was sold for five cents per copy. Announcements made that there were two evils in this country God and Government which were two of the greatest superstitions. Book sold entitled "God and the State" written by Michael Bakunnin.

Emma Goldman appeared on the platform at 8:40 P.M. meeting was immediately called to order.

Announcement made that due to the tremendous croudsthat have been attending the lectures of Emma Goldman, arrangements had made to extend her lecture dates, and the following dates were announced for subsequent lectures.

Tues. Eve. Burke School, Subject-"Maxim Gorky and his Work"
Wed. Eve. West Side Auditorium- "Bolsheviki in Russia"
Thurs. " North West Labor School,
Fri. " Douglas Park Auditorium, "Fore-runners of American and the Revolution to Come and the Russian Revolution.
Sat. Eve. East End Hall, "Women Martyrs of Russia"
Sun. " West Side Auditorium, "Spiritual Awakening of Russia

A banquet will be held at the co-operative Restaurant for 150 people, at Jefferson------- Tickets for the banquet were sold at $.75 Banquet was held for the purpose of Emma Goldman saying good-bye to her well wishers before she left to serve her term in the Penitentiary for two years.

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Lecture under auspices of Non-Partisan Radical League.

Extracts from Emma Goldman's Lecture.

"This afternoon I heard a very wonderful singer, Alma Gluck, when she was applauded, in stiff singing she said, while in Denver she was severely criticized because she sang a German song, and she explained, to her art and beauty had no respect to Nationality as art belonged to all people. "Applause".

She then spoke in regard to the false statements given out after Russia's entry into the war in regard to the unity that existed between the Czar, the Czarina, the Soldiers and the workers, which was later proven to be falsities as a result of this war, was due to the fact that the Czar, thought that by appealing to their instinct of patriotism by joining the war, he could unite his people, and thereby save his crown from the impending revolution, which was bound to occur if such action was not taken.

She stated that the Revolution was not due to German propoganda, but was caused by a systematic method of education among the richer classes and then the lower classes, and principles of economics spread among the populace, for which many were exiled, sent to Siberia and executed.

She named a number a men whose deed of heroism, were more or less attributed to the overthrow of the Czar. She showed various conditions and leaders who were fore-runners of the Russian Revolution. She went into a deep analysis of the conditions and developments of the Revolution from the year 1600. Also of the unsuccessful revolutions from time to time down to the present day.

After she completed her lecture the evening was given to questions to be asked by the audience and to be answered by Emma Goldman.

Prior to answering the questions Emma Goldman spoke of the suppression of the magazine which she published called

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ecture under auspices of Non-Partisan Radical League.

e Mother Earth, and a method which she devised to send it through mails by placing three cents postage on same, and sending it as first class matter. Subscriptions were One Dollar a year to the magazine, and those unable to pay were given a magazine free of charge, as numerous people have contributed sufficient funds to make it possible to mail the magazine to those unable to pay. In announcing the sale of one of Alexander Berkman's books, she stated that "in the great chance to be taken in the United States, Alexander Berkman will have played a great part. I hope I have played some part in the Revolution to come in America".

In the sale of one of her books she said, this contains sections showing our opposition to the draft for which we are sentenced (Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman) to prison. The book was sold for 25 cents for paper covers and 50 cents for a better grade cover.

She made the following statement in regard to the Mother Earth. "Our book which has been suppressed, for the purpose to make the world safer for Democracy, 'Mother Earth' has been suppressed. Instead of working for mailing privileges I have decided to send 'Mother Earth' by first class mail. $1.00 a year."

She then answered the questions which were asked.

One of the questions asked was, "Would'nt the Anarchists attempt to overthrow the Bolsheviki?" To this she answered If the Bolsheviki should become despotic, go back on their principles, do way with the freedom of individuals, well I hope the anarchists will overthrow the Bolsheviki. I do not think for one minute that the Bolsheviki are at the last stage of education, but I hope Russia will aspire higher and higher, but at the present time, Russia, and I as an anarchist am with them.

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...ctors under auspices of Non-partisan League.

...nentism. Will the Russian Revolution have an influence on Germans to do the same thing.

Answer. If we are to read the daily papers, the soldiers of Germany are awakening, but if they or not want to be in Mister Bill's shoes.

Question. What do the Russian people think of Kerensky? and how was he overthrown?

Answer. I think that the United States is really responsible for the downfall of Kerensky.

Question. What did the Russian people think of the Root Commission.

Answer. They went there for pleasure. Why they stayed at the hotel and had a good time. Root is an old gentleman, and thought it was too risky and stayed at the hotel.

Question. Will Russia bring peace?

Answer. That depends upon you, that depends upon the German, the French, the English. That depends upon the people, if they do not succeed that will be blamed upon you.

Question. What is the difference between Democracy and Autocracy.

Answer. One an imaginary disease and the other a real disease.

Question. What does Russia think of the imprisonment of Goldman and Berkman.

Answer. One of the papers which we received in New-York City the last part of September reports of a tremendous demonstration which took place in Petrograd concerning the imprisonment not only of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman but of other prisoners.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Summary of Lecture] America and the Russian Government / Emma Goldman. – 31 cm. *In* American Pro. League, "[Report to] War Department." – (Jan. 28, 1918).
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 165.

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REPORT FORM NO. 1

OFFICE CHIEF OF STAFF
WAR COLLEGE DIVISION

A. F. P.

REPORT MADE BY:	PLACE WHERE MADE:	DATE WHEN MADE:	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:
American Pro. League	Chicago, Ill.	Jan 28th, 1918	Jan. 25th, 1918

TITLE OF CASE AND OFFENSE CHARGED OR NATURE OF MATTER UNDER INVESTIGATION

In Re: Emma Goldman, Lecture Jan. 11, 1918
Douglas Park Auditorium.

WAR DEPARTMENT

I. W. W.

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS EVIDENCE COLLECTED, NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED, PLACES VISITED, ETC.

AT CHICAGO

A.P.L.#82

Operator Lieut. Klein of Captain Klicka's Company, under Insp. K. I. Herman, West Division makes the following report:

An admission of thirty cents was charged. I inquired why they charged the additional five cents this time, and they informed me that the additional charge was made for War Tax. This caused some discussion after the lecture by Mr. Nathanson, who said although they were against the War they were forced by the Government to pay War tax, on every one entering the hall, even the speaker and the Prosidont himself. The reason for the five cents charge instead of the the three cent charge which they should have paid he explained was due to the fact that they desired to keep the money intact that was collected for the protection of the I. W. W. 's, and as they thought they were not required to pay a war tax on the admission's and as they thought this was charitable work, and in order to make up the loss thereby sustained, made the charge five sents.

Upon entering the hall subscriptions were taken by petition, from those who desired to contribute to the defense of the 166 I. W. W. 's, recently indicted by the Government. Copies of the Social War and Mother Earth, and numerous other periodicals were sold to the audience from prices of five cents to one dollar.

A book by Alexander Berkman, was again sold this evening, although there was a very limited number left.

Emma Goldman as before had a woman stenographer taking notes of her speech. The hall was comfortably filled and there was

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about three hundred and fifty in attendance. There was no violation of the fire ordinance. Ninety per cent of those in attendance were of Jewish extraction. Men and women were evenly proportioned. Those in attendance were between the ages of eighteen and forty. Though an average age of those attending was between 21 and twenty five.

Emma Goldman appeared in the hall about 9:00 P. M. Dr. Nathanson, residing at 3318 Douglas Blvd., appeared with her. He called the meeting to order immediately, and announced that the subject of the lecture was America and the Russian Government. He introduced Emma Goldman, and stated that the world had witnessed a number of revolutions, but the most conspicious one was the French Revolution as it pronounced to the world and not only to France, political and religious freedom.

The Russian revolution too, has a message to deliver to the world, for surpassing that of France,,as it is a message of Social and Economic freedom, and therefore, there have been many misrepresentations of the Russian revolution, which Miss Goldman will correct.

Extracts from Emma Goldman's lecture.

"When the great women Rassken"---, who is known the world over as the mother of the Revolution, was in America and lived with me for a time, I used to look at her and marvel at her wonderful youth, her spirit, her passionate faith, and always asked her how did you succeed in retaining your spirit, your youth, and your energy after twenty years in Siberia. She would look at me with her large and beautiful eyes, and she would say, "How do you manage to retain your spirit, your youth, and your enerby living twenty five years in the Siberia of America.

She was very sorry to observe that in this country there appeared to be no response to the Revolutionary spirit.

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She devoted a good portion of her speech towards denouncing the tactics and methods of the American Journalists who were assigned by their dailies to report the progress of affairs in R Russia. She stated that nearly all of the reports coming from these correspondents were exaggerated and untruthful, and that they treated more of the sensational matter, and exaggerated existing conditions, and did not do justice to the Russian people.

She stated the reports were colored to satisfy American interests, and to satisfy the editor of the daily for which the correspondent wrote. She stated that if we were to believe the majority of these writers, it would appear that the revolution was ill-timed, as from their view, the peasants were not prepared to accept a different form of Government. She said the freedom of exiles from Siberia was a misfortune, that the revolitionist's were a crazy lot of criminals. She further stated that the articles instead of favoring the revolutionist's apparently favored the poor Czar, who was imprisoned, denied some of the comforts which he formerly enjoyed. She stated that the fact that the Czar was compelled to work, and that the number of his servants has been reduced, the correspondents favored the Czar to such an extent that it would have been a good thing if they had brought him over here. She further stated that the majority of the correspondents denounced the action of this country in permitting Russian exiles the right to go back to Russia.

She stated that a one time Chicagoan who was exiled from Russia and who endured all the hardships of this country, told the Russians "Donnot establish such a republic as they have in America" It has made failure in America. Do not establish political freedom as they have it in the United States for such does not exist.

Jestingly referred to the Root Commission, and said just imagine Root representing the American workingman. Eulogized the

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Anarchists of Chicago fame in 1887, and stated Chicago Anarchists, friends, are the pioneers and the forerunners of the revolution to take place in the United States just as sure as the revolution is now taking place in Russia.

She stated a number of foreigners would be glad to be sent out of this country back to Russia. She stated a number of foreigners would be glad to leave this country.

Denounsed the action of the Milwaukee Authorities in sentencing men and women to 25 years imprisonment, claiming that the action was brought about by popular prejudice, and stating that they are going to help them.

She was asked whether Debs was forerunner of the American Revolution, and she answered, Yes' He is one of the great pioneers of the economic revolution to come and a man who played a tremendous part in sewing thr seed of revolutionary ideas, and economic ideas in the United States.

When asked what form of Government the Bolsheviki would establish in Russia, she said, whatever kind of Government they are going to have, it is not going to be an Ameri an Government.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Rochester Visit / [Emma Goldman].– pp. 5-6 ; 26 cm. *In* Mother Earth Bulletin. –Vol. 1, no. 5 (Feb. 1918).

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census of those who will benefit by the amnesty.

4. The League will correspond with prisoners and assist them in every way possible while they are in prison.

5. The League will carry on an educational campaign through literature and meetings with the assistance of labor, and other organizations, with the purpose of bringing public sentiment to bear upon Washington for the amnesty.

To sum up: The League for the Amnesty of Political Prisoners, the first of its kind in America, comes to do a great and urgent work. It aims to become the hope and sustenance of all those who for the sake of their ideas are now confined in every state and federal prison and who must be freed.. For further information write to Miss M. E. Fitzgerald, Secretary. Send your contributions to Leonard D. Abbott of the Financial Committtee of the League.

Address all communications to

MISS M. E. FITZGERALD

32 Union Square, New York.

Room 708.

Book Review

The Boylsheviki and World Peace

By Leon Trotsky

Boni and Liveright, New York ($1.50)

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Strongly Marxian as the author of this book is, he could not altogether avoid noticing that it was just the old fatalistic doctrine of Marxism that could be used so readily by the Social Democratic parties of all countries to hide their ever increasing degeneration from revolutionary socialism to an opportunistic policy. He himself describes this process of degeneration and disintegration very vividly in the case of German Social Democracy, the chief leaders of which were always particularly keen to maintain that they were not willing to give up one iota of the Marxian theory. To-day when we look at Trotsky and his revolutionary activity, he impresses us as being spiritually more related to Michael Bakunin than to Karl Marx.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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has been started. Elsewhere in this issue you will see an outline of our plans. The League for the Amnesty of Political Prisoners promises to become one of the most important organizations in America. Lend it your support. Do what you can to spread my newly published pamphlet, "The Truth About the Boylsheviki." Single copies or large quantities can be obtained from us.

You can also help to maintain our work by ordering books from our new bookshop. We have opened, in connection with our new office, a shop where we will sell radical or any other books or pamphlets you may require. Communicate by mail with us and your order will be filled without delay.

To the Organized Workers of San Francisco

On Saturday last the Western newspapers were full of the story of the findings of the Presidential Commission sent to investigate the trials of Thomas J. Mooney and others, in whose cases there took place one of the most notorious miscarriages of justice that ever cursed this American Continent.

That report conclusively found that the officials entrusted with the administration of justice in San Francisco, had prostituted it in the service of the labor-hating corporations and the Chamber of Commerce. And it has established beyond all doubt, that District Attorney Fickert, in spite of his re-election on December 18th, had been guilty of criminal malfeasance in office.

But the same gang that was interested in the conviction of Thomas J. Mooney by every possible method, including perjury, was most vitally interested in his re-election in December last. And it is a matter of common knowledge, both in San Francisco and Sacramento, as well as a fact perfectly well-known to Governor Stephens and to the Federal officials in California, that the explosion at the Governor's mansion was the work of Fickert's friends, and was done with the sole purpose of securing his re-election.

To cover up their flagrant misdeeds, it was absolutely necessary that the gang should find a new goat. And as in San Francisco, they were already on the point of being shown up in their frame-up on Mooney, it was imperative that they should look elsewhere. That elsewhere was not hard to find, for in Sacramento there was a kindred gang that was desperately anxious to break up the local branch of that greatest modern national scapegoat, the I. W. W.

Both gangs jumped with joy. "The I. W. W. The very thing!" And at once they started a press campaign to blame the explosion on the I. W. W. in spite of the fact that the evidence pointed and still points in the direction of Fickert's friends, and was done with the purpose of influencing his re-election. They succeeded, however, in holding sixty-five members of the I. W. W. by forcing the hand of the California Federals, who after investigating had found them absolutely clear of all share in the explosion.

But the official in direct charge of these prosecutions is so much at his wit's end to find any foundation for a case, that he has to resort to tricks of the most despicable meanness to prejudice the minds of the Grand Jury and the public. And by his circulation of unfounded and utterly false press statements, he tends to reduce the Federal Government to the level of the same ghastly indecency that the findings of the Commission so bitingly scores in the Fickertian conduct of the Bomb cases in San Francisco.

We call your attention to the two sets of facts and the close connection between them; and if we are fortunate enough to secure your personal interest, we will keep you supplied with the latest developments.

CALIFORNIA DISTRICT DEFENSE
COMMITTEE I. W. W.,
85 Third Street,
San Francisco, Cal.

* * *

As this issue goes to press, announcement comes from San Francisco that the life of Israel Weinberg will be placed in jeopardy for the second time on charges growing out of the Preparedness Day Parade bomb explosion. At the first trial it required but one ballot for the jury to declare his innocence. But the Chamber of Commerce is persistent, and, regardless of the decisions of court and jury, will bend every effort to carry out its lynch program against labor.

* * *

Alexander Berkman—Emma Goldman,
Tombs Prison, New York.

Your Chicago comrades gather at the Workers' Institute Ball and unite in sending love and greetings. The Revolutionary and Boylsheviki movement will go on during your stay in Atlanta and Jefferson City. The workers are spurred on to greater activity.

NATHANSON, KRUPNIC, GRUBER.
JUDIN, COHN, REITMAN.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

The League for the Amnesty of Political Prisoners: Its Purpose and Programme / Emma Goldman.– pp. 4-5 ; 26 cm. *In* Mother Earth Bulletin. –Vol. 1, no. 5 (Feb. 1918).

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The League for the Amnesty of Political Prisoners
Its Purpose and Programme

By Emma Goldman

In 1901 Peter Kropotkin, on his visit to America, addressed a letter to Alexander Berkman, then in Western Penitentiary, "Political Prisoner". The warden erased the title and wrote across the envelope: "No political prisers in a Democracy."

That a prison warden should not know that Democracy, like autocracy, creates political opposition need not surprise us. Besides there were few political offenders in America in 1901. To be sure, John Brown and Mrs. Surrat were political offenders, so were the Chicago Anarchists, but they had been put out of the way. Those who were sent to prison were isolated and then forgotten.

Since 1901, and especially since the war, every city has contributed its share of men and women who have been sent to prison for periods of thirty days to forty-five years for their political opinions. But even to this day America refuses to recognize the existence of political Prisoners.

When the women pickets were forcibly fed in Washington Jail, they were told by a gentleman from Congress that if they would stop hunger striking, they would be given all the privileges of political Prisoners but would not be recognized as such, for that would automatically establish a political status which a Democracy could not tolerate. So for Democracy's sake men and women, guilty of the great crime of holding non-conformist views on social and political questions, are given outrageous sentences and are treated as common felons.

Nothing like this condition exists anywhere in the civilized world. Even under the autocratic rule of the Tsar distinction was made between the political and common offender. Imperialistic Germany distinguishes between the political prisoner and the so-called criminal. France and all the Latin countries were the first to recognize the distinction.

From time to time political prisoners are released in these countries by the declaration of General Amnesty. In fact in Italy and Spain Political prisoners who are elected to office, even while serving their sentences, are immediately released. Even England granta political Amnesty. The Sinn Feiners who had been sentenced to death and later had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment are now free through the declaration of a political amnesty.

Only Democracy has so far refused to face the fact that those opposed to war, or conscription, those who under no circumstance would raise a gun against their brothers, those who for social and economic reasons cannot subscribe to militarism—that these men and women are not common felons but people of deep conviction. They have learned from history that institutions which have outgrown human need are subject to change and that the change can only be worth while If it is fundamental and from the bottom up.

Now, this may not be pleasant to the powers that be, but they must nevertheless learn to draw the distinction between men and women of ideals, the forerunners of the future, and the unfortunate victims who are forced by an iniquitous social system into crime.

The League for the Amnesty of Political Prisoners has been organized to perform a much needed function. The League declares its purpose as:

1. To educate the public to the fundamental distinction between Political offenses and common crime.

2. To work for the recognition in the United State of the status of political offenders.

3. To crystallize public sentiment in this matter so that it can be made a subject for representation at the General Peace Conference.

4. To obtain the release of all political offenders through a general amnesty as soon as peace is declared.

No doubt a few well-known people may be released when peace is declared. What is to become of those who are unknown and have neither friends nor money? Are they to rot in prison to the end of their terms for something which is the direct consequence of the war? That is exactly what will happen unless a campaign is begun and a powerful opinion created which will insist upon amnesty as one of the urgent demands at the peace parleys.

The League, then, can become not only of national importance, but of international scope in view of the fact that most political prisoners in America are from Russia and Italy. Certainly Russia will demand an amnesty for her citizens in America. She is already demanding that. The other countries will follow.

As a very interesting sidelight, it Is well to call attention to the fact that one of the demands made by the strikers in Germany was: IMMEDIATE GENERAL AMNESTY FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS. Thus do the German workers under imperialism demand even more than we do. We only ask for amnesty as soon as peace Is declared. Little enough!

The method the League will pursue la as follows:

1. Headquarters will be established in New York. The work to be sustalned by dues, contributions, subscriptions, through meetlngs and social affairs.

2. The League wlll organize branches in every city. These branches will contribute to the general work and provide for its local needs.

3. The League will receive from each local group and compile the number, names and terms of sentence of politicsls in prisons in each city with a view of estabiishing an exact

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census of those who will benefit by the amnesty.

4. The League will correspond with prisoners and assist them in every way possible while they are in prison.

5. The League will carry on an educational campaign through literature and meetings with the assistance of labor, and other organizations, with the purpose of bringing public sentiment to bear upon Washington for the amnesty.

To sum up: The League for the Amnesty of Political Prisoners, the first of its kind in America, comes to do a great and urgent work. It aims to become the hope and sustenance of all those who for the sake of their ideas are now confined in every state and federal prison and who must be freed.. For further information write to Miss M. E. Fitzgerald, Secretary. Send your contributions to Leonard D. Abbott of the Financial Committtee of the League.

Address all communications to

MISS M. E. FITZGERALD

32 Union Square, New York.

Room 708.

Book Review

The Boylsheviki and World Peace

By Leon Trotsky

Boni and Liveright, New York ($1.50)

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MOTHER EARTH

BULLETIN

VOL. I. FEBRUARY, 1918, NEW YORK NO. 5.

On The Way to Golgatha

February 6, 1918.

Dear Faithful Friends:

How many have gone the way to Golgatha, and how many will yet have to go? Only Time, the Great Redeemer of all who are made to suffer for their ideals, can tell. Time hangs heavily on those who cherish great hope, but it moves with surprising swiftness and far beyond our fondest dreams.

Russia stands a glowing proof of that. In 1905 the Tsar's troops drenched the streets of Petrograd and other cities with the blood of the Revolutionists. In 1917 the revolutionary troops, more humane than those who did the butchery, drove the Tsar out of Russia.

This thought came to my mind when I was being dashed up Fifth Avenue in a police patrol automobile to the Pennsylvania Station on Monday, February 5th.

The Avenue and streets were lined with a curious mob, awaiting the parade of the soldiers from Camp Upton. Like the soldiers of the Tsar before 1905 who saw in every revolutionist an enemy to their country, the American soldiers would have greeted me with scorn and jeers and at the command of their Tsar would have taken my life in the ignorant belief that they were saving their country from a dangerous enemy.

Will Time do for America what it has done for Russia? Will her soldiers some day make common cause with her people? Who can say what the future will bring?

The idealist may not be a prophet, but he nevertheless knows that the future will bring change, and knowing he lives for the future he is given infinite strength to support the present.

So I, too, Dear Friend, will be strengthened while in prison by the passionate belief in the future, by the hope that the two years taken out of my life may help to quicken the great events Time has in store for the human race. With that as my guiding star, confinement, convict's clothes and the other indignities the guilty conscience of society heaps upon those it dares not face, mean no hardship.

You will want to help me while I am in prison, I know. You can do so in various ways. First, take care of my love child, Mother Earth Bulletin. I leave her to your sympathetic care. I know that you will look after her tenderly, so that I may find her bigger, stronger and more worth while when I return from Jefferson. Secondly, spread my Boylsheviki pamphlet in tribute to their great courage and marvelous vision and for the enlightenment of the American people. Thirdly, join the League for the Amnesty of Political Prisoners which is working for the release of all Political Prisoners. And finally, write to Berkman and myself. Always address us as Political Prisoners. Always sign your full name.

Good-bye, dear friends, but not for long—if the spirit of the Boylsheviki prevails.

Long live the Boylsheviki! May their flames spread over the world and redeem humanity from its bondage!

Affectionately,
EMMA GOLDMAN,
U. S. Political Prisoner,
Jefferson Prison,
Jefferson City, Mo.

EMMA GOLDMAN - - - - - - - - Publisher and Editor

Office: 4 Jones Street, New York City. Telephone, Spring 8711

10c a copy $1 a year

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Gone to Jail

Harry Weinberger

Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman have gone to jail. The struggle in the courts for eight months not only for Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman but for all conscientious objectors, for all who demand the right of liberty, of free speech and press, even in time of war, all of which was involved in the case, is ended as far as the courts are concerned, for the United States Supreme Court has spoken.

Men and women in America are going to jail for having ideals and consciences and for expressing their opinions for terms longer than they gave in Russia for the same offenses under the Tsar. And always the plea is "necessity of War". History shows that the plea is always some "necessity" to prevent human thought and progress.

Governments never seem to know what to do with idealists except put them in jail or kill them. Compulsion, always compulsion, or else conformity to the opinion of the masses or the opinion of those having governing power. Will civilization ever learn to do without jails, as we have learned to do without the ducking-school for heresy?

They took Emma Goldman from the Tombs to the Pennsylvania station in a patrol wagon. The offer of a taxicab for Miss Goldman and the officers was refused by the U. S. Marshal McCarthy. Justice, I presume, is symbolized by a patrol wagon. Being gentlemen, with the belief that insult need not be added to punishment, is perhaps too much for the public officials charged with carrying out the letter of the law. The mills of justice grind slowly, but, it is said, they grind exceedingly small. That is no reason why the mills should be small and the millers smaller.

Every generation thinks that what it does is absolutely right. But the study of history should give us pause in the belief that we are infallible. The fate of men like John Brown should make us hesitate to absolutely condemn. Idealists can only understand idealists. Have we in America ceased to be a people of ideals? Can we not be patient with those we do not agree? Can we not understand even that some people believe in the principles preached about 1900 years ago?

With true ideals the human race can reach real heights, without them it creeps along with wars and prisons, death and disease, and without hope. Idealism has blasted more institutions and done more for the betterment of humanity than any or all inventions of mankind. But we learn so slowly. Well does Don Marquis write in his poem "The Wages"

Earth loves to gibber o'er her dross
  Her golden souls, to waste;
The cup she fills for her god-men
  Is a bitter cup to taste.

Who sees the gyves that bind mankind
  And strives to strike them off,
Shall gain the hissing hate of fools,
  Thorns, and the ingrate's scoff.

Who storms the moss-grown walls of old
  And beats some falsehood down
Shall pass the pallid gates of death
  Sans laurel, love or crown;

For him who fain would teach the world
  The world holds hate in fee—
For Socrates, the hemlock cup;
  For Christ, Gethsemane.

Reflections

The New York Times, apparently with great moral satisfaction, reprints an article from the Sacramento Bee about the Mooney case, the writer of which must nearly have burst with poisonous gas when he composed it. His wrath is especially aroused by the fact that the Mooney case has become an international issue, and that the commission appointed by the President to investigate the crooked methods of Fickert & Co., instead of helping to deliver Tom Mooney and the others to the gallows, published a report, based upon facts, in favor of a new trial.

The author of the article who must have studied the psychology and morals of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce diligently writes on this score:

"In fact, the one 'gigantic frame up' in this whole matter has been the international 'frame up' for this professional dynamiter."

Not the tiniest shred of evidence is offered to prove that Mooney and the other defendants planted the preparedness parade bomb. The reader has to be satisfied with the again and again repeated epithet "professional dynamiter." And not one word is said about the activities of the notorious Oxman or about the fact that the chief witnesses who testified against Mooney and his friends have since signed sworn affidavits that they lied and perjured themselves under the pressure of threats, bribery offers and promises emanating in great abundance from the district attorney's office.

All these ugly features of the case which furnish only too convincing proof that the frame-up exists and that it is one of the most reckless and infamous attacks upon justice ever made by corrupt officials, the writer of the Bee shoves away in the manner of Dickens' Mr. Podsnap.

But the workers of America and Europe understand the terrible situation Mooney and the others have been placed in. And they will continue to raise their voices and to demand that justice must interfere before it is too late.

* * *

The Boylshevikl consolidate their power in the wisest way possible. They don't care so much for nice dipomatic talk and agreements, but emphasize again and again the necessity of revolutionizing society from the bottom up, not only in Russia but in all countries. To establish conditions that make the further existence of slave and master, of ex-

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POLITICAL DEFENSE FUND

October 16th to February 15th, 1918

RECEIPTS

Adler Theatre Benefit, $219.88; United Mine Workers of America, Local 959, $68.10; Collect Brownsville Meeting, $98.86; Collect Forward Hall, $68.86 and $54.98; United Mine Workers No. 959, $73.80; Collect Brownsville Meeting, $92.00; Collect Brownsville Meeting, $42.25; Collect Williamsburg Meeting, for Louise Olivereau, $16.24; Collect Terrace Lyceum, $21.45; Vasili Andryeff, $20.00; Workmen's Circle Branch 97, $13.00; Rose Cominsky, $12.50; Agnes Ingles, $12.50; Esther Garber, $8.50; G. C. Mulselhegel, $5.50; Otto Weik, $6.50; Y. P. S. L., $5.25; Anna Segaty, $6.25; Abe Rosenberg, $10.00; W. C. Br. 513, $10.00; Ellen Kennan, $10.00; S. Tiberi, $9.50; Oliver Crooks, $10.00; Collected by Belsky, $10.35; L. Ostrowsky, $10.00; W. C. Br. $7.50; W. C. Br. 384, $7.80; W. C. Br. 313, $5.05; Collected by L' Era Nouva, Paterson, N. J. $29.00; Herman Carter, $25.00.

COSTRIBUTIONS OF FIVE DOLLARS

Henry Hartung, W. C. Br. 11, W. C. Br. 2, M. C. Goldring, Isadore Bertason, Anna Levy, James Roman, W. C. Br. 112, W. S. & D. B. F. No. 91, W. C. Br. 207, W. C. Br. 29, W. C. Br. 38, Anarchist Red Cross, W. C. Br. 19, Ernest Schilling, M. Polsky, W. S. & D. B. F. No. 57, W. C. Br. 248, W. C. Br. 12, Wm. Kley, W. C. Br. 218, W. C. Br. 88, W. C. Br. 90; M. Van Apeldoorn, $5.

W. C. Br. 441, $4.80; W. C. Br. 93; $4.70; W. C. Br. 79, $4.00; Isadore Becker, $3.75; J. Abrahams, per list, $3.65; W. C. Br. 83, $3.45; A. Wilbers, $3.50; W. C. Br. 40, $3.10; I. Katz, per list, $3.70.

THREE DOLLAR CONTRIBUTIONS

Wm. Van der Hoff, Rose Baron, Chas. L. Wright, W. C. Br. 262, Esther Kamer, W. C. Br. 64, W. C. Br. 6, W. C. Br. 434, W. C. Br. 507, W. C. Br. 305, W. C. Br. 128, W. C. Br. 250, W. C. Br. 120, W. C. Br. 551, W. C. Br. 589, H. J. Van Huizen, W. C. Br. 337, N. O. Adams, Miss F. Held, W. C. Br. 384, W. C. Br. 259; A. C. Dell Amicio, $3.00.

W. S. & D. B. F. No. 312, $2.25; Paul Storm, per list, $2.50; R. F. Pettigrew, $2.64; W. S. & D. B. F. No. 233, $2.50; Gus Telch, $2.10; Sam Deitch, per list, $2.25.

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Ida Loss, $1.50; G. W. Hoffelber, $1.50; W. C. Br. 415, $1.50; W. C. Br. 426, $1.50; A. Grappone, $1.50; W. S. & D. B. F. No. 316, $1.05.

ONE DOLLAR CONTRIBUTIONS

Sara Mink, Clara Lodge, Joseph D'Angelo, H. J. Stuart, John Strahl, Eric Kittelson, I. W. W. Local No. 453, Von Doilewitz, Nelli Scotti, Sam Sivin, A. Adamschuck, L. D. Ceasar, Charles Tombrello, August A. Miller, Minna Lowensohn, W. C. Br. 110, W. C. Br. 94, W. C. Br. 214, Per J. Ilnestone, Frank Mitchel, Jr., W. C. Br. 68, M. Maseli, W. C. Br. 565, W. C. Br. 217, W. C. Br. 326, W. C. Br. 101, W. C. Br. 70, W. C. Br. 54, W. C. Br. 80, W. C. Br. 65, W. C. Br. 271, W. C. Br. 549, W. C. Br. 121, W. C. Br. 531, W. C. Br. 531, Karl Schoepke, Mrs. Romello, W. C. Br. 431, W. C. Br. 170, W. S. & D. B. F. No. 48, W. C. Br. 295, W. C. Br. 264, W. C. Br. 554, W. C. Br. 53, W. C. Br. 341, W. C. Br. 529, W. C. Br. 305, W. C. Br. 402, W. C. Br. 478, W. C. Br. 362, W. C. Br. 240, W. C. Br. 361, W. C. Br. 413, W. C. Br. 488, W. C. Br. 570, W. C. Br. 382, W. C. Br. 257, W. S. & D. B. F. No 326, W. C. Br. 298, W. C. Br. 573, W. C. Br. 7, W. C. Br. 8, John Perz, W. S. & D. B. F. No. 276, W. S. & D. B. F. No. 249, W. S. & D. B. F. No. 457, W. C. Br. 496, W. S. & D. B. F. No. 44, W. C. Br. 135, W. S. & D. B. F. No. 35, W. C. Br. 121, W. C. Br. 34, W. C. Br. 234, W. S. & D. B. F. No. 223, Frank Nelson, W. S. & D. B. F. No. 77, W. C. Br. 543, W. C. Br. 403, W. S. & D. B. F. No. 207, A Friend, W. C. Br. 35, W. C. Br. 439, W. C. Br. 289, W. C. Br. 539, W. C. Br. 446, W. S. & D. B. F. No. 220, W. S. & D. B. F. No. 49, W. C. Br. 576, Karl Herlitz, John Grossmann, W. S. & D. B. F. No. 62, E. B. Marsch, W. C. Br. 141, W. C. Br. 183, Gertrude Hunter, W. S. & D. B. F. No. 263, W. S. & D. B. F. No. 252, W. S. & D. B. F. No. 189.

W. C. Br. 63, $.50; W. C. Br. 292, W. C. Br. 242, W. C. Br. 100, $.75; M. Sosinsky, $.50; W. C. Br. 432, $.50; Arbeiter Gesang Verein "Edelweiss," $.95; W. S. & D. B. F. No. 311, $.50; Theo. L. Olson, $.50.

Total	$1,353.41
Previously reported	7,189.14
	$9,822.61

DISBURSEMENTS

To Harry Weinberger:	
On fee	$500.00
On fee	$307.00
Printing of brief	500.00
Louis Kramer	5.00
Sacks & Steinfeld—Letterheads and envelopes	26.00
Graphic Press	11.00
Postage	55.05
Telegrams	2.07
Ads in the "Call"	24.00
Publicity, Signs and Ads	61.60
To prisoners in the Tombs	16.00
To Russian Group	18.00
Louise Olivereau's Appeal	102.25
Turned over to I. W. W. per Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, for trip to Chicago in re New York cases	150.00
For care of boys in Cook County Jail	20.00
Total	$1,297.97
Previously reported	7,188.83
	$8,986.80

FUNDS.

Money collected at E. G. lectures in Chicago and Detroit for the following purposes:

For the use of the I. W. W. prisoners in Cook County jail: Chicago, $216.50; Detroit, $76.00. Amount turned over to the Non-Partisan Radical League, Chicago.

For the Italian Victims of the Milwaukee Frame-up: Chicago, $175.50; Detroit, $76.00. Amount turned over to Secretary Checki and Judin.

For the Appeal of Louise Olivereau: Chicago, $21.50; Detroit, $139.00.

Appeal for Comrade Levine: Chicago, $25.00.

MOTHER EARTH BULLETIN Sustaining Fund: Chicago meeting, $75.00; Banquet, $59.00. Promised pledges for Sustaining Fund, $40.00. L' Era Nuova, $4.00.

Campaign for Amnesty for the Political Prisoners in America on conclusion of Peace: Detroit, $167.60.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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ploited and exploiters impossible is their grand aim.

The spirit in which they conduct the fight for international brotherhood and well-being expresses itself in a recent speech of Lenine, from which a few significant sentences read:

"We have taken the land to give it to the poor peasants. External war is finished or is being finished now. Internal war begins, but not a war with arms. This is an economic war. The masses must take back what has been stolen from them. Do not let the rich peasants or exploiters get the argricultural implements. Pit ten poor peasants against every rich one. The police are dead and buried, and the masses must take affairs in their own hands."

Very likely the big American dailies express on the sly their profound abhorrence of such doctrine, when they write that it is so awfully hard to understand the philosophy of Boylshevikism.

* * *

While the government insists that the President declared war upon Germany in order to save liberty and democracy more and more voices even from the camps of law and order are heard to the effect that liberty and democracy are the very principles which are most endangered by the warring government.

Quotations from recent newspaper articles criticizing the Overman bill which, if passed, would clothe the President with unexcelled autocratic power, indicate that the "reds" are not the only ones who discover more than one hair in the soup.

In the Boston Transcript we read:

"The enactment by the Congress of the President's bill, as it was introduced by Senator Overman and referred to the Committee on Judiciary, of which he is Chairman, would overthrow "Government of the people, by the people, for the people," and set up in its place government of the President, by the President, for the President.

Th Detroit News says:

"In the plain language of unvarnished truth the President asks to he made dictator for the period of the war and a year thereafter. The hill he has sent to Congress will hear no other interpretation. It makes him absolute."

The Evening Telegram, Portland, Ore., remarks:

"It would create an autocracy never contemplated hy the American people as a war measure."

And the Pittsburg Gazette has this to say:

"President Wilson, already wielding more authority than any ruler on earth, would have Congress by deliberate act strip itself of supervisory authority and make the Executive supreme dictator, virtually responsible to no one."

From the Indianapolis Star:

"The bill invites such executive despotism as we have not seen even in Prussia."

None of the newspapers quoted have been suppressed or the writers imprisoned for seditious utterances.

Pro-government papers in Germany denounce the general strike of the workers In the big munition factories of the empire aa the outcome of a propaganda by wicked foreigners. That's an old out-worn trick not only in autocratic Germany but in bourgeois republics as well.

The revolution of 1848 in Germany was the real genuine German article, the garrulous, educated German philistine being in the lead. Still the custodian of Wilhelm's castle in Berlin, probably to this very day, shows a stone to the visitor, explaining that it was thrown through a window of the castle during that uprising "which was brought about by Poles, Jews and Frenchmen."

This time, however, there is some truth in the matter. In all countries the invigorating influence of the Russian Revolution is strongly felt. The foreigners who are partly responsible for the general strikes in Austria and Germany are the Boylsheviki.

* * *

A wholesale indictment against 55 followers of the I. W. W. was returned on February 8th by the federal grand jury of Sacramento, Cal. This will probably increase the number of persons to over 200 who are indicted all through the country in connection with the raid on the I. W. W. headquarters and the arrest of Wm. D. Haywood and other spokesmen of the organization. The labor organization with an independent and militant spirit must be crushed, but coddled and praised to the spies must be the Gompers gang who sells the workers like serfs to the ruling classes to work for their further enrichment.

* * *

Under the bloody sceptre of Mars those famous guarantees for the free expression of thought and opinions have become so sickly and enfeebled everywhere that they cannot stand the mildest test any more. A case in evidence is that of the English anti-war philosopher Bertrand Bussell. He has been sentenecd by a magistrate in London to serve six months in prison for a statement made by him in "The Tribunal." What he wrote was in the opinion of the court "likely to prejudice Great Britain's relations with the United States." The paragraph in question reads as follows:

"The American Garrison, which by that time will be occupying England and France, whether or not they prove efficient against the Germans will no doubt be capable of intimidating strikers, an occupation to which the American army is accustomed at home."

In writing this Bertrand Russell may have had in mind a report published soon after the time when the first American trrops had landed in France. In effect this report said thst American soldiers hsd proved helpful and efficient in quelling a strike of the French railroad workers.

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The League for the Amnesty of Political Prisoners

Its Purpose and Programme

By Emma Goldman

In 1901 Peter Kropotkin, on his visit to America, addressed a letter to Alexander Berkman, then in Western Penitentiary, "Political Prisoner". The warden erased the title and wrote across the envelope: "No political prisers in a Democracy."

That a prison warden should not know that Democracy, like autocracy, creates political opposition need not surprise us. Besides there were few political offenders in America in 1901. To be sure, John Brown and Mrs. Surrat were political offenders, so were the Chicago Anarchists, but they had been put out of the way. Those who were sent to prison were isolated and then forgotten.

Since 1901, and especially since the war, every city has contributed its share of men and women who have been sent to prison for periods of thirty days to forty-five years for their political opinions. But even to this day America refuses to recognize the existence of political Prisoners.

When the women pickets were forcibly fed in Washington Jail, they were told by a gentleman from Congress that if they would stop hunger striking, they would be given all the privileges of political Prisoners but would not be recognized as such, for that would automatically establish a political status which a Democracy could not tolerate. So for Democracy's sake men and women, guilty of the great crime of holding non-conformist views on social and political questions, are given outrageous sentences and are treated as common felons.

Nothing like this condition exists anywhere in the civilized world. Even under the autocratic rule of the Tsar distinction was made between the political and common offender. Imperialistic Germany distinguishes between the political prisoner and the so-called criminal. France and all the Latin countries were the first to recognize the distinction.

From time to time political prisoners are released in these countries by the declaration of General Amnesty. In fact in Italy and Spain Political prisoners who are elected to office, even while serving their sentences, are immediately released. Even England grants political Amnesty. The Sinn Feiners who had been sentenced to death and later had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment are now free through the declaration of a political amnesty.

Only Democracy has so far refused to face the fact that those opposed to war, or conscription, those who under no circumstance would raise a gun agalnst their brothers, those who for social and economie reasons cannot subscribe to militarism—that these men and women are not common felons but people of deep conviction. They have learned from history that Institutions whlch have outgrown human need are subject to change and that the change can only be worth while lf lt ls fundamental and from the bottom up.

Now, this may not be pleasant to the powers that be, but they must nevertheless learn to draw the distinction between men and women of ideals, the forerunners of the future, and the unfortunate victims who are forced by an iniquitous social system into crime.

The League for the Amnesty of Political Prisoners has been organized to perform a much needed function. The League declares its purpose as:

1. To educate the public to the fundamental distinction between Political offenses and common crime.

2. To work for the recognition in the United State of the status of political offenders.

3. To crystallize public sentiment in this matter so that it can be made a subject for representation at the General Peace Conference.

4. To obtain the release of all political offenders through a general amnesty as soon as peace is declared.

No doubt a few well-known people may be released when peace is declared. What is to become of those who are unknown and have neither friends nor money? Are they to rot in prison to the end of their terms for something which is the direct consequence of the war? That is exactly what will happen unless a campaign is begun and a powerful opinion created which will insist upon amnesty as one of the urgent demands at the peace parleys.

The League, then, can become not only of national importance, but of international scope in view of the fact that most political prisoners in America are from Russia and Italy. Certainly Russia will demand an amnesty for her citizens in America. She is already demanding that. The other countries will follow.

As a very interesting sidelight, it ls well to call attention to the fact that one of the demands made by the strikers in Germany was: IMMEDIATE GENERAL AMNESTY FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS. Thus do the German workers under imperialism demand even more than we do. We only ask for amnesty as soon as peace is declared. Little enough!

The method the League will pursue ls as follows:

1. Headquarters will be established ln New York. The work to be sustained by dues, contributions, subscriptions, through meetings and soclal affairs.

2. The League wlll organlze branches ln every city. These branches will contribute to the general work and provide for lts local needs.

3. The League wlll receive from each local group and compile the number, names and terms of sentence of politicals ln prisons ln each clty wlth a vlew of establishing an exact

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census of those who will benefit by the amnesty.

4. The League will correspond with prisoners and assist them in every way possible while they are in prison.

5. The League will carry on an educational campaign through literature and meetings with the assistance of labor, and other organizations, with the purpose of bringing public sentiment to bear upon Washington for the amnesty.

To sum up: The League for the Amnesty of Political Prisoners, the first of its kind in America, comes to do a great and urgent work. It aims to become the hope and sustenance of all those who for the sake of their ideas are now confined in every state and federal prison and who must be freed.. For further information write to Miss M. E. Fitzgerald, Secretary. Send your contributions to Leonard D. Abbott of the Financial Committtee of the League.

Address all communications to

MISS M. E. FITZGERALD

32 Union Square, New York.

Room 708.

Book Review

The Boylsheviki and World Peace

By Leon Trotsky

Boni and Liveright, New York ($1.50)

The book for which Mr. Lincoln Steffens wrote an introducion, who, since his return from Russia, has done much to spread light upon the subject, should prove full of valuable instruction and data for those who "cannot understand the Boylsheviki mind." A title which would read somewhat like this: The Downfall of the International and how to rebuild it, would be more appropriate to the contents of the book, the chapters of which were written when Trotsky was still the propagandist of the Social Revolution, expelled by the governments and travelling from country to country spreading his principles.

International understanding and solidarity in action of the workers of all countries is to Trotsky and also to us the only possible solid foundation for world peace. Capitalism and government on the other hand are related to war like cause and effect. To talk about the possibility of world peace under capitalist rule is like talking about cholera as the best foundation for human health. Trotsky, it is true, has in his capacity as a representative of the Russian Revolution (only outside of Russia he is spoken of as "minister") negotiated on the war with delegates of capitalist governments, but to be sure he did that chiefly for the purpose of gaining greater momentum for the International Social Revolution. The German and Austrian governments may soon find out, now that according to reports peace has been established between Russia and Germany, that a "peaceful" revolutionary Russia is a much more formidable enemy to Imperialism and capitalism than belligerent Tsarism could ever have been.

Strongly Marxian as the author of this book is, he could not altogether avoid noticing that it was just the old fatalistic doctrine of Marxism that could be used so readily by the Social Democratic parties of all countries to hide their ever increasing degeneration from revolutionary socialism to an opportunistic policy. He himself describes this process of degeneration and disintegration very vividly in the case of German Social Democracy, the chief leaders of which were always particularly keen to maintain that they were not willing to give up one iota of the Marxian theory. To-day when we look at Trotsky and his revolutionary activity, he impresses us as being spiritually more related to Michael Bakunin than to Karl Marx.

Rochester Visit

I have but one regret about having to go to prison now. It is that my work in presenting the truth about the Boylsheviki before American audiences has been cut short. The large attendance in each of the few cities I visited was sufficient indication of the awakened interest in the marvelous people of Russia who are compelling attention the world over. Even my "home town," Rochester, turned out in full force.

The first evening it seemed that the meeting would not take place. A miserable detective, who had not yet forgotten his defeat after arresting Dr. Reitman on the charge of having in his possession a birth control pamphlet, evidently wanted to get revenge. So he reported that a meeting was scheduled to the Fuel Administrator. Fifteen minutes before the meeting was to open, and with nearly a thousand people present, I was notified of the detective's action.

A long argument with the Fuel Administrator over the telephone finally induced the man to permit the meeting to go on, in view of the fact that the hall had been heated and that the war for Democracy had already sustained the loss.

As in Chicago and Detroit, my Rochester audience responded most enthusiastically to "The Truth About the Boylsheviki." The following evening brought a large gathering to the lecture on "Women Martyrs in Russia."

The two meetings have special significance because they were arranged by a few girls who work in shops all day and devoted their evenings to their labor of love.

Rose and Sara Cominsky, Fanny Rosenthal, the Mink sisters, Anna Drexler, Yetta Brenner—ardent, devoted and zealous, they are the material from which the American Boylsheviki will come. A few of our Italian Comrades helped with the literature, and our good friend Mr. Howser showed his courage by presiding at the meetings.

A tour through the country would have been a veritable triumph. Perhaps that explains the great hurry on the part of Washington to send us away even before the customary thirty days' "grace."

I take solace now in the fact that the work

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has been started. Elsewhere in this issue you will see an outline of our plans. The League for the Amnesty of Political Prisoners promises to become one of the most important organizations in America. Lend it your support. Do what you can to spread my newly published pamphlet, "The Truth About the Boylshcviki." Single copies or large quantities can be obtained from us.

You can also help to maintain our work by ordering books from our new bookshop. We have opened, in connection with our new office, a shop where we will sell radical or any other books or pamphlcts you may require. Communicate by mail with us and your order will be filled without delay.

To the Organized Workers of San Francisco

On Saturday last the Western newspapers were full of the story of the findings of the Presidential Commission scnt to investigate the trials of Thomas J. Mooney and others, in whose cases there took place one of the most notorious miscarriages of justice that ever cursed this American Continent.

That report conclusivcly found that the officials cntrustcd with the administration of justice in San Francisco, had prostituted it in the scrvice of the labor-hating corporations and the Chamber of Commerce. And it has established beyond all doubt, that District Attorney Fickert, in spitc of his re-clection on Decembcr 18th, had been guilty of criminal malfeasance in office.

But the same gang that was interested in the conviction of Thomas J. Mooncy by every possible method, including perjury, was most vitally intercstcd in his re-election in December last. And it is a matter of common knowledge, both in San Francisco and Sacramento, as well as a fact perfectly well-known to Governor Stephens and to the Fcderal officials in California, that the explosion at the Governor's mansion was the work of Fickert's friends, and was done with the sole purpose of securing his re-election.

To cover up their flagrant misdeeds, it was absolutely neccssary that the gang should find a new goat. And as in San Francisco, they were already on the point of being shown up in their frame-up on Mooney, it was imperative that they should look elsewhere. That elsewhere was not hard to find, for in Sacramento there was a kindred gang that was desperately anxious to hreak up the local branch of that grcatest modern national scapegoat, the I. W. W.

Both gangs jumped with joy. "The I. W. W. The very thing!" And at once they started a press campaign to blame the explosion on the I. W. W. in spite of the fact that the evidence pointed and still points in the direction of Fickert's friends, snd was done with the purpose of influencing his re-electlon. They succeeded, however, in holding sixty-five members of the I. W. W. by forcing the hand of the Cslifornia Federals, who after Investigating had found them absolutely clear of all share in the explosion.

But the official in direct charge of these prosecutions is so much at his wit's end to find any foundation for a case, that he has to resort to tricks of the most despicable meanness to prejudice the minds of the Grand Jury and the public. And by his circulation of unfounded and utterly false press statemcnts, he tends to reduce the Federal Government to the level of the same ghastly indecency that the findings of the Commission so bitingly scores in the Fickertian conduct of the Bomb cases in San Francisco.

We call your attention to the two sets of facts and the close connection between them; and if we are fortunate enough to secure your personal interest, we will keep you supplied with the latcst developments.

CALIFORNIA DISTRICT DEFENSE
COMMITTEE I. W. W.,
85 Third Street,
San Francisco, Cal.

* * *

As this issue goes to press, announcement comes from San Francisco that the life of Israel Weinberg will be placed in jeopardy for the second time on charges growing out of the Preparedness Day Parade bomb explosion. At the first trial it required but one ballot for the jury to declare his innocence. But the Chamber of Commerce is persistent, and, regardless of the decisions of court and jury, will bend every effort to carry out its lynch program against labor.

* * *

Alexander Berkman—Emma Goldman,
Tombs Prison, New York.

Your Chicago comrades gather at the Workers' Institute Ball and unite in sending love and greetings. The Revolutionary and Boylsheviki movement will go on during your stay in Atlanta and Jefferson City. The workers are spurred on to greater activity.

NATHANSON, KRUPNIC, GRUBER.
JUDIN, COHN, REITMAN.

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Report of the Russian Convention

The First United Russian Convention in America was held in New York on February 1-4. The convention was called for the purpose of uniting the Russian colony and, mainly, its toiling elements. It may be said that this purpose was accomplished.

The convention was attended by over 160 delegates who represented different Russian organizations existing in America. There were delegates from Eastern States, from the Middle West, from the West and also from Canada. In some cities mass-meetings were held, which elected delegates to the convention. The convention thus represented not only organizations, but also the unorganized masses.

The convention was non-partisan. The different currents of Russian socialist and revolutionary thought were represented there, but there were also a quite considerable number of non-partisan delegates.

The convention was dominated by a revolutionary spirit. By a vast majority the policies of the Russian Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies and of the Government of People's Commissaries were endorsed.

The following questions attracted the general attention of the convention: the form of the organization of the Russian colony, the attitude toward the present official "representatives" of Russia in the United States, and the attitude toward the draft. It was decided to organize Councils, which will take up the task of serving the interests and needs of the Russian Labor Colony. The activity of the Russian embassy, of the consuls and of the heads of the Russian Supply Commission was condemned as directed against the interests of new Russia. It was decided to request the Russian Councils and People's Commissaries to remove the present official "representatives" of Russia in the United States, because they really represent nobody but themselves. It was also decided to ask the People's Commissaries to replace the embassy and the consulates by organs which would express the real will and aspirations of the revolutionary people of Russia.

Among the resolutions passed were the following:

1. A demand that Russian citizens, among whom are Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, Louis Kramer and Morris Becker, convicted for political offenses in America to imprisonment and deportation should be released immediately and sent to Russia.

2. A demand that all ports be opened to political exiles from Russia, and that passports should be supplied to all Russian citizens who desire to return, and that the Russian consulates in America provide transportation for such exiles.

At the close of the convention it was decided to send telegrams of greeting and assurance of solidarity to Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman to their respective prisons, voicing the determination of the delegates that no effort would be lost in gaining for them their liberty.

Will you help maintain the BULLETIN while we are in prison, and at the same time aid the propaganda?

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The Boylsheviki Have Come to Challenge the World

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BOYLSHEVIKI

By Emma Goldman

A compelling analysis of the historic background, the aims and aspirations of the Boylsheviki —Miss Goldman's last contribution before her departure for Jefferson Prison for two years.

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MOTHER EARTH

BULLETIN

EMMA GOLDMAN - - - - - - - - - Publisher and Editor

Office: 4 Jones Street, New York City. Telephone, Spring 8711

10c a copy $1 a year

VOL. I. MARCH, 1918, NEW YORK NO. 6.

Messages from Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman

Missouri State Prison,
Jefferson City, March 3, 1918.

To my Dear Ones:

To all those who have written me such loving, cheering, devoted letters, I greet you all. I wish I could reply to each one individually, but I am permitted to write only once a week and may only use two sheets of paper. So many of you dear friends have written me—seventeen letters from one little gathering in my home town, Rochester, N. Y., were sent to me and innumerable others from all parts of the country since my imprisonment. I only hope you will return "good for evil," that you will keep on writing even though I can reply only collectively.

It is nearly a month since I was imprisoned, yet it has not seemed so long. You, my Dear Ones, have helped me each day to forget my surroundings and to take me back into my world of activity, my associations, my camraderie with you and the great host of Mother Earth friends. Yes, your letters, full of warmth and eagerness have put color and interest into the place which Oscar Wilde described as "built of bricks of shame," a place which otherwise would have proven so dreary. Only those who themselves have been in prison will appreciate the importance of daily contact with the outside world, with one's friends and comrades by means of letters.

You will want to know how my life has been arranged for me. One ceases to be a free agent, once in prison. One becomes an automaton, moving with clock-like regularity and never-changing sameness each hour, day and year that the prison holds one.

We rise at 5:30, although we are awakened at five o'clock. Those are indeed fortunate who can sleep through the night with the bell clanging each half hour and the guards in the towers signalling that "all is well," meaning, of course, God is in his heaven, and his accursed children are safely locked away in H—. We go down to breakfast about 6:15 and are in the shop at 6:30 a. m. Some day I will describe that shop; it is a "credit" to civilization. We work until 11:30, then march to dinner. We are in our cells from 12:00 to 12:30, then go back into the shop until 4:30. After that we are supposed to have an hour and a half in the open, but during this month, we were out only four times, not counting Sundays, when I, the atheist, could not partake of recreation because I did not attend chapel. How else are sinners to be brought to the throne of the Lord, if not by means of punishment. I always knew all sorts of methods are being employed to make the sinner feel the wrath of God, but that he should be deprived of much needed air unless he attends Church is new to me. Of course, one misses air in prison even more than outside of it. Somehow prisons are all engaged in a conspiracy against fresh air, which they no doubt consider an alien enemy.

That may explain why our recreation has to be spent indoors, walking round and round the corridor amidst the deafening noise of human voices, venting emotions pent up all day by enforced silence. Thus, for a few moments I saw only a "patch of blue which prisoners call the sky."

Yesterday was our first great treat. We were in the yard for more than two hours. It was a glorious day. The blessed sun, the vast blue sky looking down upon creature man contemptuously for his inhumanity to his brother. The sun heals all germs. Will it ever heal the germ of cruelty, injustice and ignorance? Will it ever melt the ice in the human heart?

I am leading a sort of double life, dear friends. One, the prison life is entirely mechanical. The other is far removed from here; it is too free, too unbounded, too colorful and serene for man made laws or rules or discipline to touch it. Nothing can touch that life even remotely. You are in that life with me, my dear ones, and all those who are imbued with a great Ideal, who work for a new world where beauty, comradeship and freedom shall take the place of this hideous world of ours.

My thoughts are with you always and with our fighter, Mother Earth Bulletin. I can do nothing for it now, but I depend upon all of you. Keep the child, Mother Earth, alive and growing. I know you love me, and for my sake will minister to the needs of the Bulletin while I remain in prison. When I return I shall resume our work with a new hope and deeper zeal. All that I see and experience during the two years will help me in the great battle to come. Good-bye, my dear ones. Write again. I am deeply interested in all of your activities, particularly those for the League for the Amnesty of Political Prisoners.

Affectionately,
EMMA GOLDMAN.

* * *

I went to Atlanta and saw Alexander Berkman, Louis Kramer and Morris Becker at the United States Penitentiary on Februsry 18th and 19th. They did not seem to believe that "stone walls and prison bars, a prison make."

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They were all cheerful, healthy, interested In the things of the outside world and interested in every current of thought and every ideal being struggled for in every part of the world.

They greeted me not with doleful faces, but with good cheer and smiling countenances. They wanted to know the news, the personal news, the big news, aye, even the gossip among their friends. They can only write one letter a week, but their friends and all who are interested in them should write them as often as possible, signing their full names. Receiving letters is a prisoner's great recreation, and one of the things that breaks the monotony.

Berkman felt that absolutely no relaxation in the efforts in Mooney's behalf and of the other defendants in the California frame-up should be allowed to take place, as the entire battle in their behalf may be lost if there is the least cessation of fighting and the arousing of public opinion.

Jails are civilization's confession of failure; and prisoners are prisoners only if they believe they are prisoners.

I am, Sincerely yours,
HARRY WEINBERGER.

The Invasion of Revolutionary Russia

On the 18th of March 1871 the Commune was proclaimed in Paris. Two months later the fighters of the Commune, the vast majority of which were workingmen, were butchered by the regiments of General Gallifet, sent against Paris by order of the Provisional French Government operating from Versailles.

The victorious Prussian army was laying siege to Paris, but Berlin and Versailles, Bismarck and Thiers understood each other perfectly in one respect. From their point of view the crushing of the Commune was of first importance.

In order to accomplish this bloody end the French and Prussian leaders of reaction joined forces to a certain extent. Bismarck ordered the release of French prisoners of war in big batches to make the butchery of the Commune, prepared for by the French government, more efficient.. And it really turned out to be efficient. Nearly 30,000 people were killed during the May days by Gallifet's hordes.

It was the end of the Commune. But the international proletariat has not forgotten the heroes and martyrs who fought and died for it, forerunners of the international social revolution as they were.

On a larger scale Russia became the scene of events similiar in some of their significant phases to those here shortly related.

The armies of Germany, greeted by the adherents of the former regime in Russia, applauded openly by the German aristocracy and the wealthier parts of the bourgeosie, and secretly by privileged classes of all countries, invaded revolutionary Russia.

Fake and sham were the German peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk. Adding to them clumsy lies and the slyness of a fox, the German government included in one of the reports about these negotiations the statement that the German representatives in Brest-Litovsk did not have the impression that the Russian delegates were really in earnest in their expressed desire for pesce.

This lie was exploded a few days later by the declaration of the Soviet that Russia would not continue the war, that the Russian workers and peasants did not wish to murder their fellow-workers of Germany and Austria.

The real motive for the treacherous invasion of Russia, besides that of making booty and stealing provinces, was the desire to strangle the Revolution. On their march Into Russia the German commanders took good care that in the cities and villages the members of the local Soviets were taken into custody first.

Prince Leopold of Bavaria, German commander-in-chief, has defined the purpose of his campaign himself:

"Russia is sick and is trying to contaminate all the countries in the world with a moral infection.. We must fight against the disorder inoculated by Trotzky and defend outraged liberty. Germany is fortunate in being the incarnation of the sentiments of other order-loving peoples."

That's it.. The Germany of the Hohenzollern, of the Hindenburgs, and Krupps has now become the bloody representative of international reaction and capitalism. Petrograd was formerly considered the centre of all counter-revolutionary forces the world over. Now Berlin has become this centre.

No mistake about that. Since the ascent of the Boylsheviki to power the captalist mouthpieces in all countries have fairly foamed in their anger and wrath. They denounced them every day as filthy mob, as criminals, traitors, or at best as lunatics, and what else was there to be expected, seeing that the Russian revolutionists attacked in real earnest the sacred foundations of despotism and exploitaton, seizing the land of the big proprietors, of the crown and church for the poor peasants, and expropriating the manufacturers, the rich and the banks.

What the ruling classes in all countries have wished for in the last months was a Russian Gallifet, who would lead an army against Petrograd. It was to their infinite regret that Korniloff and Kaledine did not succeed in accomplishing the defeat of the Boylsheviki.

And now that Hindenburg became the scourge of Russia, these same classes hope again that "order" will be restored in Russia.

We faced the scandalous situation that the only people standing up for peace absolutely sincere finds itself abandoned and delivered up to the shambles of the enemy.

But let us not cry about it. The lines should be drawn clear. The workingmen of all countries, the multitudes, or at least the thinking minorities in Berlin, Vienna, Paris, London, Rome must now understand clearer than ever before that the war has become the universal contest between the old social forces of oppression and the new revolutionary forces whose aim is the radical social and economic reconstruction of society.

Petrograd is now the capital of the International Social Revolution towards which all our thoughts and feelings concentrate.

There are signs even in Germany that the slavish obedience to the murderous commands of the miltary caste has weakened considerably. In the German Relchstag the Independent Socialist, Dr. Cohn, caused an uproar by saying:

> "I see the day coming when the Revolution will reach Germany, and the people will take the fate of their rulers Into their own hands."

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An emergency peace treaty with Germany has now been signed by the Russian delegates at Brest-Litovsk. Russian territories have been ceded to Germany and Turkey. To those who think this situation hopeless we refer to a remark of Nicholas Lenin, that seems to us full of revolutionary wisdom. He thinks it possible that the Revolution will make headway and he asks what difference it makes where the boundary lines are drawn, considering that it is the aim of the revolutionary proletariat to fight oppression everywhere and to establish international solidarity which would have no use for the cannon guarded frontiers of to-day anyway.

Frightful Stubborness of Labor

Prominent personages have lately been disagreeably surprised in discovering that Labor is not always entirely satisfied with playing the role of Cinderella. Workmen, usually considered as mere "hands," have given here and there some evidence that they also possess brains. That was particularly perplexing to the daily press, and when the carpenters in the shipyards went on strike for shorter hours and better conditions, they were attacked right and left.

William L. Hutcheson, President of the Carpenters' organization, was considered at least a Boylsheviki, if not worse, for the reason that he did not treat the carpenters as recruits, declining to order them back to work in command of print-paper-made public opinion. The writers who denounced him so fiercely probably did not know that Mr. Hutcheson has always been a typical conservative labor leader, adhering, in general, faithfully to the deadening tradition and methods of the American Federation of Labor. In the present case he certainly did not want to do any more "mischief" than to obtain better working conditions for the members of his organization. Was that not his and the carpenters' inalienable right? Is it a sin against democracy on the part of the workingman to ask for a decent standard of life in exchange for his lifelong toil? Can that be a crime, especially now that foodstuffs, the chief provisions and necessaries of existence, have increased in price from 50 to 100 per cent?

President Wilson wrote a letter to Hutcheson closing with the alternative whether the President of the carpenters' organization would choose co-operation or obstruction for his tactics. And still Hutcheson held out. He did not grow panicy, going even so far as to refuse having the whole matter transferred to the Adjustment Board. He probably knew from long experience that these boards and commisions become in many cases the burial ground for labor demands.

The editors stood aghast for a while and then sailed into Hutcheson again. They are often enough themselves victims of indirectly enforced obedience; so why should they allow other people to enjoy the possession of something like a backbone of their own!

Meanwhile Mr. Gompers, the old standby of the profiteering classes of society, and other leaders of like calibre, stepped in and did their utmost to bring about an abrupt ending of the strike.

Mr. Gompers denounces the Hebrew Trades Union Movement for tolerating radicalism in its ranks and is busy with arranging loyalty conventions and meetings for labor, giving the impression that loyalty is somehow synonymous with labor's submission to the wishes of Big Business, which, according to its own financial reports, bags enormous profits at this time. A writer in the "New Republic" phrases the agreeable situation in which Big Business finds itself at present in this way:

> "In peace, when time is not a pressing matter, it is doubtless possible for the government to make contracts that leave no opportunity for excessive profits. In war this is not possible."

That is perhaps the reason why Mr. Gompers' endeavors do not show much of the desired great result. The logic of the workers is evidently often at variance with the logic of Gompers. Hardly a day passes that one does not read about impending strikes.

Reflections

Now that Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman are in prison it is to be expected that all friends and comrades, every one of them, gets on board the good ship Liberty which is bound to reach the shores of a new future. Spreading our principles, making people aquainted with our literature, paying subscriptions, and securing new subscribers for "Mother Earth Bulletin", should now be considered more urgent than ever before. We have removed our offices from 226 Lafayette Street to 4 Jones Street.

* * *

Whatever crowned and uncrowned leaders of the nations may do or say to convince the world that the only means for stipulating relations between nations and races are competition in armament, bayonet and cannon ball, it will not avail in the end. A strong social under-current gives assurance that development points in an opposite direction.

Out of the very turmoil of stimulated hate, of slaughter and suffering rises stronger and more powerful every day the conviction that man and countries must combine for mutual help and international solidarity if they want to gain a future worth while.

Russia gives the clue. The Proletarian Red Guard, fighting for the cause of internationalism against autocracy, exploitation and bourgeois rule, is the nucleus around which the social-revolutionary forces of all countries will rally in ever-increasing numbers, insight and strength.

* * *

Better than we could do it ourselves, Cardinal Farley has taken the trouble to define the spirit of modern Christianity in general and Catholicism in particular. In the Catholic weekly "America" he published an article from which the following paragraph was taken:

> "The figures are eloquent. According to the Secretary of War, Mr. Baker, 34 or 35 per cent of the army are Catholics. The better Catholics they are, the better soldiers they are going to be? If there is one principle that must be the gulding star of the soldier, it is the principle of authority. Obedience is the soldier's duty. The necessity of that duty has been deeply impressed upon Catholics. By inculcating that principle upon her Children, the Catholic

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Church has conferred a lasting benefit upon the state, a benefit the results of which are now beginning to be apparent. Submission to authority is the backbone of an army. The Catholic soldier is already predisposed by his training to respect that fundamental law."

Thus writes the representative of Jesus, who in the night when he was betrayed by the kiss of Judas to the authorities, said to the disciple who wanted to defend the master:

"Put up again thy sword into his place, for all they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword."

* * *

French papers report the sending to jail of Sebastian Faure and Helen Brion for anti-militarist activity. Faure is one of France's greatest orators. He is the founder and conductor of the Bee Hive, the Modern School at Rambouillet near Paris. The school had to close soon after the beginning of the war, but Faure did not give up his propaganda, revolutionary not only from the religious point of a view but from the social as well.

* * *

Through a New York reporter the public was informed that tears glistened in the eyes of more than one detective when Capt. Wm. J. Deevy of the First Branch Detective Bureau told his men that he would give up his position and retire. The "famous arrests" made by the captain during his career were also reported. Matt Schmidt, accused together with the McNamaras and David Kaplan of having participated in dynamiting the Los Angeles Times Building and finally hunted down by the harpies of Burns' Detective Agency, was arrested by Capt. Deevy.

It is well known that crocodiles are supposed to be capable of shedding tears, but it may be interesting news to students of natural science that ferrets and scorpions are able to do the same stunt.

* * *

A New York comrade, writing a letter to Alexander Berkman, enclosed a newspaper clipping about the case of Bertrand Russell, who recently was sentenced in London to six months' imprisonment for having written a disrespectful comment on the American army. This letter was sent back to our comrade by the authorities of Atlanta Prison with the remark it could not be delivered to the addressee, because it contains "information concerning criminal matter which under the rules prevents its delivery to Mr. Berkman."

In other words, the prison rules do not allow that one "criminal" gets information about another "criminal".

Sasha Berkman can stand it. We, his friends, also. But what about Earl Russell's family, very distinguished in English society. Verily, if even prison officials have lost all respect for the upper crust of society, what then can you expect from the Boylsheviki.

* * *

Dr. William J. Robinson, well known to the radical element of the country, has been arrested and placed under $5,000 bail. It happened because he published his opinions on the war in his magazine "A Voice in the Wilderness" and in other publications.

Having the misfortune not to be able to appreciate the assertion that crippling and annihilating millions of human lives are absolutely necessary in order to establish well-being and happiness for all nations, he recommended that the war should end and peace be restored to the world. That is the reason why he will have to stand in the dock.

* * *

Our wellknown comrade, E. de Armand, director of "Par dela la Melee'" has been condemned by the military tribunal at Grenoble, France, to five years' penal servitude for so-called complicity in "assisting desertion". The fact was not established by the prosecution, who, when demanding a severe sentence for Armand, claimed it because "accused is a militant Anarchist." Which looks to us as if it works quite as well in democratic France, as it does in other countries.. An appeal has been taken against this excessive sentence.

* * *

The Appellate Court in Cleveland sustained the verdict against Dr. Ben Reitman, who, charged with having propagated birth control, was sentenced in January of last year to six months' imprisonment and $1,000 fine.

If we had no courts what would become of decaying morality systems, of tumble-down institutions, and superstitions! Be they ever so obnoxious in the way of improvement and progress, they must not be removed. The courts will see to it sternly that they are upheld. Imbued with a special instinct for preserving things that deserve to be discarded, the mills of justice grind down principles and ideas, which, put in practice, might ease the lot of suffering humanity.

The case will be appealed.

* * *

Labor bodies, radical organizations and groups sent encouraging cablegrams to Petrograd, urging to fight to the utmost the German invaders. A still better help for the fighters is the spreading of light and knowledge upon the fundamental principles of the Russian Revolution. We make this remark because we notice that some of the cablegram senders had only a few days before declared that the Boylsheviki must be done away with.

* * *

Alexandra Kollontay, who was in America for a propaganda tour before the Russian revolution started, and after her return held the position as Commissioner of Public Welfare under the Boylsheviki regime, has been arrested by government troops in Finland. She came with other Boylsheviki delegates to Finland for the purpose of arranging an International Socialist Conference.

With the German invaders in sight, the pillars of the old rotten system became more daring.

* * *

Not in one of the different commission reports about the labor troubles in the western mining and lumber districts are the I. W. W. held responsible for the deep-rooted unrest.

The authors of these social documents seem rather to consider the brutal methods used by the employers for the purpose of frustrating the just demands of the workers as the real cause for the disturbances.

One wonders whether these reports will have any bearing on the pending trial against about 300 members of the I. W. W. organization. That they have no influence on the stand taken by the Federal Department of Labor is indicated by the proposal of the department to round up all alien labor agitators who foment strikes, etc. in the Northwest for internment. The eternal curse: causes are left untouched, the effects denounced and punished.

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Keep an eye on Milwaukee. Ten men and one woman were sentenced in that city to twenty-five years penitentiary each. The circumstances under which the arrest and conviction took place were related in a recent issue of the "Bulletin." They are of such a nature that even the worst pessimist would refuse to believe that the higher courts will sustain the sentence.

Letters and money for the defense are to be directed to William Judin, 1006 Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

* * *

Developments in the San Francisco Bomb Case indicate that Fickert and his gang begin to lose confidence in their own ingeniousness for constructing a "good" frame-up. The days of smooth sailing are over for them. Their most important witnesses, with the help of which they had Billings and Mooney convicted, are discredited. They are now known to the world as perjurers and bribed liars while some others of them have come out publicly, telling the story how they were threatened and coached for their mission to help ambitious rascals to hang legally innocent people. In one word the old frame-up has been smashed into splinters.

The difficulty is now to fix up a new one. But into what dirty corner of the world could the perpetrators look for evidence and new "reliable" witnesses?

Facing this dilemma the honorable Fickert plays for time. No hurry for him. He is not in prison, yearning for liberty and justice as Billings, Tom Mooney, Rena Mooney, and Weinberg are.

It took a long time till Weinberg succeeded in having his case taken up again. When it finally came before Judge Cabanis on February 13th, Ferrari, Fickert's assistant, did everything he could to throw obstacles in the way of the proceedings. He had, he said, important witnesses, one in Chicago, another one in Honolulu, whom it was impossible to bring to San Francisco in so short a time. Judge Cabanis became angry, and it developed, from what he said, that obstruction had been systematically carried on from the district attorney's office for the purpose of bringing all the bomb cases for trial before Judge Dunne, whose bias against the defendants has shown itself frequently in the most bitter form.

The trial for Weinberg was set by Judge Cabanis for the 25th of February, and then it seems that Fickert had played some technical trick in order to have the case removed from Judge Cabanis's court and to transfer it later to the Judge of his heart's desire.

Protests against the now world-infamous outrage keep on pouring into the office of the Governor of California. A telegram from the Philadelphia Central Labor Council read thus:

"Governor Wm. Stephens, Sacramento, California:

"The Philadephia Central Labor Council, representing thirty thousand workers, entered an unanimous protest against any further delay in handing out even justice to the defendants Mooney, Billings, Weinberg, Nolan and Mrs. Mooney. We are convinced that they are the victims of a dastardly frame-up at the hands of labor's enemies. Our contention is sustained by the report of the Federal Commission which recently investigated the situation. May we look to your honor to see to it as Governor of California that the innocent go free and that their guilty persecutors be made to answer."

Activities of the Political Amnesty League

For the purpose of awakening interest and organizing local groups of the League for the Amnesty of Political Prisoners, Prince Hopkins, Chairman of the League, has just completed a coast to coast tour. He visited Rochester, Cleveland, Detroit, Ann Arbor, Chicago, St. Louis and San Francisco. In each of these cities the message he bore was greeted with enthusiastic response. Pledges were made to further the work of organization, committees were selected and each group expressed its determination to carry on local and national agitation until recognition and amnesty are won for all political prisoners in America.

The meetings in these cities were arranged primarily to bring together the active workers from as many and as diverse organizations as existed in the locality, to acquaint them with the aims and programme of the League and to collect whatever available authentic data was to be had regarding prisoners who would be considered politicals. Local organizations were perfected, secretaries elected and arrangements were made for large mass meetings to follow the preliminary informal meetings begun by the Chairman of the League.

The first gathering was held in Rochester at the Labor Auditorium, where it was decided not to appoint any local executive committee but to have the group work as a committee of the whole. Our friends volunteered to visit the men and women in the jails and to give to their families whatever sustenance they can provide. Three cases were brought to the attention of Mr. Hopkins. Mr. Fisher was arrested for taking his daughter from school after she was asked to write essays to which she could not subscribe. He was sentenced to jail. Mr. Ensue is serving a term after having been convicted of distributing a Jewish handbill, and a member of the Methodist Church also was given a prison sentence for the expression of an opinion in a hardware store.

Minnie Fishman was chosen Secretary of our Detroit group at a meeting held in that city. Mr. Walter M. Nelson informed us that there were 206 men in the Detroit House of Correction, detained for political offenses. Efforts will be made in behalf of these men by the local group so that they will receive friendly communication from the outside and assurances that the League is working for the status of Political Prisoners for them, and when peace is declared their liberty through an amnesty.

The cases of Elwood Moore and Max Frocht were brought to the attention of Mr. Hopkins when he spoke in Ann Arbor. These young men were sent to jail for their non-conformist opinions about the war. In Ann Arbor Miss Martha E. Kern was elected Secretary of the organization, with Miss Burt as her assistant. A plan to send out a series of chain letters acquainting people in sympathy with the League of the conditions of their locality was evolved.

A successful meeting was held in Cleveland, where Carl Heiser was elected local Chairman. The work was begun by procuring aid for Alvah Buchman, a political prisoner.

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At a luncheon in Chicago, the establishment of a local group in that city was discussed. After some debate, it was decided to elect an organizing committee of five instead of a secretary and presiding officer. Accordingiy Comrades Lloyd, Nathanson, Engdhal, Cooper and Stedman constitute the committee for Chicago. It was also thought best to use the name "The League for the Amnesty of Political and Industrial Prisoners." This is the title by which the Chicago organization will be known. The inclusion of Industrial prisoners was considered necessary by the committee. Addresses on the subject of Amnesty were delivered by Mr. Hopkins at the Labor School, the Chicago Theatre, Chicago University and at I. W. W. Hall.

The report of meetings held in St. Louis and San Francisco has not arrived. They will be printed in the next issue of the Bulletin.

It is essential that our comrades all over the country come to the support of this urgent work. The issue of recognition and amnesty for political prisoners in America must be fought now. With peace declared and no recognition for political prisoners, thousands of men will remain in prison: "And by all forgot they will rot and rot."

Mooney's Death Sentence Affirmed by Supreme Court

According to the decision of the Supreme Court of the state of California, Tom Mooney is not entitled to a new trial. This verdict will be a bitter disappointment to Labor in America and Europe. Not only that but the manner in which it was rendered is bound to stir up sharp criticism and disapproval.

The main thing was, one would think, that the evidence on which Mooney was convicted, should have been submitted to a thorough review by the court. The evidently crooked methods used in procuring this evidence, prompted the appeal. The appalling revelations made in sworn affidavits as to the more than suspicious participation of members of the police and the district attorney's office in this game, and the exposure of Oxman were the things that stirred up indignation here and abroad. The whole labor movement and large parts of the other population felt keenly that Mooney and his friends were persecuted, not prosecuted.

This feeling spread over to Russia and other countries. A commission was appointed by the President to investigate and in the report of this commission a new trial was recommended.

All this the Supreme Court has passed by, has ignored and evaded it altogether. It passed opinion only in regard to the technical points of law. In reading some of its parts one may imagine a building inspector who is asked to inspect a house whether it is safe to live in and who would give the opinion that the color of paint on the walls made quite a good show.

Except perhaps the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and those ferocious people who would hang radicals and sincere labor leaders anyway, evidence or no evidence, nobody will feel reassured by the decision of the Supreme Court.

The one necessary thing to do is that Labor must raise its voice still louder in protesting against the intended victimizing of Tom Mooney and the others. In the East and West big mass meetings have been held for this purpose. In New York the Ball and Bazaar given our San Francisco comrades was a huge success.

A Historic Reminiscence

Not for the first time has it happened in history that a great revolution clashed with a foreign autocracy as it does now in the occupied territories of Russia. They have never agreed together in the past, and they will never agree in the future, whether it be a feudal or a modern autocracy ruled by princes of finance and monopolists.

European autocracy felt it its sacred duty to mobilize its armies against the great French Revolution. England furnished a good deal of money for that noble purpose, regularly paying a large sum to Prussia in order to strengthen the military power of that country. Emperors, kings, and aristocrats of all countries combined to destroy the rebellious "canaille" and their aristocratic fellow parasites in France hailed them as their saviors. Their despotic rule and shameless exploitation of the people were in danger, and as to the foreign invaders they feared that the Revolution would spread all over Europe and do away with their crowns, estates, and privileges.

The King and Queen of France sent treasonable messages to their dear brothers and cousins on the thrones of Europe, imploring them to make haste with the invasion of France. They were quite ready to help the foreign invaders to steal a march on Paris and to slaughter Frenchmen by the hundred thousands for the sole purpose of patching up and restoring again the old rotten regime, which had become absolutely intolerable to the people.

In July, 1792, Prussia was prepared to attack the "criminals and outlaws" in France who dared to be disobedient to the king whom the Lord himself had placed on the throne. Some moral justification seemed necessary. In a solemn proclamation the king of Prussia announced his coming to France in order to save that God forsaken country and all Europe from the terrible evils of insubordination, to which end he would establish the monarchial power on a more stable basis. One passage of the proclamation was quite amusing. It read as follows:

> "The supreme authority in France being never ceasing and indivisible, the King could neither be deprived nor voluntarily ..divert himself of any of the prerogatives of royalty, because he is obliged to transmit them entire with his own crown to his successors."

Chief commander of the allied armies of reaction was the Duke of Brunswick. He also published a manifesto, demanding categorically that their majesties, the King and Queen of France should be set at liberty immediately. Should they have to endure the least violence, or should a lawless rabble try to force the Tuilleries, the royal palace—then the Emperor of Germany and the King of Prussia would inflict "on those who shall deserve it the most exemplary and ever avenging punishment."

But things turned out differently. The National Guard on whom the royalists had counted went over to the people. A revolutionary committee seized the city hall and their majesties became now in reality prisoners

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of the Temple. A few weeks later the army of the Revolution made up of "vagabonds, cobblers, and tailors" defeated the Prussiana at Valmy. The Duke of Brunswick had come as an overbearing braggart. He was glad enough to get home again ignominiously and a good deal more silent.

There is not a great consolation for the Russian Revolution in this parallel, but true it is that any army of revolutionists, fired by enthusiasm for their cause, may be more formidable to deal with than with the soldiers of a czar, driven stupidly and slavishly towards the enemy by sheer fright and force.

Our Prisoners

By Stella Comyn

Six weeks have passed since prison doors shut from us our beloved comrades, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman; and the February Bulletin went to press before we were able to give our readers any news of them. Their absence has left a void that is difficult to bridge, but we are struggling to maintain their standards in the Bulletin, using every means in our power to keep it alive and our subscribers together for the two years that we are deprived of their inspiring activity. We hope their heroic sacrifices for the cause of freedom and justice will bring us all closer, and make our own contributions more vital and valuable.

Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman are repeating their own past history. They are both engaged in the garment industry—both are sewing ten hours a day at overalls, as they used to nearly thirty years ago when they first entered the movement. But that is where the similarity of their punishment ends.

Emma Goldman is permitted to get her own food and have certain personal things in her cell, but because she refuses to attend chapel, she is punished by not being allowed out of doors on Sundays during the recreation hour to get the necessary air and exercise. She is permitted to write one letter a week to a relative and one to her attorney, and she is allowed writing paper for all the literary work she can do after she has spent ten hours a day at the machine.

She writes:

"If they send a delegate to the Labor Conference in England, I hope they send a man with a big vision. Oh, for an American Trotzkyl It is heartbreaking how little understanding there is in this country for Russia. It is no doubt the same in England and France. Yet all these countries swear by the man who proclaimed "Peace on earth, good will to men" I hear them singing in the chapel as I write this, asking Jesus to wash them clean. Yet when the Boylsheviki come washed clean of all desire for loot and human sweat and blood, they are described traitors."

Alexander Berkman, with his usual calm, has adapted himself to the inconveniences of prison life, though he is not allowed any privileges. .Lack of writing materials is the greatest hardship he has to bear. Recognition of political prisoners as such is all the more imperative when literary abilities like Comrade Berkman'a are not permitted expression In the only time and place an agitator finds necessary quiet and leisure he needs—a prison cell!

* * *

The "Friends of Freedom" group will give a Flower Ball and Package Party at Parkview Palace, 110th Street and Fifth Avenue, Saturday evening, April 13th, for the benefit of the new semi-monthly Anarchist paper, "The Blast," which is now appearing in Jewish. Tickets are 25 cents each.

* * *

A LETTER OF LOUISE OLIVEREAU

This letter dated Canon City Jail, Col., January 31st, was written to Comrade Emma Goldman before she had to go to prison. At the time she was contemplating a lecture tour to the far West in order to spread the understanding of the ideas and aims of the Boylsheviki. On that tour she intended to stop off at Canyon City and to visit Louise Olivereau in jail there. However, time was too short. Our comrade had to return East from Chicago, meetings having been arranged for her in Detroit, Rochester and other places. The letter follows:

Dear Comrade—

I received a letter from Minnie Rimer yesterday, stating that you were to return to New York without coming further West than Detroit. I am sorry I shall not see you until both of us have served our terms. I'm very, very sorry you must "rest" at Jefferson City, but after all, you will not be in long, especially if you are paroled.

I like your idea of starting a campaign for the release of all political prisoners at the end of the war. I have thought for a long time that it would be better for all of us to accept our prison terms with that in view. I'm sorry to be where I can't help carry on the campaign.

Only a week or so ago I learned that when you wired Minnie to appeal my case, you thought the sentence was 45 years. I am very sorry the error occurred; for of course had you known it was only ten, you would not have urged an appeal. I thank you for your efforts in my behalf, and hope that even if the appeal has to be abandoned, enough propaganda value has resulted to justify all the work done. Poor Minnie will be bitterly disappointed: she has worked so devotedly, and against heavy opposition from those who should have helped her.

I continue well and in good spirits. Except for those discomforts which are inseparable from prison life, I fare very well. You, who know prisons, will not need to be told that the inspiration to any happiness I may enjoy comes from outside the walls. As nearly as I can judge, the outlook is very hopeful for the cause. In spite of many exceptions, the workers appear to be steadily growing conscious of where their real strength lies, and are taking action accordingly. A friend in Spokane reports a gain of 1311 new woodsmen enrolled in L. W. I. U. No. 500 during December. Such news is hope-inspiring and patience-sustaining.

"Zarathustra" is meat and drink to the soul. I've never read much Nietzsche before, for some reason. The other books, also, are very good to have.

Again I thank you, and Berkman, and others who have worked with you for me; and send you both my most Comradely good wishes for a prison term as little irksome or injurious as may be. "After the War" we can have a reunion—till then I remain,

Cheerfully yours, for Freedom,
Louise Olivereau.

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Feeling that our readers seek a deeper understanding of the history and problems of the country which now engages world wide attention, we begin this department with a selection of books by Russian authors. All of the writings here appended are obtainable through us by mail, postage extra. Where the complete works are listed, any book or the entire set is available.

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To All My Dear Ones / Emma Goldman.– p. 1 ; 26 cm. *In* Mother Earth Bulletin. –Vol. 1, no. 7 (April 1918).

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MOTHER EARTH

BULLETIN

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VOL. I. APRIL, 1918, NEW YORK NO. 7.

To All My Dear Ones

Jefferson State Prison,
Sunday, March 24th, 1918.

I am so glad my message of March 3rd has reached you. I wish I were certain this letter too would reach you. But I am not. Since March 7th all my incoming mail and my outgoing weekly letters have been held up, "by orders of the Federal authorities," I was told. It seems the rigid censorship which the prison officials here exercise over the prisoner, every move they make, line they write or thought they have, does not satisfy Washington in my case. So if you ever doubted my importance you will be convinced now. You see I have the proud distinction of being considered dangerous, therefore a U. S. Deputy now reads my mail, after it has been thoroughly read by the prison officials. Well, there is no objection to that, if only the U. S. Deputy would deliver my mail after he reads it. But no, he keeps it in to the bargain. Still I mean to keep the Federal authorities busy. I will continue to write and I ask you to do the same. If they are so anxious to ascertain who my correspondents are, what they feel for me and what I feel for them, we must not disappoint Washington.. It would be really comic, if it were not so pathetic, that a mighty Government of a hundred million people, now engaged in a mighty war for Democracy should pursue those whom it has placed behind prison bars with unnecessary and cruel persecution. But I will survive that too, never doubt that, my dear ones.

Since I wrote you last I have advanced in my speed. I now make 36 jackets a day. It is "going some." It means incessant grind for nine hours without let up. It is Katorga alright. It is what the Tzar used to impose upon the political prisoners, but strange to say never did the women politicals have to do it. I see that even Babushka Breshkovsky, who spent so many years in Siberian prisons and exile was exempt from "Katorga." Apropos you must read "the Reminiscences and Letters"* of Babushka edited by Alice Stone Blackwell. What a wonderful woman! What a wonderful life! Her letters are most fascinating even though they show childish naïveté about American Institutions; so amusing to one who has lived under them for thirty years. Babushka's description of her daily life while in Siberia is most inspiring. There is one factor which sustained her through all the years—her association with kindred spirits; men and women political offenders like herself. She writes that the hardest conditions were as nothing compared with the mental sufferings she endured, when she was deprived of seeing loved comrades. How well I can understand that! Since April, American prisons are being crowded with political prisoners, strange to say all men. Is it that American women have not yet learned to love liberty well enough to pay the price for it? There are a few exceptions; Louise Olivereau, who fortunately has been sent to the Colorado penitentiary. How I should enjoy her companionship, but I am glad she is not here, I know the air is better in Colorado than Missouri. Then there is Kate Richards O'Hare, who got five years, but she is still at large. I hope she will remain so. My companions in misery while most kind to me, indeed more generous and human than the average lot outside, are yet separated by worlds from me. They are victims of a cruel social arrangement, but they have no social vision. They consider their trouble a misfortune imposed upon them by fate, or God, or some cruel judge, or their own wickedness. They do not know that they are each and all cogs in the machine of social injustice. My heart goes out to all of them. My deep regret is that I can do nothing to alleviate their hard lot. They are like children so eager for every little act of kindness and affection, hungry all the time for the things prison can not give. I listen to their small talk which always centers around the same topic: the dreaded work and how to meet it, day after day. But deeply as I feel with them and for them, there is no intellectual or spiritual kinship save the strong tie which always brings human beings together when they are souls in pain. How stupid of those who prate of criminal tendencies. Not one of my fellow prisoners is inherently criminal. The circumstances and a cruel lack of understanding for the human, all too human, bring them here; nor are they likely to return to society with a more kindly spirit when their time is up. But I am fortunate in having the Babushkas, the Louise Michels and the other great ones to draw from. I am rich after all. Then there is your friendship, my dear ones and my faith in your comradeship. Nothing can shake that. May I hope that you feel the same about me? This hope is giving me strength and will keep my spirit alive until I may again see you all and clasp you by the hand. This is the month of the Commune. They said it was dead when they slaughtered thirty thousand, but it lives forever.

Affectionately,
EMMA GOLDMAN.

*"The Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution." Reminiscences and Letters of Catherine Breshkovsky. Edited by Alice Stone Blackwell. Price $2.00 from The Mother Earth Book Shop.

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ADDENDA

To the letter on the first page we add information that in the meantime comrade Emma Goldman's mail, held back for a time, has been released. The friends she has all over the country may write to her frequently and help in that way to lighten the burden of prison life.

* * *

Parcels with things to eat addressed to Alexander Berkman, sojourning at present in Atlanta Federal Prison, will not reach their destination. It is against the rule of that educational institution that a student should receive such tokens of love. Instead write letters to him often. In his own letters he recently said that he suffered from headache and pain in the neck. The sewing machine, on which he has to work, probably is the cause of these troubles. Otherwise his philosophy is up to date and has a good effect upon his letters, which bear witness that his mind is calm and serene.

However, no mail from comrade Berkman has been received for more than two weeks. We hope that he is not ill nor that the writing privilege has been taken away from him.

* * *

The "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist," Berkman's book, is at present in good progress of being translated into the Jewish language. A. Frumkin is the translator, the name being guarantee enough that it will be a first-class translation. It will take a considerable amount of money to pay for the translation, and to have the book printed. For this reason we ask the comrades to subscribe for the book in advance. The price will be only $1.00. Later it will be more.

Send advance subscriptions to M. E. Fitzgerald, 32 Union Square, Room 1015, New York City.

* * *

Dr. Ben Reitman, having begun to serve his term of six months several weeks ago at Warrensville, Ohio, is comparatively "well off." We were glad to hear that he works there in his capacity as a physician. He is practically in charge of a hospital with twenty-five beds and also works in the clinic. He is not bolted up in a cell and can always go out in the yard for fresh air. The food is good, also the bed, and the opportunity to learn much about medicine and men is great, as he writes himself.

Our civilization has weak spots; no doubt, it is in delicate health and must be protected; but decent treatment of the prisoners will do the trick just as well and better as inhuman treatment.

* * *

From Louise Olivereau the authorities of the State Prison of Canon City, Col., withheld for a month all papers, magazines, and any other literature, including the "Public" and the "Union Record," an American Federation of Labor publication. But pardon, we exaggerate, Louise Olivereau enjoys the privilege of being permitted to read the "Christian Science Monitor!"

In a short time a pamphlet about Louise Olivereau's trial will be published, including her speech to the jury. It will no doubt find a hearty welcome and wide distribution.

Thomas Jefferson

"Is it not curious," somebody wrote in a communication to one of the New York dailies, "that in these days of exalted praise for democracy, Thomas Jefferson should not be considered a more popular interpreter of the nation's ideal than Washington or Lincoln?"

To our mind it seems not curious at all. The nation's ideal is an elusive quality. How is one going to find out what it really consists of, when the masses of the subjects are inert, silent, and only "represented" by officials and politicians? As long as they remain in this state it means, we suppose, that order and law prevail. But if they should begin to take things into their own hands, as in Russia, for instance, it would, in official language, signify "that disorder and terrorism reign supreme."

This brand of democracy Jefferson hated as a pretense and a deception. It was for this reason that he fought Hamilton, Chief Justice Marshal, and the Supreme Court. Of the latter he wrote to Spencer Roane:

"The Constitution on this hypothesis is a mere thing of wax in the hands of the judiciary which they may twist and shape into any form they may please."

The hypothesis mentioned was upheld by the Federalists who, in reality, wanted an iron-cast centralization with power invested in the big land owners.

The tendency of many democrats of to-day is the more government the better. Jefferson felt quite contrary. His idea on the subject is expressed in the words:

"Let the general government be reduced to foreign concerns only, and let our affairs be disentangled from those of all other nations, except as to commerce, which the merchants will manage the better the more they are left free to manage for themselves, and the general government may be reduced to a very simple organization, and a very inexpensive one; a few plain duties to be performed by a few servants."

Jefferson's distrust of government and centralized power is further elaborated in the Kentucky resolutions of 1798, of which he was the author. These resolutions were directed against the Alien and Sedition Acts passed by Congress. Jefferson advised the people of the individual states "to stop the progress of the evil" by refusing to have the provisions of the bill carried out in their territory. The people of that time must have been different from the people of to-day. They must have thought such conduct and vigorous opposition very becoming to a good citizen. They didn't cross themselves on account of it, neither did they call for the police, but instead elected Jefferson President of the United States two years after he had written the following passage:

"Confidence is everywhere the parent of despotism; free government is founded in jealousy, not in confidence; it is jealousy, not confidence, which prescribes limited constitutions to bind down those whom we are obliged to trust with power. In questions of power, let no more be heard of confidence in man, but bind him down from mischief by the chains of the Constitution."

More than that, in regard to "Shay's Rebellion," Jefferson said that the tree of liberty would never grow properly unless refreshed now and then with the blood of patriots and

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tyrants, patriots meaning at that time fighters for liberty.

"What country can preserve its liberties if its rulers are not warned from time to time that the people preserve the spirit of resistance."

And worst of all, Jefferson divined the future when he wrote during the war against England:

"The spirit of the times may alter—will alter. Our rulers will become corrupt, our people careless. A single zealot may become persecutor, and better men be his victims. It can never be too often repeated that the time for fixing every essential right, on a legal basis, is while our rulers are honest, ourselves united. From the conclusion of this war we shall be going down hill. It will not then be necessary to resort every moment to the people for support. They will be forgotten, therefore, and their rights disregarded. They will forget themselves in the sole faculty of making money and will never think of uniting to effect a due respect for their rights. The shackles, therefore, which shall not be knocked off at the conclusion of this war, will be heavier and heavier, till our rights shall revive or expire in a convulsion."

No, Jefferson would not fit well into the present scheme of things. Not one single word of his, one must be afraid, could be used properly for the purpose of intensifying the glory of the present system and its protagonists. His day has not yet arrived.

The British Labor Movement

By Leonard D. Abbott

The most important outcome of the war, thus far, has been the Russian Revolution. A second result, of immense significance, is the awakening of British labor. Four million British trade-unionists, allied with Socialists and Co-operators, have lately drafted a notable manifesto. These same trade-unionists have met in several conferences with representatives of the labor movements in the allied countries and are now striving to bring about an international working-class conference of all belligerent countries. They are discussing peace terms, and they propose to influence the official peace conference, whenever held.

The leader of this movement, Arthur Henderson, is a Member of Parliament who was ousted by Premier Lloyd George from the British Cabinet because of his radical sympathies. He had been sent to revolutionary Russia by the British Government to argue against the proposed international Socialist conference at Stockholm. He returned from Russia an advocate of the Stockholm conference. When compelled to choose between his new conviction and his position in the Cabinet, he resigned from the Cabinet.

A little later, Lloyd George himself was called before the British Trade Union Congress. He was asked to tell the British workers what they were fighting for. At the close of his address he was mercilessly heckled. When he told the workingmen that revolutionary Russia must be left to her fate, they replied that they stood with Russia.

The statement of principles put forward by the British Labor Party is notable not only because of its largeness of view, but also because it represents a distinctively working-class attitude. It declares for the Russian ideals of peace and for self-government of peoples in the empire. "We seek," it says, "no increase of territory. We disclaim all ideas of 'economic war.' We believe that nations are in no way damaged by each other's economic prosperity or commercial progress; but, on the contrary, that they are actually themselves mutually enriched thereby."

The view of the Labor Party in relation to internal affairs is that what has to be reconstructed after the war is "not this or that government department, or this or that piece of social machinery; but, so far as Britain is concerned, society itself." What is needed is "a new social order, based not on fighting but on fraternity—not on the competitive struggle for the means of bare life, but on a deliberately planned co-operation in production and distribution for the benefit of all who participate by hand or brain."

As steps toward this end the Party proposes:

(a) The Universal Enforcement of the National Minimum;

(b) The Democratic Control of Industry;

(c) The Revolution in National Finance; and

(d) The Surplus Wealth for the Common Good.

When we come to look into the details of this program we find that the minimum wage that the Party wants enforced—of course by the Government—is 30s. ($7.50) per week. When we look for an explanation of the phrase, "democratic control of industry," we find that it means "the immediate nationalization of railways, mines and the production of electrical power" and the establishment of the "common ownership of the means of production" by parliamentary methods. The "revolution in national finance" pertains chiefly to taxation, which is to be "steeply graduated so as to take only a small contribution from the little people and a very much larger percentage from the millionaires." Surplus wealth, now absorbed by individuals, is, under the new program, to be devoted to the sick and infirm, to the aged and those prematurely incapacitated, to education, to public improvement of all kinds, to scientific investigation, and to the promotion of music, literature and fine art.

The manifesto, which is well written, declares for the complete abolition of the House of Lords, and asserts the right of freedom of speech, freedom of publication, freedom of travel and freedom of choice of place of residence and kind of employment, after the war. The obligation resting upon the Government to find employment for returning soldiers; social insurance against unemployment at all times; workmen's compensation; reduction of working hours to forty-eight a week, are some of the other themes discussed. In practically every case it is to "the Government" that British Labor looks for relief. A Social-Democratic spirit informs the entire document.

We do not wish to depreciate unduly the importance of a statement of principles that may turn out to be, quite literally, epoch-making. The fact that such men as Theodore P. Shonts and William R. Hearst regard this platform as "too radical" shows that there must be virtue in it. The platform is radical; it is not revolutionary, except in a Social-Democratic sense. From a libertarian point of view its demands are too moderate: it leans too much on government. When will the workers of Great Britain, like the workers of Russia,

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come to realize that they must depend not upon government, but upon themselves, to attain the "new social order" of which they dream?

Reflections

When reaction closed in on all sides, Heinrich Heine, the poet, living in exile, called himself a "forlorn sentry in liberty's war."

The "Bulletin" is something like it. But in the dark, with voiees hushed, aims and goals obliterated and confused, it is perhaps a pleasant feeling to eome aeross such a sentry.

We are eager to send the "Bulletin" to new subscribers, to have new customers for the book shop.

Pass the toreh on to others.

* * *

The German monster gun with a range of seventy-five miles, and able to kill off women and children in Paris from a great distance, was undoubtedly invented with the help of the same God whom the Kaiser appointed for his war specialist.

Yet this is not a godforsaken country either. Fierce competition between gods has been witnessed before, they may now be tempted again to enter the arena, urged on by the prayers from the pulpits of all countries to help to destroy the enemy. This would aeeount for the invention of an Ameriean gun, whieh, aecording to reports, has a range of 105 miles. Pray on priest, pray! Whether in these days the priests have more eruel fun with the gods or the gods with the priests, that is a question not easy to answer.

* * *

Thomas Paine wrote to a friend shortly before his death:

"A thousand years hence, perhaps in less, Ameriea may be what England is now. The innocence of her character, that won the hearts of all nations in her favour, may sound like a romanee, and her inimitable virtue as if it had never been. The ruins of that liberty, whieh thousands bled to obtain, may just furnish materials for a village tale, or extort a sigh from rustic sensibility; while the fashionable of that day, enveloped in dissipation, shall deride the prineiple and deny the faet."

Only one of those pesky Ameriean Boylsheviki, who are so bitterly attacked by Roosevelt with all the extraordinary power of his jaw, would be daring enough to maintain that Paine showed some ability for prophesy.

* * *

In Chieago the trial against 112 members of the I. W. W. is in progress before Judge Landis. Some of the defendants will have a separate trial. A number of cases were dismissed, also the eharge against Arturo Giovanitti. The faet that he translated years ago a syndiealist pamphlet from the Freneh will not go on reeord as eoming under the Espionage Act. Great is wisdom!

George Andreyehine and J. A. McDonald were released from eustody on aeeount of sickness. Andreyehine has contracted tuberculosis in Cook County jail, the food and general conditions of which are an abomination. Another defendant haa become insane in the jail. Stanley Jsnshsrick died, one ia nesrly blind, others got pneumonia and tuberculosis. But the boys on trial are undismayed. When assembled for lunch durlng recesa in s room in the eourt house they aang the Internationale.

To pick out the required number of jurors will probably take at least two weeks' time.

The eorrespondent of the New York Tribune wrote that mueh excitement was going on in the corridors of the eourt house, deputies moving about, watehing for bombs.

That was necessary, indeed, the Chieago poliee having been famous since the Haymarket affair and after that they are great in discovering bombs planted by some of their own smart acquaintanees.

* * *

New developments in the San Francisco bomb case seem to indieate, that the big eracks in the frame-up have beeome so wide and yawning, that the final crash is only a question of time. A dismissal of three charges against Israel Weinberg took plaee in the eourt of Judge Griffin. After this the State Supreme Court admitted bail for Weioberg, who is still eharged on two counts. Also Rena Mooney was admitted to bail. Both are now free and warmly they are welcomed by hundreds of thousands of men and women who helped to get justiee for them and will eontinue to do so. Judge Dunne had to comply with the deeision of the Supreme Court but eould not refrain from showing his animosity against the aeeused. He said, when fixing bail for Rena Mooney: "It is my personal conviction that they all should be held in prison."

In regard to Mooney and Billings, the elamor for their liberation gains impetus every day. The protests beeome more urgent and greater in number. In behalf of Mooney, President Wilson and Gompers have written to Gov. Stephens, asking him to take action in the matter. Mooney will appear before Judge Griffin on April 13. The judge is supposed to repeat the death sentence. The entangled mess of teehnicalities, it is maintained, leavea him no other ehoice; but according to a report he said that he was dead tired and disgusted with the whole game. It is unbelievable that Mooney will hang after all what has happened in the eourse of the infamous proceedings against him and the others, but a "pardon" with eommuted sentence for life would eertainly be nothing less than a bitter ironieal climax of this misearriage of justiee. Mooney and Billings must get a new trial or be liberated altogether.

* * *

What charming things have been said about the workingmen in the last couple of months! By highly distinguished men, mark you, not by some I. W. W. sabotteur with a prison record. The Bethlehem multi-millionaire Sehwab predieted a future with labor on the top. In a recently published letter President Wilson gave a strong hint in the same direction and now the Rockefeller family starts out to establish sweet harmony between its own interests and those of labor.

The millenium seems close at hand. The next report will be that the Rockefellers will piek out half a million of the neediest families in the country and divide their fortune of $1,200,000,000 with them. The share of each of these families would be $2,400. Don't say that capitalism is not a good thing for the poor people!

* * *

Philanthroplsts, prlson reformers, etc., should not miss reading the I. W. W. papers. About 2,000 members of the I. W. W. organlzation are st present in jail. They sre as a rule trustworthy, lntelllgent observers. Their

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accounts of the conditions they find in the prisons from West to East, from North to South are veritable mountains of valuable information that beats all official investigations and commission reports to splinters.

Only such reformers whose nerves cannot stand much may be warned before reading these accounts. They may however get away with a half dozen nightmares as a result of their studies, while those who are compelled to live in these vermin-infested pest-holes, called prison cells, experience a foretaste of real hell.

* * *

After Carl Muck of the Boston Symphony Orchestra has been driven out, the scalp of another music director—Stransky of the Philharmonic Society—is demanded. It makes even the music critic of the "Evening Sun" wild. He writes:

"So Mr. Stransky is the next on the blacklist of our musical nationality! The society lady and the society magazine have willed it so, and their will be done! Against such as these how can art prevail?

But if Mr. Stransky does depart from the Philharmonic (which we hope in the particular instance he will not) it should be for other and better founded reasons. The chief of them lies in his baton, not in his nation; in his past programmes rather than in any of the present propaganda, one direction or the other. The lisping triviality of this new campaign is the saddest commentary of all upon a patiently musical New York!"

The critic must have slipped in his copy while the rabid chief editor had a consultation with a specialist on blood poisoning.

* * *

Arrests and charges under the Espionage Act come thick and fast. Victor Berger, Adolph Germer, Louis Engdahl, William F. Kruse, and Irwin St. John Tucker of the Socialist Party have been indicted by the Federal Grand Jury. They are accused of sixteen overt acts committed against the law mentioned.

A preacher, Clarence H. Waldron, was convicted by the Federal Supreme Court of Burlington, Vt., and sentenced to a fifteen years' term in the Atlanta federal prison. He was charged with having spoken against the draft and the liberty loan.

Scott Nearing and Rose Pastor Stokes are also in the net. Nearing is charged with having violated the law in his writings and Rose Pastor Stokes with having done the same in statements made during her tour through the West.

People who believed that war and liberty of opinion could come to an agreement, at least in a republic if not in a monarchy, have indulged in too much optimism.

* * *

It is announced that a truce between capital and labor has been concluded for the period of the war by a body of men called the Labor Planning Board.

Attempts in the same direction have been made in all the belligerent countries of Europe, and as a rule they have missed the mark. Representatives of organized labor, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, may sign the agreement, but it will chiefly pertain only to the "aristocracy of labor." It has always been the medieval policy of the Federation to exclude the "unskilled" laborer masses of modern industry from the benefits of this organization, which, besides, are of very doubtful quality anyway.

* * *

On March 21 Ricardo Florence Magon was arrested again in Los Angeles and placed under $25,000 bail, which it was probably impossible to obtain. Accusation is based on an editorial in "Regeneracion," of which the Los Angeles correspondent of the New York "Times" has to say that it "advocated the destruction of existing governments all over the world." Simply dreadful! The Magon family has lately been overwhelmed with misfortune. They have been hounded terribly by the police for years.

And now comes the arrest of Ricardo Florence Magon. We have received no direct information about the cases, but will certainly do what we can to give at least publicity to the facts as widely as possible under the circumstances.

An Impression

By David Leigh

Courtrooms always make me think of the story of the woman who tried to match her thread. She hung on to her garment so long that it wore out during the search. Meantime, the styles changed; but she was not aware of it.

At the Hindu trial, now going on in San Francisco, I expected to see red. I saw black. Even the light, as reflected from where I sat, gave the judge a dusky hue; and the soldier bailiff (also in the shadow) could easily have been mistaken for a Filipino. We are fooled often—all of us—by appearances.

The doorkeeper said I could not go in, at first; but, somehow, after a little, he made room for me (in his heart), and so I stepped in.

The place was face-packed, full of eyes, but black to me, very black. There were so many Hindus. One glance made me almost believe India, en masse, had come to pay us a visit. But that, of course, was a mirage. There are blond defendants also.

Twelve or more astute attorneys flank the defendants, as accepted counsel. These men are patriots, with possibly one exception. They look well fed and unworried. Nobody excepts to their remunerated interest. Nobody questions the fact of their association with those who are, at present, in bad odor officially. Nobody even hints that it is not in line with patriotism to defend individuals ao charged. Theirs, evidently, is a course in conformity with the code de facto. The code de facto abounds with irreconcilable angles. Pay and way, while not synonyms, have a certain correlative aignificance, in this, our warring day.

At the prosecutor's table sits one man—and a woman. One would not mention the woman did she not have light hair. There is something about light hair which attracts. The prosecutor looks amall, sitting. He is tall, standing; and he has a stentorian voice. It savors of "that deep and dreadful organ-pipe." To sit behind him is to hear the aea roll. To sit opposite him is to aee contentious waves spurt foam. Peraonally, he lacks impress. He arrests one's attention through aound only.

Behind the prosecutor sat half a dozen ladies, knitting, friends of his, I am told, society ladies. They appeared to knit very well. They aeemed ao interested—in their knitting. One of these ladies, I learn, once attended a lecture given by one of the Hindu defendants, on

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"Prostitution." She was present the other day when the District Attorney grilled this same defendant for his ideas, in re this subject. She said not a word in the courtroom—not even that she had attended the lecture.

Knitting appears to be an absorbing occupation. They say it takes one's mind off other things. If that is so, would it not be a capital idea to have the men who frequent houses of prostitution learn to knit? Just an idea, of course.

The judge is a little man. Chair-framed, he appears diminutive. He drinks water constantly. The water reposes in a beautiful silver pitcher. Filled as the room is with human beings, nothing in it stands out like that pitcher. It wafts serenity from its inert sides. In fact, it has a distinct judicial air.

Two electric fans whir over the judge's head. Introducing perpetual motion, they seem to clash with ensconced precedent. Nobody pays the least attention to them; but they keep on whirring. Electricity has given us action, if not ideas.

The defendants sit bunched together. I say defendants, meaning Hindus. The seeing eye can only be conscious of darkness in that room; and the Hindus, of course, being black, overshadow the blond presence. They are a splendid-looking lot of men, thoughtful, perceiving, purposeful. As the session continued, their poses were various. One, with a face supernal, tilted his chair slightly backwards and gazed at the ceiling. I read in his look conceptions of a beyond that would shock the earthly-centered, could they see it. Another, bespectacled, with classical nose and ebullient intelligence, gave his attention exclusively to the perusal of a court transcript. He smiled esoterically at parts of it.

The jurors are youngish-looking men, business men, evidently. They do not look like a theatre party. I noticed, though, during the recess, they smiled (at each other) with the grace of free men. The recess seems to be wisdom's contribution to court proceedings. Its effect is magical on everybody. It puts stress to flight, it transforms artifice into feeling, it releases sympathy. Let Providence be thanked for the idea of recess. So powerful is it that it lingers (if only for a moment) after the session reconvenes. The judge brought back a smile with him that would have dispelled a London fog.

So many old men, among the spectators. (I counted fifteen.) And young men there, too, in plenty, equally old. Only one did I see who was ageless. He sat beside me. Came in during the recess, with a paper and opinions, which he rattled and aired. He knew the man next to him. He talked to him and at me,—beyond.

"They're a bloody lot, the bunch of 'em. They ought to hang the whole crowd. (Pause; glances.)

"I tell you I'm a good American. My people was born in Germany; so was I; but that don't matter. No better 'Mericans ever lived than me and my people. (More observation.)

"We've got to kill this Kaiser business—and the niggers that are in with 'em. They're a dirty bunch. They ought to hang 'em all first—and try 'em afterwards. That's what they'd do to 'em in Germany." . . .

After attending the court session I accompanied one of the Hindu defendants to the studio of a friend, a young Russian pianist. The sudden change nearly unbalanced me. For a moment I felt light-headed. It was like being hoisted to Mt. Ararat after a sojourn in a coal pit.

In the room were a grand piano, several chairs, stacks of music and—that comforter divine—the unspoken welcome. Judge, jury, bailiff, counsel were noticeably absent.

"Play what you set to music for me," said the Hindu to his friend, "—that last one. You remember."

The pianist glanced comprehension. Then he brought forth some typewritten verses and a sheet of stiff paper, on which was penciled an amazing succession of cryptic bars and dots—his own work. Without preliminary, he began to play. But play is scarcely the word. Rather did he caress the page unto himself (and us) till there was no presence in the room, save Beauty.

"Bravo!" cried the Hindu. "That is great, my friend."

Then they sang the words (written by the Hindu), which gave Beauty the mate of Sympathy and gladness its spiritual raiment; and, looking upon them, I wondered why courts are places where sound alone presides. I wondered why it is that men venture so little in a sphere which is freighted with so much. I wondered what it is non-observers get out of life.

I wondered then; and I still wonder.

3 A. M. In Jail

By Louise Olivereau

In the stark hours
Before dawn
I awaken.
Like a great bird
The unquiet Spirit of the Jail
Broods close above me
Till I gasp for breath—
And now it settles,
Beak and claws upon my heart,
Its evil, searching eyes within my soul.

The fiend-tormented,
Drug-destroyed girl
In the bed beneath me
Writhes in her sleep, and cries out
"Jesus God! Mother of Christ,
Hear me!"
Obscene oaths and shuddering moans of pain
Follow her prayers; half-wakened
She beats her pillows, curses,
Groans, and prays again.

Across the room in the half-light,
Prostrate like the Magdalen at the feet of her Saviour,
A sweet wild slip of a girl,
—Just seventeen—
Whose thirst for beauty and joy
We have answered with—Jail—
Through her frightened sobbing whispers,
"Mother, I will be good; take me home!"

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The others sleep: a gentle idiot in the lowest bed;
Endless toil through all her girlhood on a lonely farm;
Marriage with one whom toil and drink made brutish;
These have brought her here
To wait the verdict that will pen her up for life
With others of her kind.

And she, that other frail one,
Mother and wife and daughter of joy
And would-be suicide,
Slave of the drug-fiend,
Turned thief for those white grains
More precious far than life to her;
Still but a child in years,
But ageless in knowledge of evil,
Loose lips half-smiling,
Tear-wet lids veiling her harlot's eyes,
Sleeps peacefully as any little child.
—Ah, how the tearing beak and claws
Work their harsh will upon my heart,
And the ever-questioning eyes,
Glittering, evil, not-to-be-denied,
Ask their relentless "Why?—Why?
Why are these here?"

In the next room the Matron sleeps;
No bird disturbs her even breath and placid dreams;
The jailer in his office yawns
And stretches in his chair
Until it squeaks and groans again;
He drops his keys; a paper falls
And flutters like a frightened bird;
Then for a space
All's still.
Only the tearing, tearing
Beak and talons at my heart,
And over, over, over,
In a hammered rhythm,
The terrible question,
"Why?—Why?—Why?"

Then splitting the unquiet silence
Like jagged lightning a stormy sky,
The yell of a maniac
Far down the corridor.
The caged tiger's rage
And nameless grief of the wolf
Starving alone on snowy wastes
Blend in that dreadful human cry.
The jailer snarls "Shut up, damn you!"
And hunts his mad charge away from the bars
Back to the far corner of his cage.
The creature whimpers and cries;
A murmured confusion of curses and groans
Swells from the cells where sleepers have wakened,
For sleep is precious in Jail—
Another snarled order for quiet;
The jailer returns to his chair,
Yawns again—
And again all is quiet:
Only the bird
At my heart
Is tearing;
Only its eyes,
Burning deep
In my soul,
Question:
"Why?—Why?
Why did you let them come?"

Work for the Political Amnesty League

The need for an organization, spreading the idea that better treatment should be accorded to political prisoners and full amnesty granted to them after the war, becomes more urgent every day. The number of political prisoners grows rapidly.

In the Chicago court room, where over 100 I. W. W. are tried, the presiding judge had to take personal action in order to afford the defendants a prison treatment not altogether beastly.

Under prevailing circumstances the question is not whether a league for the recognition and amnesty of political prisoners is necessary, but how it can be carried on and impress the public mind.

The league has done good work in the short time it exists. As a result of the meetings and conferences, held by Prince Hopkins on his trip to the West, branches have been organized in a number of cities. Ten thousand copies of a little pamphlet have been distributed, in which the principles and aims of the league are set forth. Many have written that they liked the idea. It will be necessary to have ten thousand more of these pamphlets printed. Also a list of all political prisoners, as far as it is possible to obtain the names, place of imprisonment, and other data is in progress.

In order to accomplish this the league appeals to friends and sympathizers for their cooperation and financial help.

Letters and contributions can be addressed to:

M. E. FITZGERALD,
32 Union Square, Room 1015, New York.

Cassius V. Cook

In Chicago the secretary-treasurer of the "League of Humanity," Cassius V. Cook, has been arrested and placed under $10,000 bail. The league has for its object a consistent propaganda against the violation of human rights, freedom of the press, freedom of speech, actual freedom of conscience and belief. Meanwhile charges have been brought against Cook for conspiracy to obstruct the draft, etc. Cook has been a good worker in the radical movement for long years. Financial aid for his defense will be needed. Contributions to be sent direct to C. V. Cook Defense Committee, 143 N. Dearborn St., Room 30, Chicago, Ill.

Attention! New York

A performance of Butler Davenport's play: "Deferred Payment" will be given st Bramhall Playhouse, 27th Street and Lexington Avenue, on May 3, for the benefit of the Russian syndicalist-anarchist paper, "Golos Truda." A large attendance is expected. Tickets $1.00.

Notice

With this issue of the "Bulletin" a catalogue of the Mother Earth Book Shop was mailed to our subscribers.

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Book Review

THE CABIN. By V. Blasco Ibanez. English translation by Dr. Francis Haffekine Snow and Beatrice M. Mekota. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $1.50.

Writers of former periods thought it necessary that the authors of novels and tragedies should prefer to select their heroes and heroines from the exalted ranks of society. Because, they argued, ordinary people neither can rise very high nor fall very low. Their fate is commonplace, and therefore lacks the material to build up the great passionate tragedy of life. For this reason kings, dukes, barons, princesses, marquises, countesses crowded the books and stages, being not only a nuisance in life, but in literature also. Many a ferocious young reader wonders to this very day where all these perfectly superfluous people come from.

The Cabin, of whose author the introduction says: "In theory, he might almost be said to be a disciple of Ferrer," leads us into an agricultural district of Spain. It is a bitter, hard life which the tenant farmers have to endure. Their wives and children carry manure in baskets on their shoulders from Valencia in order to fertilize the patches of land. They work fiercely away from dawn to sunset, but in the end it is hardly possible to scrape the rent together, payable to rich, usurous land-owners in the city, who try their best to squeeze out the last penny from them. Sometimes it is not possible at all. Such a case is that of the farmer Barrett. His grandfather and his father owned the piece of land on which he now lives as a tenant. He is blessed with four daughters. Deeper and deeper he gets into debts with Don Salvador, who owns the fields. The day comes when the law sends him notice to leave house and land. Old as he is, hard as he has worked, now he is a beggar. Despair and wrath overwhelm him. He kills Salvador. The farmers rejoice over the death blow, which Barrett dealt to the oppressor. It becomes a silent agreement among them that no other tenant will be tolerated on the Barrett place, tabooed under the people's curse, and the life of any newcomer is made miserable. Finally the heirs of Don Salvador succeed in getting Batiste, a robust, fearless man to settle down on the place. A struggle of life and death begins between this man and the community. Batiste kills his worst enemy, Pimento, hut his house is set on fire and burned to the ground. Under wreckage and ruin he waits in the night with his family for daylight, when they will start out again in search for another meagre existence.

"Bread! At what cost is it earned! And how evil it makes man!" There is tragedy and fierce passion enough for you.

It is a genuine book. The author possesses considerable artistic power for description and characterization.

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[Organization. In Chinese] Zu Zhi Lun / Emma Goldman.— 19 cm. *In* Shi-she Zi-you Lu. —(May 1918).

Obtained from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Beijing. Institutional Location: Library, Bureau for the Translation and Editing of the Works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

須獨操其權以其爲社會全體之中堅也是卽由社會組織所與之利益，勞働界須享其幸福此乃人類社會應盡之正當責任也豈其爲他人之成功耶？抑豈其漸臻於成功之城耶？社會之罪惡，無論何若，俱由生產界一肩承之其痛苦孰甚！其勢力之所出產者，爲他人之產業土地機器乃生產之要素而亦爲他人所佔據非爲已有也其結果乃不能不賣其力於他人而受其僱主之啫來食也因此羣之窮困飢饉災難之故必須爲正當之要求，以享受其組合社會生活之幸福蓋此羣乃今日獨一無二之生產家也其欲保存辯護組織此不正當萬惡現狀則必有警察牢獄法律及政府；因苦力之羣必不滿意處此出產豐裕之時而爲長久之飢饉也於是開拓家始大聲疾呼以反對其暴戾之羈絆矣此呼號之聲乃反動不滿足之現狀也而政府法律之職任必須遏抑之以保其固有之事物；以護衛富者之贓具；以壓制平民之怨懟；此乃今日所謂文明國家之社會生活也其窮困卑賤之生涯；經濟之利用；政府之專橫；法律之無道；刑罰之苛刻；詐僞不公及專制，及社會組織之大同少異也吾人將保存其現狀耶？其是否爲必要，并有無限之希望在焉其能長此終古乎？有難之者曰『惟汝羣不能以暴動及炸彈而改革社會也』吾人深知其不然也請少安無躁，以聽吾說勿以良好自由之哲理而與世哲理所欲廢除之製造罪惡機關相混合也無政府主義，乃社會秩序之學理而反對奈亂之存在者也以博愛而反對今日之殘殺主義；以個人之自由及幸福而反對法律之壓制及劫奪也社會改革之情況不能成於一人或一黨之意志或行爲也勞働家之開放應注意今日社會僱傭壓制之罪惡社會良心之發現至較明顯之良知，以辨別自由公道此等勢力，將消滅政治上經濟上社會上之一切縛束而以社會努力之自由協助及共同責任，以代現在之組織也今日之審判官常奔走往來於其衙署之門闌；而大呼『其奈炸彈何？』一語須知炸彈者，乃汝羣之大砲之反響也其殘殺吾人之同胞，乃因罷工而死者之呼號也其乃飢饉孤孀之呼救聲也其在汝羣工廠者之痛苦聲也乃警察痛擊無知者之音聲也此乃遏抑地震之讕鳴，危機之反響也其乃絕域中之電光爲帝皇總統及專制魔生於人道上所製造之陵辱，窮愁也炸彈者，乃汝羣前得罪惡之魔鬼也汝羣能施之以暴怒專橫，捕拿監禁，流竄也汝羣仍能更以劇烈之刑具，多設斷頭機，多製電椅也此皆庸人自擾，眞可憫也耶穌之所以上十字架者，因其擾亂凱撒之和平也豈政府眞能制止傳吾道者之進行乎？豈刑罰能消滅自由思想乎？路易十六之能否以其王權救其王位或頭顱乎？擾亂之源因能否爲之克服乎？吾人死後之功効當遠過於今日也莫謂其於政府上經濟上及社會上之成權以評擬及遏抑無政府黨及其主義蓋是更足以促人民研究眞理也

組織論 Organization

無政府主義，人之言者，莫不以爲破壞多於建設故無政府主義之反對組織，反對者不明其眞意，

高旻安十者
羅　譯

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輒生誤會蓋彼等以今日之社會機關爲眞組織，不明吾等反對今日之舊組織，復有何種新組織，能代之也。雖然之二者之界線，不免混淆，姑舍一言以釋之。

今人莫不以『國家』爲最高之組織，國家果爲眞組織乎否乎？果非權力之組織，而不以欺民爲事乎否乎？

高曼



工業又今日之所謂組織也，然其去眞理也愈遠，簡言之，工業不過富者切掠貧者之器具而已。

或曰：子將以軍隊亦非組織乎？曰：然。子如不信，請細心研究，當不難知。軍隊不過一殘酷盲從之器械耳。

曰：公衆學校也，中學及其他各學府也，豈非組織之模範，而給人以求學之好機會乎？曰：迂矣哉，子之論也。今日之學校，兵營之變形而已。子不觀學校之教科書，無非導人盲從其僞道德惡制度，使人類淪於迷信乎？

是故吾人心目中之組織，非子之所謂組織也。吾人之所謂組織，以自由爲依據，各以意願之樂從，而爲自然之團體，以求稗益於人類。

花之形式，雖各有不同，而其得調和之組織，則一人類之組織亦然。以堅固之精神，得社會關和之結果，此之謂無政府主義。質言之，無政府主義者，廢除個人與社會之界限，使人人得享公同之利益，而無權力從於其間之組織也。

今日社會經濟與利益之結果，惟在單位之爭競，致通力合作之社會，多生阻力，此今日不良之組織之所賜也。

或誤會以凡組織之意義，不能有個人之自由，介於其間，反言之，即消滅個人主義是也。其實眞組織，正所以助個人之發展，以動物之細胞例之，各個細胞，以其互助之力，而成完密之組織，故以個人與個人之合作，始能達到進化最高之地位。

組織之眞義，非容虛無物集合之結果，必以靈智之個人集合而成之，故一組織之活動力與可能力，以個人之能力之發現而代表之。

隨邏輯上之次序以言，一組織中之個人的能力愈發展，人生之元素愈親密，且不患有停而不流之危。

無政府主義，以組織之可能性，不能雜服以從恐慌刑罰及壓迫貧困諸種性質，無政府時代之組織，完全一新社會之組織，無生存競爭之恐慌，簡言之，無政府主義，向一新社會之組織而進行，以

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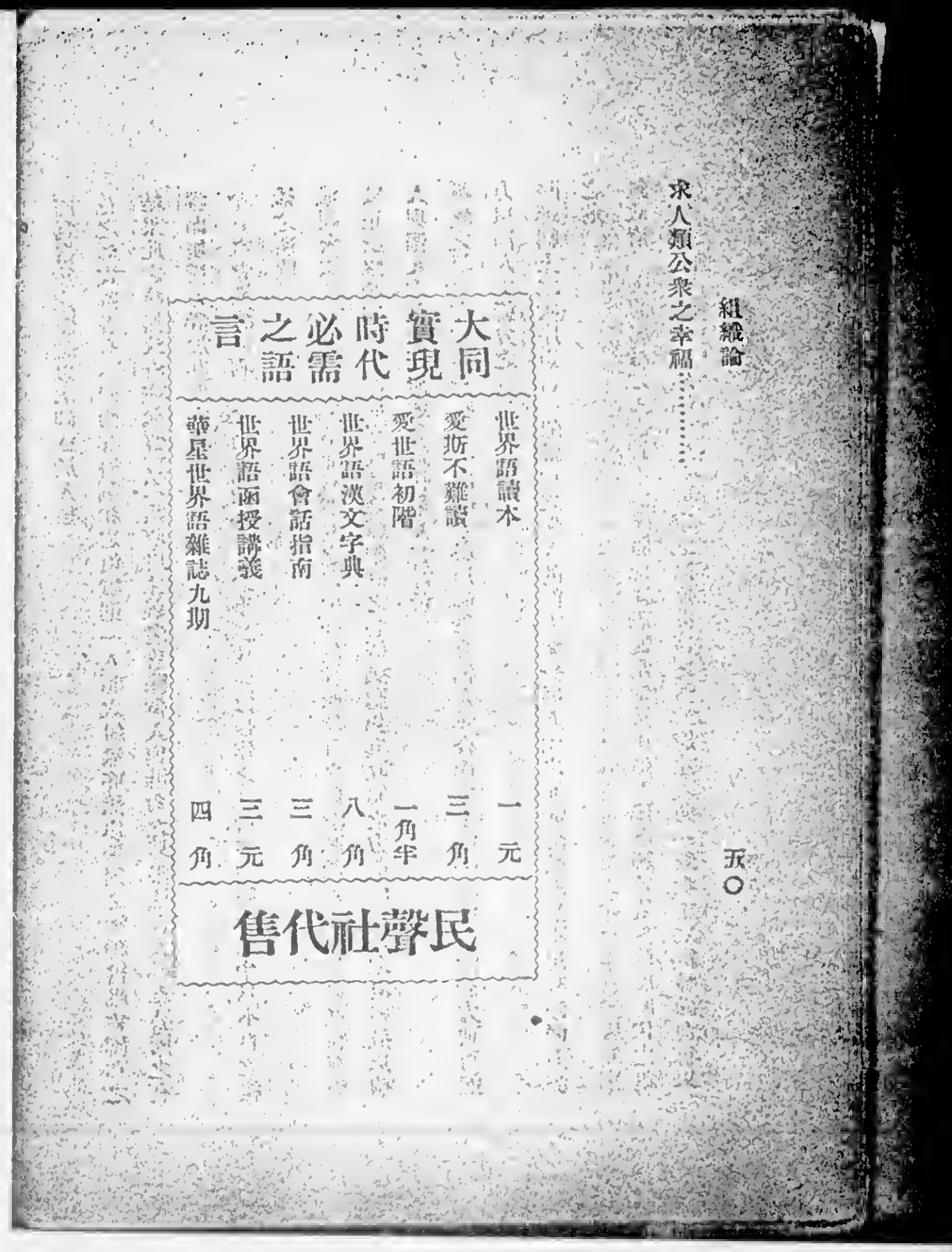
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勵其反抗强權之心亡羊補牢未嘗不可至於起風潮罷工暗殺等激烈手段工人與吾黨皆可隨時隨事行之率履不盡

凌霜

人羣雜誌

……羣社現由華擔任現擬續刊人羣雜誌第二期久慕足下著述宏富新不吝珠玉爲本誌光……

民聲近又恢復從此東亞大陸吾黨言論機關鼎足而三一片新聲與世界各地相唱和瞻望前途，欣喜欲狂

眞風白（二月二十八日）

記者按志道先生近以他事去滬羣社社務託眞風先生擔任今又續刊人羣間之不勝欣喜特爲之介紹其通信處如下：M. Chunfoen, Chinan School, Yunlin, Chine.

高曼女士獄中致同志書

親愛同志：……公理張明日全球革命潮諸君不觀露西亞乎？一九〇五年革命黨起於『聖大盧加拉』Petrograd被露皇所摧折一九一七年仁慈之革命軍卒能將露皇嘛之境外一月五日余被繫臧以廢托車將行抵獄門之時此思想乃迴旋於吾腦際街中聚觀者南集重譬重重如臨大敵一若一九〇五年露皇之軍隊以革命黨爲敵者無異（譯者按：高曼女士與碧民君 Berkman 因反對徵兵於去年六月十五號在紐約被囚定監兩年欲知其詳者可參觀 Mother Earth 出版之 Trial and Speeches of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman. 一書）美利堅亦將有如露西亞之一日乎？軍隊亦將有與吾等平民共休戚之一日乎？公理張明日，世界革命潮前途遼遠孰能知乎？吾黨雖非預言家，惟熟察進化之機，知已然將然之會，故死力以赴之耳

親愛同志乎吾雖身在縲紲而猶堅此一往無前之志，新時機之來，俾人類有脫離政府之一日，吾以此爲希望爲職志，鼎鑊如飴，何九死之足辭哉？

吾在獄之日所新望於諸同志者，約有數事：『大地雜誌紀事錄』Mother Earth Bulletin（是書書露國革命之詳情，是書書露國革命之詳情，之護持，使其繼長增高一也吾所著之『貝羅斯雜基』Boyshevism（是書書露國革命之詳情，爲女士入獄前之最後著作）小冊子，須諸君之廣佈，冀美人之自覺二也吾所發起之『政治犯解放會』League for the Amnesty of Political Paisoners. 須諸君之幫助三也請時與碧民及走五通音問，且於封面稱吾等曰『政治犯』四也吾之所求於諸同志者，如斯而已矣別矣諸君，公理張明日，世界革命潮前途無量，各自勉旃

高曼（一九一八年二月六號）（通信處）

EMMA Goldman U. S. Political Prsioner Jefferson Prison Jefferson City. Mo. U. S. A.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Letter from an American Prison / Emma Goldman. — p. 187; 36 cm. *In* The Spur [London]. — Vol. 5, no. 1 (June 1918).

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Letter from an American Prison

(By EMMA GOLDMAN).

Since March 9th all my incoming mail and my outgoing weekly letters have been held up, "by order of the Federal Authorities," I was told. It means the rigid censorship which the prison officials have exercise over the prisoners, every move they make, like they write or thought they have, does not satisfy Washington in my case. So if you ever doubted my importance you will be convinced now. You see I have the proud distinction of being considered dangerous, therefore a U.S. Deputy now reads my mail, after it has been thoroughly read by the prison officials. Well, there is no objection to that, if only the U.S. Deputy would deliver my mail after he reads it. But no, he keeps it into the bargain. Still, I mean to keep the Federal Authorities busy. I will continue to write and I ask you to do the same. If they are so anxious to ascertain who my correspondents are, what they feel for me and what I feel for them, we must not disappoint Washington. It would be really cruel, if it were not so pathetic, that a mighty Government of a hundred million people, now engaged in mighty war for democracy, should persecute those whom it has placed behind prison bars with unnecessary and cruel prosecution. But I will survive that too.

Since I wrote you last I have advanced in my speed. I now make 30 jackets a day. It is "going some." It means incessant grind for nine hours without let up. It is Katorga delight. It is what the Tzar used to impose upon the political prisoners but strange to say never did the women politicals have to do it. I see that even Bakushkin Breshkowsky, who spent so many years in Siberian prisons and exile was exempt from "Katorga." Apropos you must read "the Reminiscences and Letters" of Bakushkin, edited by Alice Stone Blackwell. What a wonderful woman! What a wonderful life! Her letters are most harrowing even though they show contempt about American institutions; on perusing to see what she lived under them for thirty years Bakushkin's description of her daily life while in Siberia is most inspiring. There is one factor which sustained her through all the years her association with kindred spirits; men and women political offenders like herself. She writes that the hardest conditions were as nothing compared with the mental sufferings she endured, when she was deprived of seeing loved comrades. How well I can understand that! Since April, American prisons are being crowded with political prisoners, strange to say all men. Is it true that American women have not yet learned to love liberty well enough to pay the price for it? There are a few exceptions; Louise Olivereau, who fortunately has been sent to the Colorado penitentiary. How I should enjoy her companionship, but I am glad she is not here, I know she is better in Colorado than Missouri. Then there is Kate Richards O'Hare, who got five years, but she is still at large I hope she will remain so. My companions in misery, while most kind to me, indeed more generous and human than the average lot outside, are yet separated by worlds from me. They are the victims of a cruel social arrangement, but they have no social vision. They consider their trouble a misfortune imposed upon them by fate, or God, or some cruel judge, or their own wickedness. They do not know that they are cogs and all cogs in the machine of social injustice. My heart goes out to all of them. My deep regret is that I can do nothing to alleviate their hard lot. They are like children so eager for every little act of kindness and attention, hunger all the time for the things prison can not give. I listen to their small talk which always centres around the same topic, the dreaded work, and how to meet it day after day. But deeply as I feel with them and for them, there is no intellectual or spiritual kinship save the strong tie which always brings helpers together when they are made to pain. How stupid of those who prate of criminal tendencies. Not one of my fellow prisoners is inherently criminal. The circumstances and a cruel lack of understanding for the human, all too human, bring them here, nor are they likely to return to society with a more kindly spirit when their time is up. But I am fortunate in having the Bakushkins and the Louise Michels and the other great ones to draw from. I am rich after all. Then there is your friendship, my dear ones, and my faith in your comradeship. Nothing can shake that. May I hope that you feel the same about me? This hope is giving me strength and will keep my spirit alive until I may again be on your side and clasp you by the hand. This is the month of the Commune. They said it was dead when they slaughtered thirty thousand, but it lives for ever!

Jefferson State Prison, March 29th, 1918.

From Mother Earth Bulletin.

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A FRAGMENT

of the

PRISON EXPERIENCES

of

Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman

In the State Prison at Jefferson City, Mo.,
and the U. S. Penitentiary at Atlanta, Ga.
February, 1918 — October, 1919

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A FOREWORD

THERE was a time—and that not so very long ago—when popular ignorance and superstition looked upon an insane person as one possessed of the devil or of some other evil spirit. They sought to drive the "evil one" out by beating and torturing the insane, and often even by drowning, hanging, and burning.

We have fortunately passed that stage of stupid brutality. Today even the most ignorant man knows that insanity is a disease. But in regard to crime and criminals we are still in the stage of dark-age superstition. We look upon the criminal today as we did upon the insane fifty or seventy-five years ago. Most men still believe that by beating and punishing the criminal, by hanging and electrocution, we can drive the "evil spirit" out of him. This process is called reforming the criminal.

Yet common sense and all human experience prove that the criminal is no more responsible for crime than the crazy man for his insanity. The pseudo-scientific theories of the Lombrosos in regard to crime and criminals have been thoroughly exploded and proven utterly fallacious. Even if the Lombroso myth that the criminal is born were true, what good would it do to punish him? There might be some social justification for his isolation, but how could the criminal, if born such, be held accountable for his criminality?

But as a matter of fact—as modern criminology has proven beyond all dispute—the criminal is made, not born. He is the product of his environment, a child of poverty and desperation, of misery, greed, and ambition. He is at the same time the symbol and the proof of a diseased social condition, the miscarriage of perverted economic arrangements. Fully 97 per cent. of all crime is due directly to our economic institutions. The other 3 per cent. are traceable to the artificiality and neurosis of modern life, to the anti-social tendencies cultivated among the weeds in the neglected and mistreated garden of human life.

I have been in close contact with so-called criminals for a great many years. Yet nowhere have I found the alleged "criminal type," nor have I

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ever discovered the "real criminal." He does not exist. Crime is simply misdirected energy, effort applied wrongly. The average criminal is just the average man, generally speaking. If in any sense he may be considered a "variation," it is only because of his frequently superior initiative, daring and intellgence. His often anti-social activity is conditioned by his unconventional vocation, not by any inherent criminal or anti-social tendencies. I am not speaking of congenital criminal degenerates whose number is infinitesimal, and who belong in the care of the alienist. The vast majority of the so-called criminal class are thoroughly normal human beings, if the term may be applied to the type of man produced by modern civilization. I have had scores and hundreds of professional criminals, young and old, tell me again and again, "The only hope and ambition of my life is just to get a little pile, so that I can feel secure from want. Then I'd take my family somewhere in the country and live a quiet and honest life."

My present space is limited. I can merely shadow forth here a skeleton outline of this big and very vital subject. In a forthcoming book I shall analyze more thoroughly the sources and the psychology of crime, and write of the unique and interesting prison types and characters I have met.

For the present it is sufficient to emphasize that our whole social attitude toward the criminal is fundamentally wrong. It is the attitude of barbaric stupidity that seeks to hide its own shame and its mistakes behind prison bars. It has neither understanding of human motives nor sympathy with human weaknesses. This social attitude toward the criminal, representing the lowest human intelligence, is reflected in the management and discipline of the prisons. It is apparent that modern criminology has had a very negligible effect upon the popular mind within the last twenty-five years, for I have found the prisons of today in no essential way different from those of a quarter of a century back. Brutality is rampant; discipline is synonymous with the absolute suppression of individuality and the crushing of the prisoner's spirit and will. The atmosphere of our penal institutions of today is that of violence and force, of force and violence. With very rare exceptions, the spirit of humanity, of understanding, and justice, is a stranger in prison.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN

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THE STATE PRISON AT JEFFERSON CITY, MO.

EMMA GOLDMAN

TWENTY-SIX years ago, in 1893, I paid the first toll for my opinions in the State of New York with a year's free residence in the Blackwell's Island Penitentiary. I found the cells small, dark, and filthy, the sanitary conditions appalling, and the general attitude toward the convict on the part of prison officials hard and cruel.

Terrible as these conditions were, they had some justification. In 1893 there was barely a spark anywhere to discredit the antiquated and inhuman theory of predestination—the Calvinistic idea that man is born a sinner and that he must expiate his sins through suffering and pain. This attitude toward the criminal and the methods of punishment rest on this biblical conception to this very day. Much more did that idea prevail twenty-six years ago.

Since then criminology has undergone a revolution. Libraries are filled with works on the origin and causes of crime, on the futility of punishment as a corrective of crime. More and more frequently modern writers have pointed out that crimes are related to social conditions, and that brutal treatment of prisoners makes them become more hardened and anti-social.

With a vast literature on scientific criminology and the widespread attempt to reform prisons, to humanize the treatment of the unfortunate social offender, one might have expected some changes in the penal institutions of this country. Yet in the year 1918 in the States of Missouri and Georgia, and for aught we know in every State in the land, prisons continue to be "built of bricks of shame" and

> The vilest deeds, like poison weeds,
> Bloom well in prison air.
> It is only what is good in Man
> That wastes and withers there.
> Pale anguish keeps the heavy gate,
> And the Warder is Despair.

To be sure, the cells in the Missouri State Penitentiary, at least in the female wing, are larger and some of them lighter than the vermin-infested cells on Blackwell's Island twenty-six years ago. But even there the cells are never light enough except on very sunny days, while more than half the cells are in utter darkness and without ventilation. In fact, air is the most tabooed article in the Missouri prison. Except in extremely warm weather, the windows are rarely opened, healthy women are forced to breathe

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the putrid air of consumptives and syphiletics. During the influenza epidemic, when thirty-five prisoners lay stricken, we had to plead and fight for the opening of a window. To this day I can not understand how any one of us survived, except that the Lord "takes care of us poor sinners."

Yes, the cells are larger, the sanitation modern, but in every other respect, in the attitude of the officials toward the prisoner, the cold indifference to his needs, the methods of breaking his will, and, above all, the mode of employment have not improved, but are even worse than my experience on Blackwell's Island in 1893.

I cannot dwell here on the blood-freezing reception accorded each hopeless victim when the prison doors close upon her. That alone is enough to crush the bravest spirit and to turn one's very soul to gall and hate. I shall treat of this in my forthcoming book, dealing with my twenty months' experience in the Missouri State Prison.

It is the task system that prevails in this prison—as truly slavery as ever existed in this country before the Civil War—which chiefly needs to be exposed. The contract system of prison labor has been abolished "officially"—the State is now the employer. Yet no slave owner so drove, coerced and exploited his slaves as Missouri bleeds and exploits its helpless victims in the penitentiary at Jefferson City.

Two months are allowed to learn the trade, which consists of sewing jackets, overalls, auto coats and suspenders—tasks varying from 45 to 121 jackets a day, or from 9 to 18 dozen suspenders a day. Now, while the actual machine work on these different tasks is the same, the number of jackets in the 88 or 121 tasks is double to the 45, 55 and 66 tasks; hence double physical exertion is required. Yet the different tasks must be made in the same number of hours, without regard to age, physical endurance, periods of menstruation, when machine work is sheer torture to women. Even illness, unless it is of a very serious nature, is not considered sufficient cause to be relieved from the terrible task. So, unless one had previous experience in the needle trade, or a special aptitude for it, one's life is made a veritable hell, beginning a few days after commitment and lasting till the final day of release. No understanding for human variations, no consideration for mental or physical limitations, except for a few favorites of the prison officials, those who are usually the most worthless. The shop foreman in charge is a boy of twenty-one, who took up the art of slave driving at the age of sixteen. He bullies and terrorizes the women, holding the threat of the blind cell and the bread-and-water diet over them.

The vilest language is used to the women, some of them old enough to be the boy's mother. Of course, he is paid to show results. The only way he can get results is through slave-driving methods, as well as by actually stealing part of the women's output, especially from the more ignorant, who are unable to do their own counting.

On more than one occasion I have seen this miserable foreman deliberately steal jackets and suspenders from colored girls who are serving twenty-five year sentences and from illiterate white girls. If they dare insist

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that they delivered their quota of work, they are punished for "impudence," in addition to being punished for "short" work. In view of the fact that four punishment marks a month reduce the prisoner one grade, and that a higher grade means speedier release from the prison hell, the enormity of this petty official's criminal thievery can be appreciated. Yet this man is considered fit to be in charge of sixty to seventy "criminals." It does not take much wisdom to find the greater criminal.

It may be argued that this ignorant and vulgar young man is only a tool, and therefore not to blame. Partly this is true. The State is the real offender, the officials of the Prison Board, as well as the petty subordinates who live by the sweat and blood of the social outcasts. The very first year the State of Missouri became the exploiter of the convicts' labor, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* reported that the salaries of the prison officials had been increased $20,000 per annum. No wonder the Acting Warden, Captain Gilvan—a bully and a brute who used to administer flogging when it was still "officially" in vogue in Missouri—once said to us in the shop, "I must have the task. You must make it. No such thing as can't. If you do not give me the task, I will punish you. And I punish cheerfully." Having the support and approval of such a man and the sanction of the head matron, a woman entirely bereft of feeling, it is natural for the foreman to squeeze and press and bully the task out of the women. But can anyone suppose that the foreman could lend himself to such brutal slave-driving, if he were not depraved himself?

It is utterly impossible to keep up the required speed day after day. The working hours are nine a day, but in order to complete the task, the women are driven to the old-time sweatshop methods of taking work evenings to their cells. In view of the fact that the cells are vermin infested; and the jackets and suspenders the prisoners make are sold broadcast and have already been handled by consumptive and venereally infected male prisoners, who prepare the work, the results can readily be imagined.

Personally I was well supplied by many friends with nourishing food. I am an adept at the needle trade, having worked at it for many years, when I first came to know the many economic opportunities in our so-called democracy. Yet I never could keep up the mind- and soul-destroying speed in the prison shop. Therefore I know what it means to the underfed women prisoners. Not one but emerges with impaired health.

If the contract system were really abolished, why would the State of Missouri drive its prison inmates? For a very simple reason: the State of Missouri, like the private contractor, does business with private concerns in every State of the Union. Proof of this is given by the labels sewn on every garment that leaves the prison. I was able to smuggle out a few, which are reproduced here.

Civilization claims to have advanced, and in no country do we hear so much about prison reform as in our own. Yet what can we say for the State of Missouri, when at the head of their female department is a woman

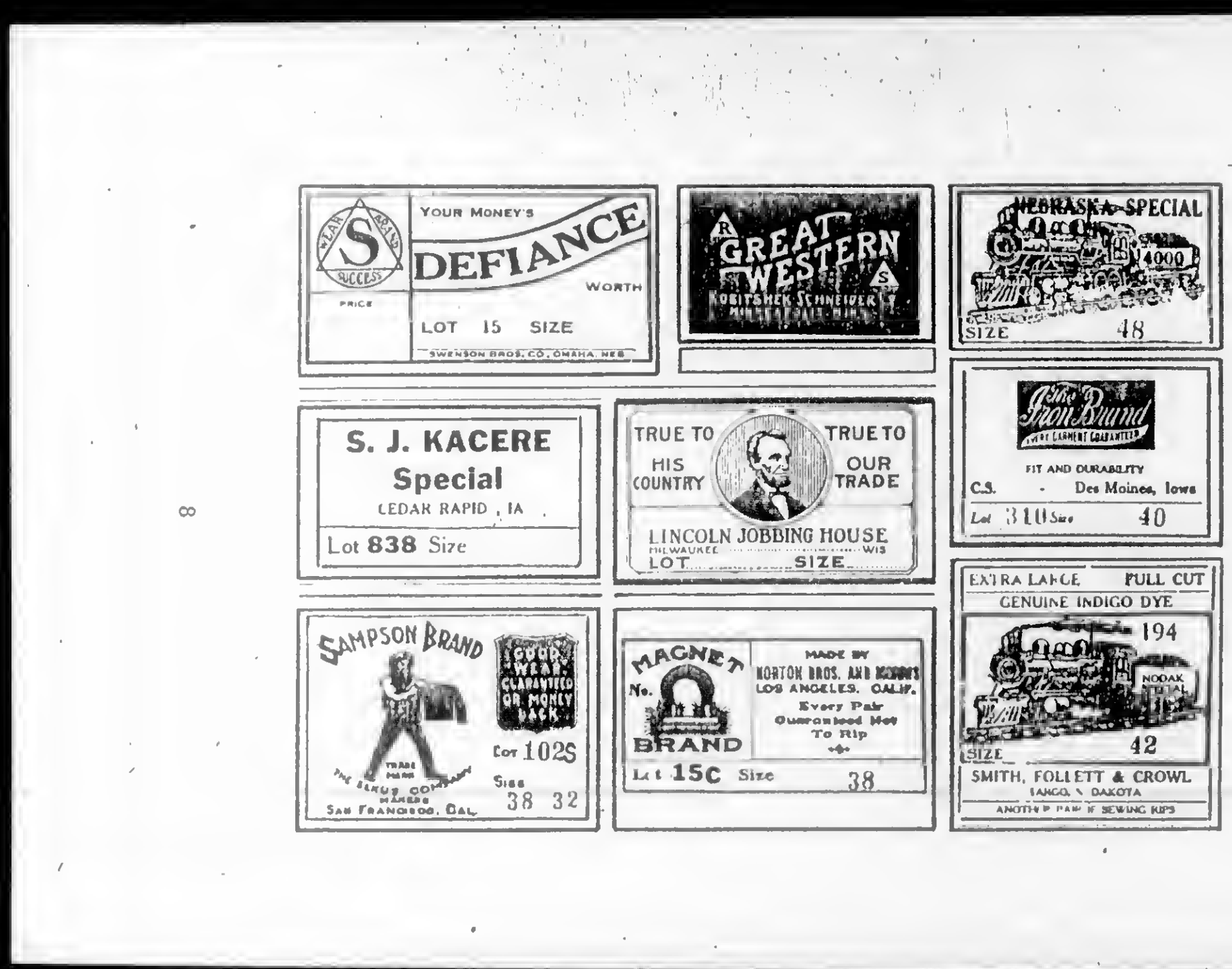
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in charge of ninety women prisoners who has control over their life and death?

This woman, Lilah Smith, has been employed in penal institutions since her fifteenth year, and has, therefore, little education or training. She is a believer in rigid discipline and punishment. She is really a neurotic, who has no control over her temper. She uses physical violence on the slightest pretext, especially when a particular prisoner is not in her good graces. Not once in twenty months did I hear her address one single encouraging or kind word to a prisoner. Flogging in the State of Missouri has been officially abolished, but Lilah Smith's vigorous slapping goes on.

There are three methods of punishment: First, the women are deprived of their recreation; second, they are locked up in their cells for forty-eight hours, from Saturday to Monday, on a diet of bread and water, and then expected to begin their task Monday in their weakened condition; third, they are sent to a blind cell, a cell 52 inches by 104 inches, with an aperture of 7 inches by 1½ inches, supplied with one blanket, two pieces of bread and two cups of water a day. In this tomb they are kept from three to twenty-two days.

Added to this maddening torture are the bull rings, which, while never used for white women during my stay, were used on colored girls.

The worst tragedy which occurred during my stay in the prison was the deliberate murder of Minnie Eddy. When I entered in February, Minnie had already been there a number of months. She struggled valiantly with the task, which she seemed unable to master. To avoid punishment, she used every cent her sister sent her to hire the task. In November, 1918, she began to complain of pain in her head and throat. She went to the doctor, but he ordered her back to the shop. She went back, but seemed unable to pull herself together to do any work. The matron decided she was shamming, and put her in punishment. At first she was kept in her own cell on bread and water; then the matron, realizing that we were feeding Minnie, transferred her to the so-called hospital, where a mattress was refused her, and only a bare cot and blanket were supplied. In that place the unfortunate woman was kept another week.

I went to the matron shortly after Minnie was put in the hospital, begging for her release. It was refused, the matron still insisting that the woman was shamming. Then, Thanksgiving Day, Minnie was brought down and allowed to eat her Thanksgiving dinner of putrid pork on an empty stomach. Two days later I took Minnie a couple of soft-boiled eggs, and seeing on her table a box sent by her relatives some weeks before, and which had just been given her, I warned her against using the decayed food in her present condition. But she was ravenous.

That evening some of the prison trusties came to me and told me that Minnie was in a heap on the floor, unconscious. I demanded that they call Miss Smith, the matron. The matron screamed at and slapped the unconscious woman. She was allowed to remain in her cell until Monday, when I could endure the situation no longer, and insisted on seeing Mr.

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Painter, President of the Prison Board, who came over at once. He had been told that Minnie was refusing food. He gave orders to have her moved back to her own cell, and put one of the girls in charge as her nurse. From the latter I learned that an attempt was made to feed Minnie forcibly, but it was too late. She never regained consciousness, dying Wednesday evening, at seven o'clock. Her terrible death benefited the other women, inasmuch as no one was afterwards placed in the death trap for more than five days. So do the dead sometimes aid the living.

There are two criterions on the part of the officials in dealing with the prisoners. If they are sick, they are told that they are shamming; if they cannot make the task, they are told they are lazy.

Frequently sick prisoners are ordered back to the shop by the physician when they are barely able to drag themselves along. This is the more remarkable because he is not an unkindly man and was especially decent to me. The reason for his indifference to the other women there I discovered during my last days at the prison. He is at daggers' points with the Board; therefore he is unable to do what he would like.

The Missouri State Penitentiary has the merit system, which is only another method of pressing out more labor from its victims. Those who can stand the nerve-tearing speed and get into Class A, the highest class, have their time reduced almost in half. Therefore many of the women work beyond their limit of physical capacity to get out of the hell hole, even at the expense of their health. However, only State prisoners benefit by this merit system. Not so the Federal prisoners. They are forced to make the task every day, though their time is in no way affected. Imagine the outrage in the case of a prisoner serving a twenty-five-year sentence. Day after day, year in and year out, she is browbeaten and harassed to make the task. If she fails, she is repeatedly thrown into the "blind cell." If she succeeds, she gains nothing. The Federal Government pays the State for the upkeep of each Federal prisoner. In addition, the State makes a huge profit from the labor of these Federals. In return, it gives them not a single privilege. The reduction of six days' time a month is provided for by the Federal Government. It is a most unspeakable injustice toward helpless human beings.

In disclosing conditions prevalent in the Female Department of the Missouri State Penitentiary I am in no way prompted by personal grievances. Thanks to the liberality of Mr. William R. Painter, President of the Prison Board, and possibly also because of the fear of publicity on the part of the management, I have no personal complaints to make. In justice to Mr. Painter, I must say that he is a rather unusual man for his position. Whenever his attention was called to some grievances, he was always ready to remedy it. But prison abuses are conditioned in the very character of prison life and in corrupt politics, so that nothing short of the complete

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abolition of prisons will ever eradicate the terrible wrongs committed in penal institutions.

Meanwhile it is necessary to continue to point out that criminals are victims of our mad social arrangement, and to emphasize the utter failure of punishment as a corrective, as well as to expose the average brutal and ignorant type of prison official. The recognition of this may help to change our better-than-thou attitude toward the criminal.

As for my own experience, in all my twenty months of the closest contact with my fellow prisoners, I did not find one I could call depraved, cruel or hard. On the contrary, I know a "lifer" there who came to the penitentiary hardly more than a child. She has already served fifteen years. She is a most tender and devoted creature. She has one hold on life—a dog, whom she loves and tends with a mother's devotion. Who is the true criminal—this poor heart-broken little woman or the officials who have the power to let her spend her remaining years in freedom, and yet keep her? Another woman, who has a fifteen-year sentence, is completely broken in health, and in constant physical misery. She is passionately devoted to her only child, a little boy. Is she the criminal or those who keep her there? Her offense was the result of a moment's aberration; theirs is a cold-blooded, methodical and daily crime. Who is the greater criminal? Another woman, the mother of eight children, worked and starved half to death on a farm. She is thrown into prison for stealing a pig. Who is the greater criminal, this poor woman or the State which sent her there? I found no criminals among my fellow prisoners, only unfortunates—broken, helpless, hapless and hopeless human beings.

How rich in comparison are we political prisoners! Kate Richards O'Hare, who has the gift of going into the life of every prisoner, soothing and comforting and sustaining her, and is herself sustained by the ideal and the love of thousands. Rare little Ella Antolini, with her marvelous stoicism, her splendid fortitude, and her great capacity for human sympathy. We politicals are rich, indeed. Rich in the love of our dear comrades, rich in our faith of the future, strong in our position. But the others? It is for them we plead, against the wrongs, the inhumanities committed against those in the prison we left behind. Indeed, in every prison in the land.

EMMA GOLDMAN

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THE ATLANTA FEDERAL PENITENTIARY

STATEMENT BY ALEXANDER BERKMAN

Published in the Atlanta *Constitution*, October 1, 1919, on the day of his release from the Federal Penitentiary, Atlanta, Ga.

THIS country is at the present time going through the same throes of social and industrial rebirth that are convulsing England, France and other European countries. The steelworkers' strike is merely one of the symptoms of the social evolutionary process that may in the near future culminate in revolution. The sources of labor discontent in this country are identical with those in every other land of our so-called civilization. The working masses are not satisfied any more with empty political democracy; they demand a share in the products of their industry, and the opportunity to live, to enjoy life. Industrial slavery, perhaps more acute in the United States than anywhere else, is on its death-bed. The next step in the social life of the world is the taking over of all industry by the workers, both manual and mental, to be managed and operated by themselves, for the benefit of the producers instead of for the profit of our industrial and financial Kaisers.

The present struggle of the steel workers vividly calls back to my memory the great steel strike of Homestead, in 1892, when the Pinkertons hired by Carnegie and Frick shot the strikers down wholesale for demanding living conditions. In connection with the Homestead strike I served fourteen years in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania. We have made some progress since then. The workers, especially, have learned a good deal since the days of the Homestead strike. They have learned the most important lesson of all, and that is that labor has an invincible weapon in solidarity. That is also the lesson that is being impressed on American labor today by the workers of England. Soon the American Federation of Labor will realize that it is folly to call a strike of steel workers, without at the same time securing the solidaric support of all the other key industries—the railway men and the miners, for instance. As long as the workers in those industries strike separately, at different times, they run the risk of defeat. But a simultaneous strike of all the three key industries would quickly bring our Garys, Morgans and Fricks to their senses.

But whatever the immediate outcome of the steel strike, it is but a question of a short time before American labor will make solidaric cause throughout all industries and assert the right of the toilers to the ownership of the

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full product of their toil. The day of capitalistic autocracy is gone. The future belongs to the proletariat of hand and brain.

The present labor situation in the United States is full of promise for the future. The war and its results have proven a great education for the peoples of the world. They are sick of the high-sounding phrases about political democracy and self-determination that are in practice like so many scraps of paper. It is *industrial autocracy* that the workers of the world seek to destroy. This country, the alleged champion of democracy, is being daily changed more and more into the régime of Prussian militarism. The Government of the United States has taken advantage of the alleged necessities of the war to crush the spirit of liberty and to deprive the people of the last vestige of freedom. It has now become dangerous, in this free country of ours, to express an independent opinion upon any subject, except perhaps about the weather. Free speech and press are a thing of the past. The American junkers and plutocrats are swamping the country with propaganda for a strong militarism. Our industrial autocrats see the handwriting on the wall and hope to crush the gathering forces of labor by the bayonet and the machine gun. The voice of liberty is being stifled in the prisons. Our jails and penitentiaries are full of political and industrial prisoners who have dared to hold an opinion of their own and to express it. Men like Debs and others are immured behind iron bars because they love liberty more than they do patrioteering. It is to the eternal disgrace of this country that conscientious objectors, political and industrial prisoners have not yet been given an amnesty, though even some of the reactionary countries of Europe have long since restored their social protestants to liberty. If there is any manhood left in the people of America, they should immediately voice the most compelling demand for a general amnesty for all political and industrial prisoners.

Rebels against industrial autocracy, such as Debs, Kate Richards O'Hare, and others, should be the pride of the United States instead of being kept in dungeons. Woe to a country that has no Debs, Kate O'Hare or Emma Goldman! They are the voices that cry out the best aspirations of humanity, even in the face of the gravest danger to themselves.

Speaking of Debs, I was happy to have the opportunity this morning, before leaving the Federal Prison at Atlanta, to shake hands with the Grand Old Man of the New Day. If there ever was a martyr to liberty, Debs is that man. How stupid it is of the Government to jail men of his type! Prison cannot crush their spirit, nor iron bars and brutality change their conscience. Their love of humanity transcends the fear of punishment or death. There are times when the scaffold is the most elevated position for an honest man Ideals cannot be imprisoned, nor can the eternal spirit of liberty be exterminated by shutting up its champions in dungeons or deporting men and women out of the United States. I feel, I am convinced, that the future belongs to us—to us who strive to regenerate society, to abolish poverty, misery, war and

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crime, by doing away with the causes of these evils. And even in prison, where we cannot fight for liberty, we can always struggle for principle.

It is this attitude of the political prisoners in all prisons that makes their lot even harder than that of the average prisoner. It is time the United States Government should take its head out of the bushes and recognize the existence of political prisoners in this country. Even in Czarist Russia the political prisoner was recognized as a man suffering for his ideals. Benighted America still considers the political just the same as the so-called common criminal. In the Atlanta Federal Prison the politicals fare even worse than the average prisoner. A banker who got away with the savings of poor widows and orphans receives the highest consideration, while the man who loves humanity more than his own safety is subjected to special persecution and discrimination.

I find that very few essential changes have taken place in the administration of our prisons within the last 25 years. The same system of brutalizing and degrading the prisoners still prevails. Only the forms differ slightly. The dungeon (known as "the hole"), chaining up by the wrists, clubbing and shooting, are the dominant methods of reformation in Atlanta. Men are chained to the doors for eight and ten hours consecutively, without even the opportunity of answering the most pressing demands of nature. I have known men in the Federal Prison to be kept 21 to 30 days at a stretch in "the hole," which is a filthy, dark kennel, not fit for a respectable dog, and fed on two small slices of bread twice a day. Men are clubbed frequently, on the least provocation, and recently a young colored boy, "Kid" Smith, was shot dead for not walking fast enough while being taken to "the hole."

The average type of guard in the Federal Prison is far below that of the average prisoner, both mentally and morally. Excepting a few decent officers, of a humane spirit, the majority of the guards are vulgar, brutal and dissipated men. Some are degenerates of the worst type. At their head is Deputy Warden Girardeau, formerly in charge of a chain gang. He is a man of very low mentality who believes in the old-time methods of brutality and suppression. His tactics look towards the breaking of the prisoner's spirit and to the degradation of the inmates. A prison is the last place in the world, even at its best, to improve a man. But the Atlanta Prison tends chiefly to dehumanize the prisoners and to crush the last vestige of their manhood and self-respect. It is the Deputy Warden who is mainly responsible for the inhumanities and outrages practiced in the Federal Prison. He encourages the most brutal tendencies of the guards, and even frequently protests and nullifies the Warden's more humane attitude. The Deputy Warden is the most hated man in the prison. The inmates regard him as a religious hypocrite, insincere and mean-spirited. It is his custom, after reading Sunday service, to go down to the dungeon and chain men up to the doors. He tantalizes the hungry victims in "the hole" with the recital of the fine breakfast he had enjoyed that morning, and in various ways seeks to provoke them into some unguarded remark in order to increase their punishment. In protest against

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the murderous clubbing and shooting of defenseless prisoners, I circulated a petition in the tailor shop (where I was employed at the time), to call the attention of the Warden to the terrible situation. The Deputy, hearing about it, sent for me and asked me what my purpose was. I explained to him the general indignation regarding the abuse of the prisoners, whereupon he asked me my opinion of his methods. I told him frankly that his actions did not square with his religious professions. I said that he was cruel to the men, that be lacked all sense of justice and fair play, and that I thought—as well as the majority of the prisoners—that he was a hypocritc. For this I was put on bread and water in "the hole," a dark and filthy cell hardly big enough to stretch out in. After my time in "the hole" had expired, I was sentenced to solitary confinement for the rest of my time. I spent the last seven and a half months there.

The Federal Prison at Atlanta would profit a great deal both in discipline and morale by the immediate discharge of Deputy Warden Girardeau. Warden Fred G. Zerbst is a man far above the Deputy in every sense. He is a man of modern ideas and of much experience in handling prison inmates. He believes in the more humane methods of prison management as against the Deputy's system of brutal repression. Unfortunately, the Warden is almost entirely occupied with the outside affairs of the prison, so that the inside management is practically all in the hands of the Deputy. There is considerable friction between the two, with deplorable results to the prisoners. Very frequently the best intentions of the Warden are nullified by the manner of their application at the hands of the Deputy.

It is high time that the public get a look into the inside workings of our penal institutions. The amount of brutality practiced in them as a matter of daily routine is almost unbelievable. When will people realize that the criminal is a man more sinned against than sinning, a victim of our unjust social and economic arrangements? But after all, prisons and their methods are a reflex of the conditions in the world outside. With so much injustice, strife and brutality in the world at large, it is no wonder that prison life mirrors the same spirit. When we become civilized enough to abolish human slaughter in the larger prison called society, when we reorganize life on the basis of human brotherhood and co-operation, we will have no use for prisons.

ATLANTA, GA.
October 1, 1919.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN

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REPLY OF FRED G. ZERBST

Warden of the U. S. Federal Penitentiary, Atlanta, Ga.

Editor *Constitution:*

In yesterday's issue of your paper you printed an article under the heading, "Berkman Charges Brutal Methods in Atlanta Pen," and which article is devoted principally to a personal attack on Deputy Warden Charles H. Girardeau. It is also charged that a majority of the guards are vulgar, brutal and dissipated men.

It is not my custom to reply to ridiculous statements or attacks upon this institution made by irresponsible individuals, but in this case the attack is somewhat along personal lines, and in justice to the men so attacked I trust that you will see fit to accord this communication the same privilege to space in your columns as that accorded to Mr. Berkman's foul and unwarranted personal attack.

Deputy Warden Charles H. Girardeau is a Christian gentleman of high character, clean habits and high ideals, who performs his duties conscientiously with a view no less for the welfare of those confined here than for the government under which we live. He has lived in Atlanta for a great many years and is known intimately by many of Atlanta's best citizens. I wonder if any of these people can picture Charlie Girardeau as a low-minded, brutal fiend who tortures his unfortunate victims in the manner described by Mr. Berkman. On the one hand we have here a man who has been in Atlanta business and public life for a great many years, always working to build up its citizenship and its institutions, always having in view the public welfare. On the other hand we have Mr. Berkman, who came to this country an anarchist disguised by the pretense of seeking the benefits of American freedom. . . . Mr. Berkman served a sentence of 22 years in the Pennsylvania State prison, after which he made the same kind of an attack on that institution as he has on this one.

Referring to the attack on the character of the guards on duty at this institution, the guard force here as a whole is constituted of good loyal Americans, who perform their duties with painstaking care, and it requires much tact and patience to handle men of all different mentalities and character assembled in a penal institution. The public little realizes the work performed by these men at a compensation hardly sufficient to live decently. These guards are appointed only after passing a standard examination prescribed by the United States civil service commission after careful investigation showing that they are loyal Americans, that they are men of good moral character

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and standing in the community in which they have lived and that they possess in a high degree the qualifications necessary for the position. If any great daily paper believes that these guards are of such character as Mr. Berkman describes, it would be well to endeavor to rectify the methods by which they are selected.

This institution is open to the public each day except Sundays, and many thousands of visitors take advantage of this and inspect every department. Unlike most similar institutions our isolation building, in which are confined men who can not be brought in any other way to respect the rights of others and the rules of the institution, is open to the public. Mr. Berkman claims that these "filthy dungeons" are cleaned up purely for the public visitors; if that be so they must be cleaned twice each day and it would not be possible for them to be very filthy at any time.

I do not ask to be exonerated on account of any improper conditions existing at this institution, if such do exist, and I cheerfully accept responsibility for its management as long as I am its Warden. This management, however, will be in the interest of the government constituted by the American people and not in the interest of a revolutionary propaganda seeking for the destruction of that government and the substitution therefor of the doctrines of Alexander Berkman and his associates, the abolition of all laws.

Very truly yours,

FRED G. ZERBST, Warden.

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REPLY TO WARDEN FRED G. ZERBST

Editor *Constitution:*

In your issue of October 4, 1919, Warden Fred G. Zerbst, of the Federal Prison at Atlanta, makes an alleged reply to my charges of brutality, corruption and incompetence on the part of the management of the Federal Penitentiary.

The outstanding feature of Warden Zerbst's statement is its entire failure to discredit my charges, much less to disprove them. I made definite accusations, gave facts, cited specific instances. The Warden's only reply is, in essence, "All's well, and there is nothing more to be said about it." That is the good old traditional policy of the authorities of all penal and other similar institutions since time immemorial. When facing charges of corruption and brutality, they resort to the grand gesture of waving the terrible indictment flippantly aside, with the too-easy declaration, "Nothing to it." But an outraged public sentiment, in numerous similar cases, has but too often exposed this high-and-mighty attitude as the invariable camouflage of rotten conditions within the prison walls. To cite but one recent instance, still comparatively vivid in the public memory, will be sufficient. I refer to the case of Mr. Moyer, former Warden of the Atlanta Federal Prison, who consistently scoffed at and ridiculed the charges of Julian Hawthorne (the son of his famous father) till the Hawthorne revelations of prison abuse and outrage, corrohorated by numerous other prisoners and former inmates, were proven to the hilt, and Warden Moyer summarily dismissed by the Federal Government.

I appreciate the spirit of chivalry, of the *ésprit de corps*, that prompts Warden Zerbst to rush to the rescue of Deputy Warden Girardeau and his assistants, against whom my indictment is chiefly directed. I have emphasized in my previous statement that Warden Zerbst is more humane and intelligent than the Deputy Warden. I may now add that he is also generous, all too generous, to his official subordinates. But chivalry may be misplaced —it *is* misplaced in the present case. It will not do for Mr. Zerbst to barrage the outrages committed within the prison walls with his loyalty to his official family. He owes a duty, a prior duty, to the public, to the taxpayers that support the institution over which he presides. Besides, he also owes a duty to the men in his keeping, the inmates—about 1,500 helpless unfortunates—a duty he owes in the interests of justice and humanity.

To my specific charge that Deputy Warden Girardeau is brutal and of low moral and mental calibre, the Warden replies that Mr. Girardeau is a well-known citizen of Atlanta. 'Tis a rather lame and unconvincing refutation of my charge. To my indictment of the majority of the guards as vulgar, brutal and dissipated men, the Warden replies that they have satisfactorily filled out certain civil service blanks, or passed some other perfunctory ex-

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amination. Yet in the very next breath he admits that " the work is performed by these men at a compensation hardly sufficient to live decently." In other words, the guards are paid $76.00 per month, and I leave it to the readers to judge what "high degree of qualification" $76.00-dollar-a-month men possess, in these days of high cost of living.

I emphatically challenge the Warden's statement that visitors are admitted to the punishment cells I described as filthy. There are in the Atlanta Federal Prison *two kinds* of punishment cells, known respectively as the "dark hole" and the "light hole." The difference between the two is extreme. The "light hole" is a comparatively large cell with a window admitting some light and air. The "dark hole" is a veritable kennel, wedge-shaped, about 2½ feet wide at the entrance, 4½ feet at the back, and 6 feet long. The prisoner is forced to sleep in this dark hole on the floor, on a filthy mattress, with a bit of rag for covering even in the coldest winter. Its only toilet facilities is an iron pail, sharp-edged, without any lid, the pail remaining in the cell 24 hours daily. It is emptied but once a day in the early morning. That's the filthy dungeon referred to in my first statement in the "Constitution," and I challenge the authorities of the prison to deny its existence, to deny that men are kept there for thirty days consecutively and sometimes longer, on an insufficient-bread and water diet. No visitors, except government officials, or personal friends of the prison authorities, are ever permitted even a glance into this dark dungeon.

Can Warden Zerhst successfully deny the above facts? Even a most superficial investigation would bear me out. Can the Warden contradict my charges that prisoners are strung up by the wrists for 8 to 12 hours at a stretch, for 5 to 10 consecutive days? In his statement in the "Constitution" the Warden fails to deny that men are frequently clubbed, nor does he even refer to the unprovoked murder of "Kid" Smith by Officer Dean on February 21, 1919. What is the Warden's reply to these direct charges? His reply is that "Berkman came to this country as an Anarchist, disguised by the pretence of seeking the benefits of American freedom." A rather peculiar justification for prison brutalities! As a matter of fact, I came to this country about 32 years ago, a mere boy of 17, at which time I had never heard the word Anarchist, nor knew its meaning. I became an Anarchist in this country, and it was just such methods as used by Deputy Warden Girardeau—the methods of tyranny, oppression and persecution, practiced not only in penitentiaries, but also in the larger prison called the world—that made me an Anarchist who seeks more humane forms of social life.

Warden Zerbst pretends to believe my charges against the institution to be but a "ridiculous attack somewhat along personal lines." Why ridiculous? Have such things never happened before in prison? Have penal institutions never been known to resort to brutal methods, or are prison guards generally acknowledged to be the cream of human kindness, understanding, and good judgment? Or are "the high moral and intellectual qualifications" of 76-dollar-a-month men beyond question or dispute?

The Warden states that I had made similar charges after my release from

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the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania. But he forgets to add that as a result of my indictment of the brutalities practiced in that prison, investigations took place, my charges sustained. and practically the whole administration of the Western Penitentiary radically changed.

As a matter of fact, I did not yet tell one-hundredth part of the terrible things that happen in the daily routine of the Atlanta Federal Prison. For lack of time and space I did not even mention the criminal neglect of sick prisoners, the deliberate starvation of the consumptive Nicholas Zogg, who is actually dying on his feet for lack of proper diet (he being a vegetarian), the unwholesome food, the vile manner in which it is served to the inmates, the favoritism of men with a "pull," the discriminaton against political offenders, the corrupt system of "stool pigeons," the fake trials at which the word of one drunken guard outweighs that of a dozen soldiers, political prisoners and other inmates of character and integrity, whose sole crime consisted in the expression of an unpopular opinion during the war. I have not yet referred to the traffic, by guards and other officials, in cocaine, morphine, and other "dope," nor to the new 400-loom duck mill, the product of which is about to come in competition with free labor. Nor have I yet even hinted at the existence and the actual encouragement of homosexual practices and other sex aberrations resulting from suppression. I have not started yet, Mr. Zerbst, but I *will*, and that very soon.

Are these charges just "a personal attack?" Why try to mislead the public? Most intelligent men *know* that there are terrible abuses practiced in penal institutions. There are several investigations of penitentiaries and insane asylums going on at this very moment. The Federal Prison at Atlanta is no exception, and my attack is not directed against any particular individual, but against the system of tyranny, injustice and brutality inside our prisons, as well as outside. I want to do whatever lies in my power to ameliorate the conditions under which my unfortunate fellow-men in prisons have to suffer. I think that Warden Zerbst, as a matter of common humanity, should be the first to aid my efforts. As the initial step toward this he should eliminate all physical violence, abolish chaining up and the stool-pigeon system, and try to secure a living wage for the prison guards. You can't live these days on $76.00 a month. Most of the guards are married men, with families. Within the last two years a large number of new keepers have been engaged by the penitentiary, displacing the old and outworn men—engaged at $76.00 a month, with disastrous results to the inmates. The struggle for existence makes the guards surly, cranky, and quarrelsome, constantly conscious of their grievance because of their low pay, with the tendency to vent their misery and ill-humor upon the unfortunates in their power. The human element is of vital importance in prison life.

As a matter of common decency and fellow-feeling, in the interest of both the prisoners and society, I shall be happy to contribute my little share to bring a bit of sunshine into the dark night of the boys I left behind.

NEW YORK,
October, 5, 1919.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN

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PERSECUTION OF POLITICALS

PRACTICALLY every political and industrial prisoner in the Federal Penitentiary at Altanta, with the exception of Eugene V. Debs, has been the victim of special discrimination and persecution. In the case of Debs, the authorities considered it best, owing to his great popularity, to assign him to the hospital, where he enjoys better food and treatment, without any particular work to do. At the same time this partial isolation of Eugene V. Debs from the rest of the prisoners precludes opportunity on his part for spreading his ideas among the inmates.

With the sole exception of Eugene V. Debs, all the other political prisoners in the Atlanta penitentiary have suffered special persecution:

A. Hennecy, a young Socialist from Ohio, was kept in complete solitude and isolation for eight consecutive months. He was allowed neither to receive or send mail, no books or papers of any kind, nor was he permitted work or exercise, or any other privileges usually accorded the average prisoner. The "crime" for which he was being thus inhumanly punished was, according to the official report of officer Demoss (formerly whipping master in the Atlanta prison), "Conversing in a suspicious manner with another prisoner in the yard, the other prisoner being Louis Kramer." Both Hennecy and Kramer were at that time employed in the prison shops and permitted, like the other inmates, to be out in the yard every Saturday and Sunday afternoon, privileged to speak to anyone.

A. Hennecy is now finishing a one-year sentence in the Delaware County Jail, Ohio, having been released from the Atlanta prison in February, 1919. He served in Atlanta two years on the charge of obstructing the draft. His present sentence is the result of his failure to register on June 4th, 1917.

Walter Hershberger, a conscientious objector, serving 20 years for refusing to don a military uniform. (His sentence has since been reduced to four years.) Herschberger has been kept in solitary confinement and isolation almost continuously since the early part of December, 1918. His solitary is "broken" by frequent visits to the dungeon, a dark hole 2½x4½x6 feet, where he is kept on an insufficient bread-and-water diet for periods ranging from 3 to 15 days. He was in isolation when I left the prison on October 1st, 1919.

Nicholas Zenn Zogg (spelled on the prison records Zough) serving ten years on the charge of aiding a young man to evade the draft. He was transferred to the Atlanta penitentiary from the Federal prison at McNeill's Island, State of Washington. Zogg is in the last stages of tuberculosis, and

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is being practically starved to death by the refusal of the authorities to permit him to buy or to receive suitable food from friends. He has been a strict vegetarian all his life, as were his father and grandfather before him, and he is neither physically nor conscientiously able to partake of the regular prison diet. He is forced to live mostly on oatmeal, badly prepared and served in the most unpalatable manner. Nothwithstanding the fact that Zogg is barely able to walk about, he has been repeatedly thrown into the dungeon for alleged breaches of discipline.

Jack Randolph, an I. W. W., serving 10 years for opposition to the war, in very delicate health and unable to perform the amount of work demanded of him in the tailor shop, was repeatedly punished in the dungeon and in solitary.

"Red" Massey, an I. W. W., from New Orleans, sent to the Atlanta prison on a frame-up charge under the Mann Act. This man has been kept in solitary and in isolation almost continuously for a year, and punished in the dungeon on the slightest pretext.

Morris Becker, sentenced to 20 months on the charge of conspiracy against the draft. This young man, of very slight physique, weighing about 100 pounds, and for over a year unable to eat anything except bread and oatmeal because of his poor physical condition and also because he was a vegetarian, was ordered to do yard work. His job consisted in wheeling a large wheelbarrow full of bricks and cement up a very steep incline. Becker was unable to perform the work. For his "refusal to work" he was sent to the dungeon and there kept for 21 days on two slices of bread and water a day. He was released from the dungeon almost half dead, whereupon the authorities admitted that he was unable to perform the hard toil allotted to him. He was then assigned to the tailor shop.

Louis Kramer, serving 2 years for conspiracy to obstruct the draft, assigned, like Becker, to the same yard work, and equally unable to perform the task. Kept in the dungeon 21 days on bread and water. Subsequently repeatedly punished in the dark cell on the slightest or no provocation, chained up by the wrists to the door, and kept in isolation for 5 months till his discharge in June, 1919.

Louis Kramer is now serving one year in the Essex County Penitentiary, N. J., for refusing to register.

Alexander Berkman, sentenced to 2 years on the charge of conspiracy to obstruct the draft. Kept in the dungeon for five days on bread and water for circulating a petition in the tailor shop, protesting to the Warden against the brutal clubbings of defenceless prisoners; also in protest against the unprovoked murder of "Kid" Smith by Officer Dean. Sentenced to solitary and isolation for 7½ months, for calling the attention of Deputy Warden Girardeau to the brutalities practiced by the keepers in his charge, and for calling the Deputy a hypocrite. Kept thirty consecutive hours in the "dark hole" with the blind door on, which almost absolutely excludes all light and air, with the result that the man thus punished is put through the torture of gradual suffocation,—one of the worst forms of punishment known in prison

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life. During three months forbidden to receive or send mail, read papers or books, or to have any exercise whatever. Held in solitary and in isolation continuously from February 21st, to the day of discharge, October 1st, 1919.

As an instance of wilful brutality practiced upon the ordinary prisoner, I may cite the case of A. Popoff. In the latter part of 1917, while in a state of temporary mental aberration, Popoff killed a former Deputy Warden of the prison. He was taken out for trial and sentenced to life imprisonment. Upon his return from the court, the Atlanta penitentiary authorities confined him in a dark dungeon and kept him there continuously for two years, most of the time on a bread-and-water died. Almost every week Popoff was subjected to a terrific beating by several guards, after which he would be carried to the hospital unconscious, and later again returned to the dungeon. This treatment was kept up from 1917 till August, 1919. Popoff became a raving maniac, and still his punishment in the dungeon continued. Finally, in the latter part of 1919, he was transferred to an insane asylum.

This is one of the instances of a prisoner of infantile mentality being deliberately driven into insanity by torture and by barbaric treatment.

This is but a small fragment of the numerous brutalities practiced daily in the U. S. Penitentiary at Atlanta, Ga. The lot of the average prisoner is hard enough, but the politicals are particularly discriminated against in the matter of work, of general treatment, and specifically in relation to their mail privileges. A young keeper, whose education does not exceed the three R's, is the chief prison censor, with the result that most of the mail sent to the politicals never reaches its destination.

In the daily routine of prison life, there are many and various opportunities to make the existence of the inmates unbearable. In Atlanta there are quite a number of petty officials, from the Deputy down, who make the best of these opportunities, especially in regard to the politicals. To the average prison keeper, the political offender is a non-understandable thing. He knows that the convict is either a murderer, robber or a thief, but that a man should be willing to go to prison for no material benefit to himself, is beyond his ken. That one should risk his liberty merely for the sake of ideas or ideals, is almost beyond belief and is positive proof—in the eyes of the average prison keeper—that the man is either crazy or hopelessly depraved. Such a man need expect neither understanding, sympathy, nor mercy. The average man is inclined to distrust and hate the thing he does not understand, and we always try to suppress the thing we hate. Hence, the more than usually inhumane and brutal treatment of the political prisoners in the penal institutions of America.

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IN CONCLUSION

THE results attained by penal institutions are the very opposite of the ends sought. The modern form of "civilized" revenge kills, figuratively speaking, the enemy of the individual citizen, but it breeds in his place the enemy of society. The prisoner of the State does not regard the person he injured as his particular enemy—as did the member of the primitive tribe, for instance, feeling the wrath and revenge of the wronged one. Instead, he looks upon the State as his direct punisher; in the representatives of the law he sees his personal enemies. He nurtures his wrath, and wild thoughts of revenge fill his mind. His hate toward the persons directly responsible, in his estimation, for his misfortune—the arresting officer, the jailer, the prosecuting attorney, judge and jury—gradually widens in scope, and the poor unfortunate becomes an enemy of society as a whole. Thus, while our penal institutions are supposed to protect society from the prisoner so long as he remains one, they cultivate in him the germs of social hatred and enmity.

Deprived of his liberty, his rights, and the enjoyment of life; all his natural impulses, good and bad alike, suppressed; subjected to indignities and disciplined by harsh and often most inhumane methods, generally maltreated and abused by official brutes whom he despises and hates, the prisoner comes to curse the fact of his birth, the woman that bore him, and all those responsible, in his eyes, for his misery. He is brutalized by the treatment he receives, and by the revolting sights he is forced to witness in prison. What manhood he may have possessed is soon eradicated by the "discipline." His impotent rage and bitterness are turned into hatred toward everything and everybody, the feeling growing in intensity as the years of misery come and go. He broods over his troubles, and the desire to revenge himself grows on him. Soon it becomes a fixed determination. Society had made him an outcast: it is his natural enemy. Nobody had shown him either kindness or mercy; he will be merciless to the world.

Then he is released. His former friends spurn him; he is no more recognized by his acquaintances. Society points its finger at the ex-convict.

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He is looked upon with scorn, derision, and disgust. He is distrusted and abused. He has no money, and there is little charity for the "moral leper." He finds himself a social Ishmael, with everybody's hand turned against him—and he turns his hand against everybody else.

The penal and the alleged "protective" functions of prisons thus defeat their own ends. Their work is not merely unprofitable; it is worse than useless. It is positively and absolutely detrimental to the best interests of society.

There exists no other institution among the diversified "achievements" of modern society which, while assuming a most important role in the destinies of mankind, has proven a more reprehensible failure. Millions of dollars are annually expended for the maintenance of prisons—a great deal more than is spent on educational institutions in this country. That money could be invested with as much profit and less harm in government bonds of the planet Mars, or sunk in the Atlantic. No amount of punishment can obviate or "cure" crime so long as prevailing conditions, in and out of prison, drive men to it.

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or do you approve of the sentiments expressed by **ALEXANDER BERKMAN** in his statement, in re, deportation, made to the officials of the U. S. Immigration Service:

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Do you realize the menace of the Anti-Anarchist Law, under cover of which scores of men and women—not only Anarchists, but Socialists, I. W. W.'s, and ordinary workers—are arrested daily and held for deportation?

As **EMMA GOLDMAN** pointed out at her deportation hearing:

> Under the mask of the same Anti-Anarchist law every criticism of a corrupt administration, every attack on Governmental abuse, every manifestation of sympathy with the struggling of another country in the pangs of a new birth—in short, every free expression of untrammeled thought may be suppressed utterly, without even the semblance of an unprejudiced hearing or a fair trial.

HELP US FIGHT THIS MENACE

EMMA GOLDMAN
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DEPORTATION

Its Meaning and Menace

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Last Message to the People of America

By

ALEXANDER BERKMAN

and

EMMA GOLDMAN

Ellis Island, New York, U. S. A., December, 1919

SEP 13 , 1..

Dep. to Be Kept

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INTRODUCTION

WITH pencil and scraps of paper concealed behind the persons of friends who had come to say good-bye at the Ellis Island Deportation Station, Alexander Berkman hastily scribbled the last lines of this pamphlet.

I THINK it is the best introduction to this pamphlet to say that before its writing was finished the rulers of America began deporting men directly and obviously for the offense of *striking against the industrial owners of America.*

THE "Red Ark" is gone. In the darkness of early morning it slipped away, leaving behind many wives and children destitute of support. They were denied even the knowledge of the sailing of the ship, denied the right of farewell to the husbands and fathers they may never see again. After the boat was gone, women and children came to the dock to visit the prisoners, bringing such little comforts as are known to the working class, seedy overcoats for the Russian winter, cheap gloves and odds and ends of food. They were told that the ship was gone. The refined cruelty of the thing was too much for them; they stormed the ferry-house, broke a window, screamed and cried, and were driven away by soldiers.

THE "Red Ark" will loom big in American history. It is the first picturesque incident of the beginning effort of the War Millionaires to crush the soul of America and insure the safety of the dollars they have looted over the graves of Europe and through the deaths of the quarter million soldier boys whom American mothers now mourn.

YES, the "Red Ark" will go into history. Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman whom the screaming harlots of the yellow press have chosen to call the "leaders" of those whose distinction is that they have no leaders, are more fortunate than otherwise. Berkman and Goldman have been deported as "Russians." They were born in Russia, but they did their thirty years' work of enlightenment in this, our America. I think they are therefore Americans, in the best sense, and the best of Americans. They fought for the elementary rights of men, here in our country when others of us were afraid to speak, or would not pay the price. In all

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the leading cities of this land, they have contributed to the intellectual life of the younger, aspiring generation. I venture to say that there is hardly a liberal in the United States whose life has not been influenced directly or indirectly and made better, by Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN spent in American prisons more years than I like to remember. He did it deliberately. He did it for the welfare of men, and the American portion of mankind. He never hesitated to offer his life for his brother. I recall a picture; it is in Russia. We were gathered in Moscow. It looked as though the Revolution were going to its death. Everywhere the Soviet armies were retreating, the masses were sinking into despair, the German working class was not rising in rebellion as we had hoped, the Austrians likewise; the White Terror was raising its head throughout Russia. A pallid girl, a Russian-American immigrant returned to her native country, held in her hand the bulletin of the day's news. "A hundred Alexander Berkmans distributed throughout Europe at this time, and the history of Europe would be different!" she exclaimed.

BERKMAN wrote a book, "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist," which is one of America's vital literary products. It won for him the admiration of such intellectuals here as had the courage to admire.

THE "intellectuals" for the most part did not bid Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman good-bye. Most of those who dared to visit the passengers of the "Red Ark" in their Ellis Island prison were young men and women of the working class. That is as it should be. It is in the working class where Goldman and Berkman's brave work will find the growth that will count. American plutocracy knew this. That is why American plutocracy deported Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman.

THIS pamphlet is the "good-bye message" of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman; and I think it is in spirit the message of all the passengers of the "Red Ark." As such it appears first in this form and will appear later in history. Read it and keep it for the future.

ROBERT MINOR.

DEPORTATION—*Its Meaning and Menace*

THE war is over, but peace there is not. On a score of fronts human slaughter is going on as before; men, women, and children are dying by the hundred thousands because of the blockade of Russia; the "small nations" are still under the iron heel of the foreign oppressor; Ireland, India, Egypt, Persia, Korea, and numerous other peoples, are being decimated and exploited even more ruthlessly than before the advent of the Great Prophet of World Democracy; "self-determination" has become a by-word, nay, a crime, and world-wide imperialism has gotten a strangle hold upon humanity.

WHAT, then, has the Great War accomplished? To what purpose the sacrifice of millions of human lives, the unnamable loss in blood and treasure? What, especially, has happened in these United States?

FRESH in mind are still the wonderful promises made in behalf of the War. It was to be the *last* war, a holy crusade of liberty against tyranny, a war upon all wars that was to sweep the earth clear of oppression and misery, and make the world safe for true democracy.

As with a sacred fire burned the heart of mankind. What soul so small, what human so low, not to be inspired by the glorious shibboleth of liberty and well-being for all! A tornado of social enthusiasm, a new-born world consciousness, swept the United States. The people were aflame with a new faith; they would slay the Dragon of Despotism, and conquer the world for democracy.

TRUE, it was but yesterday their sovereign will registered a mighty protest against human slaughter and bloodshed. With a magnificent majority they had voted not to participate in the foreign War, not to become entangled in the treacherous schemes of European despotisms. Triumphantly they had elected as President of the United States the man who "kept them out of the war" that he might still keep them out of it.

THEN suddenly, almost over night, came the change. From Wall Street sounded the bugle ordering the retreat of Humanity. Its echo reverberated in Washington, and thence throughout the whole country. There began a campaign of war publicity that roused the tiger in man and fed his lust for blood and vengeance. The quiet,

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phlegmatic German was transformed into the "Vicious Hun," and made the villain of the wildest stories of "enemy" atrocities and outrages. The nation-wide propaganda of hatred, persecution, and intolerance carried its subtle poison into the hearts of the obscurest hamlet, and the minds of the people were systematically confused and perverted by rivers of printer's ink. The conscience of America, wanting peace, was stifled in the folds of the national emblem, and its voice drowned by the martial beat of a thousand war drums.

HERE and there a note of protest was heard. Radicals of various political and social faiths—Anarchists, Socialists, I. W. Ws., some pacifists, conscientious objectors, and other anti-militarists—sought to stem the tide of the war hysteria. They pointed out that the people of the United States had no interest in the European War. That this country, because of its geographical location and natural advantages, was beyond all danger of invasion. They showed that the War was the result of European over-preparedness for war, aggravated by a crisis in capitalist competition, old monarchical rivalries and ambitions of super-despotic rulers. The peoples of Europe, the radicals emphasized, had neither say nor interest in the war: they were the sheep led to slaughter on the altar of Mammon contending against Baal. America's great humanitarian mission, the war protestants insisted, was to keep out of the war, and use its potent influence and compelling economic and financial power to terminate the European slaughter and bring peace to the bleeding nations of the old world.

BUT these voices of sanity and judgment were lost in the storm of unloosed war passions. The brave men and women that dared to speak in behalf of peace and humanity, that had the surpassing integrity of remaining true to themselves and to their ideals, with the courage of facing danger and death for conscience sake—these, the truest friends of Man, had to bear the cross of Golgotha, as did the Nazarene of yore, as the lovers of humanity have done all through the centuries of human progress. The jail and lynch law for them; execution and persecution by their contemporaries. But if it be true that history repeats itself, surely these political "criminals" of today will be hailed tomorrow as martyrs and pioneers.

THE popular war hysteria was roused and especially successfully cultivated by the alleged progressive, "intellectual" element in the United States. Their notoriously overwhelming self-esteem and vanity had been subtly flattered by their fellow-intellectual, the college professor become President. This American *intelligentzia* inclusive of a good many quite unintelligent suffragettes, was the real "balance of power" in the re-election of Woodrow Wilson.

The silken cord (occasionally golden in spots) of mutual interest that bound the President and the intellectual element ultimately proved much stronger at their end that at his. The feeling of gratitude is always more potent with the giver than with the recipient. Howbeit the "liberals", the "radicals", were devoted heart and soul to the professor,—they stood solidly behind the President, to use their own intellectually expressive phrase.

SHAME upon the mighty power of the human mind! It was the "radical intellectuals" who, as a class, turned traitors to the best interests of humanity, perverted their calling and traditions, and became the bloodiest canines of Mars. With a power of sophistry that the Greek masters of false logic never matched, they cited history, philosophy, science—aye, they called their very Christ to witness that the killing of man by man is a most worthy and respectable occupation, indeed a very Christian institution, and that wholesale human slaughter, if properly directed and successfully conducted, is a very necessary evolutionary factor, a great blessing in disguise.

IT was this "intellectual" element that by perversion of the human mind turned a peace-demanding people into a war-mad mob. The popular refusal to volunteer for Service was hailed by them as a universal demand for military draft as "the most democratic expression of a free citizenship." Forced service became in their interpretation "equality of contribution for rich and poor alike." The protest of one's conscience against killing was branded by them as high treason, and even mere disagreement regarding the causes of the war, or the slightest criticism of the administration, was condemned as disloyalty and pro-Germanism. Every expression of humanity, of social sympathy, and understanding was cried down with a Babel of high phrases, in which "patriotism" and "democracy" competed in volume. Oh, the tragedy of the human mind that absorbs fine words and empty phrases, and is deaf to motives and blind to deeds!

YET there lacked unanimity in the strenuously cultivated war demand. There was no popular enthusiasm for American participation in the European holocaust. Mothers protested against their children being torn from the home hearth; fathers hid their young sons. The spirit of discontent was abroad. The Government had to resort to drastic methods: the hand of white terror was lifted in Washington. Again we raised our voices to warn the people,—we, the revolutionists of various social views who remained true to our ideal of human brotherhood and proletarian solidarity. We pointed out that the masses of the world had nothing to gain and everything to lose by war; that the chief sufferers of every war

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were the workers, and that they were being used as mere pawns in the game of international diplomacy and imperialist capitalism. We reminded the toilers that they alone possessed the power to wage war or make peace, and that they—as the creators of the world's wealth—were the true arbiters of the fate of humanity. Their mission, we reiterated, is to secure peace on earth, and the product of labor to the producers.

EMPHATICALLY we warned the people of America against the policy of suppression by the enactment of special legislation. Alleged war necessity was being used—we asserted—to incorporate in the statute books new laws and new legal principles that would remain operative *after* the war, and be effective for the continued prohibition of governmentally unapproved thoughts and views. The practice of stifling and choking free speech and press, established and tolerated during the war, sets a most dangerous precedent for after-war days. The principle of such outrages upon liberty once introduced, it will require a long and arduous struggle to win back the liberties lost. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Thus we argued.

HERE again the "intellectuals" and radicals of chameleon hue hastened to the rescue of the forces of reaction. We were scoffed at, our "vain fears" ridiculed. It was all for the best interests of the country—the sophists protested—for the greater security and glory of Democracy.

II

NOW reaction is in full swing. The actual reality is even darker than our worst predictions. Liberty is dead, and white terror on top dominates the country. Free speech is a thing of the past. Not a city in the whole wide land but that forbids the least expression of an unpopular opinion. It is descriptive of the whole situation that after thirty years' activity in New York, we are unable—upon our return from prison—to secure any hall, large or small, to lecture even on the subject of prison life or to speak on the question of amnesty for poltical and industrial prisoners. The doors of every meeting place are closed to us, as well as to other revolutionists, by order of the powers that be.

FREE press has been abolished, and every radical paper that dares speak out, is summarily suppressed. Raids of public gatherings, of offices, and private dwelling places, accomplished with utmost brutality and uncalled for violence, are of daily occurrence throughout the United States. The headquarters of Anarchists, of Socialists, of I. W. W.s, of the Union of Russian Workers, and numerous other

progressive and educational organizations, have been raided by the local police and Federal agents in practically every city of this country. Men and women are beaten up indiscriminately, fearfully clubbed and blackjacked without any provocation, frequently to be released afterwards because no offence whatever could be charged against them. Books and whole libraries of "radical centers" are confiscated, even text books of arithmetic or geography torn to shreds, furniture destroyed, pianos and victrolas smashed to kindling wood—all in the name of the new Democracy and for the safety of the glorious, free Republic of these United States.

THE half-baked radicals, their hearts as soft as their heads, now stand aghast at this terrible sight. They had helped to win the war. Some had sacrificed fathers, brothers, husbands—all of them had suffered an agony of misery and tears, to help the cause of humanity, to make the world safe for democracy. Is *this* what we fought and bled for? they are asking. Have we been misled by the fine-sounding phrases of a Professor, and have we in turn helped to delude the people, the suffering masses of the world? Is the great prophet of the New Democracy strong only in rhetoric?

PITY the mind that awaits miracles and looks expectantly to a universal Savior. The clear-sighted man, well informed, may reasonably foresee the inevitability of certain results from given causes. But only a charlatan can play the great Savior, and only the fool has faith in him. Individuals, however great, may profoundly influence, but are powerless to control, the fate of mankind. Deep socio-political causes produced the war. The Kaiser did not create it, though the spirit of Prussianism no doubt accelerated its coming. Nor is President Wilson responsible for the present bloody peace. He did not make the war: he was made by it. He did not make the peace: he was unmade by it. The social and economic forces that control the world are stronger than any man, than any set of men. These forces are inherent in the fundamental institutions of our wage-slave civilization, in the social atmosphere created by it, and in the individual mind. These forces are by no means harmonious. The human heart and mind, eternally reaching out for greater joy and beauty—the spirit of idealism, in short—is constantly at strife with the established, the institutionalized. These contending social and human factors produce war, as they produce revolution.

THE powers that succeeded in turning the instinctive current of man's idealism into the channels of war, became the masters of human destiny for the nonce. By a campaign of publicity and advertising on a scale history had never witnessed before, by

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chicanery and lying, by exaggeration and misrepresentation, by persistent and long-continued appeals to the basest as well as to the noblest traits of man, by every imaginable and unprecedented manner and method, the great financial interests, eager for war and aided by the international Junkers, thrust humanity into the great world war. Whatever of noble impulse and unsophisticated patriotism there was in the hearts of the masses, in and out of uniform, was soon almost totally drained in the fearsome rivers of human blood, in the brutal, filthy, degrading charnel house of elemental passions set on fire. But the tiger in man, once thoroughly awakened, grew strong and more vicious with the sights he witnessed and the food he was fed on. The basest propensities unchained, the anti-social tendencies engendered and encouraged by the war, and the war propaganda, are now let loose upon the country. Hatred, intolerance, persecution and suppression—the efficient "educational" factors in the preparedness and war campaign—are now permeating the very heart of this country and propagating its virulent poison into every phase of our social life.

But there is no more "Hun" to be hated and lynched. Commerce and business know their interests. We must feed Germany—at a good profit. We must do business with its people. Exit the Hun—*der Moor hat seine Schuldigkeit gethan.* What a significant side-light on the artificiality and life-brevity of national and racial antagonisms, when the fires of mutual distrust and hatred are not fed by the interested stokers of business and religion! But the Frankenstein and intolerance and suppression cultivated by the war campaign is there, alive and vital, and must find some vent for his accumulated bitterness and misery.

Oh, there, the radical, the Bolshevik! What better prey to be cast to the Frankenstein monster?

The powers that be—the plutocratic imperialist and the jingo-profiteer—all heave a happy sigh of relief.

III

The after-war conditions in the United States are filling the Government and the more intelligent, class-conscious capitalists with trepidation. Revolution is stalking across Europe. Its spectre is threatening America. Disquieting signs multiply daily. A new discontent, boding ill and full of terrible possibilities, is manifest in every walk of life. The war has satisfied no one. Only too obviously the glorious promises failed of fulfilment. Excepting the great financial interests and some smaller war profiteers, the American people at large are aching with a poignant disappointment.

Some vaguely, other more consciously and clearly, but almost all feel themselves in some way victimized. They had brought supreme sacrifices, suffered untold misery and pain, in the confident hope of a great change to come into their lives after the victorious war, in the assurance of a radically changed and bettered world.

The people feel cheated. Not yet have they been able to fix their gaze definitely upon the specific source of their disappointments, to define the true causes of their discontent. But their impatience with existing conditions is passionate and bitter, and their former faith in the established order profoundly shaken. Significant symptoms of a social breakdown! Revolutions begin in the heart and in the mind. Action follows in due course. Political and industrial institutions, bereft of the people's faith in them, are doomed. The changed attitude toward *the once honored and sacred conditions*, now evident throughout the land, symbolizes the complete bankruptcy of the existing order. The old conceptions and ideas underlying present-day society are fast disintegrating. New ideals are germinating in the hearts of the masses—a prolific soil, rich with the promise of a brighter future. America is on the threshold of the Social Revolution.

All this is well realized by the financial and political masters of this country. The situation is profoundly disquieting. But most terrifying to them is the new attitude of labor. It is unprecedented, intolerable in its complete disregard of long accepted standards and conditions, its open rebellion against Things as They Are, its "shameless demands," its defiance of constituted authority. Is it possible, the masters wonder, that we had gone too far in our war-time promises of democracy and freedom, of justice to the workers, of well-being for all? Too reckless was our motto, "Labor will win the war": it has given the toilers a sense of their power, it has made them arrogant, aye, menacing. No more are they satisfied with "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work"; no, not even with wages doubled and trebled. They are laying sacriligious hands upon the most sacrosanct institution of private ownership, they challenge the exclusive mastery of the owner in his own mine and mill, they demand actual participation in industry, even in the most secret councils that control production and manipulate distribution,—aye ,they even dare suggest the taking over by labor of all industry.

Unheard of impudence! Yet this is not all. More menacing still is the revolutionary spirit that is beginning to transfuse itself through every rank of labor, from the highest-paid to the lowest, organized and the unorganized as well. Disobedience is rampant.

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Gone is the good old respect for orders, the will of superiors is secretly thwarted or openly defied, the mystic power of contracts has lost its old hold. Labor is in rebellion—in rebellion against State and Capital, aye, even against their own leaders that have so long held them in check.

No time is to be lost! Quick, drastic action is necessary. Else the brewing storm will overwhelm us, and the workers deprive us of the wealth we have been at such pains to accumulate. Even now there are such terribly disquieting rumblings, as if the very earth were shaking beneath our feet—rumors of "the dictatorship of the proletariat," of "Soviets of workers, soldiers and sailors." Horrible thought! Why, if the soldiers *should* join these discontented workers, what would become of us poor capitalists? Indeed, have not the police of Boston already set the precedent—made common cause with labor, these traitors to their masters!

"Soviet of Workers," dictatorship of the Proletariat"! Why, that's the Russian idea, the terrible Bolshevik menace. Never shall this, the most heinous crime, be forgiven Soviet Russia! Readily would we overlook their repudiation of the Czar's numerous obligations and even their refusal to pay their debts to the American and European money lenders. We'd find some way to recuperate our losses, at a reasonable profit, maybe. But that they have broken down the very pillars of capitalism, abolished profits, given to the peasants the masters' lands for cultivation and use, proclaimed all wealth common property, and subjected the aristocrat and capitalist to the indignity of working for a living—this hellish arch-crime they shall never be forgiven.

That such things should threaten the rich men of this free country is intolerable. Nothing must be left undone to prevent such a calamity. It would be terrible to be put on a level with the common laborer, and we with all our millions unable to procure champagne, because, forsooth, some hod-carrier's brat—illegitimate, perchance—did not get his milk for breakfast. Unthinkable! That is chaos, anarchy! We must not permit our beloved country to come to such a pass. Labor rebellion and discontent must be crushed, energetically, forthwith. Bolshéviki ways and Soviet ideas must gain no foothold in America. But the thing must be done diplomatically; the workers must not be permitted to look into our cards. We should be strong as a lion, subtle as the snake.

IV

The war-time anti-Hun propaganda is now directed against the "Bolshevik," "the radical," and particularly against the Slav or

anything resembling him. The man or woman of Russian birth or nationality is made the especial target. The press, the pulpit, all the servile tools of capitalism and imperialism combine to paint Russia, Soviet Russia, in colors of blood and infamy. No misrepresentation, no lie too base to be flung at Russia. Falsehood and forgery the weapons where guns and bayonets have failed. The direct result of this poison propaganda is now culminating in American pogroms against Russians, Bolsheviki, communists, radicals, and progressives in general.

The United States has fortunately always been free from the vicious spirit of race hatred and persecution of the foreigner. The native negro excepted, this country has known no race problem. The American people were never guilty of harboring bitterness or deep-seated prejudice against members of other nationalities. In truth, the great majority of them are themselves of foreign birth or descent, the only true native being the American Indian. Whatever racial differences there may exist between the various nationalities or stocks, they have never assumed the form of active strife. On the contrary, they have always been of a superficial nature, due to misunderstanding or other temporary causes, and have never manifested themselves in anything save light, good-humored banter. Even the much-advertised antagonism of the West toward the Chinese and Japanese is not due to any inherent hatred, but rather to very definite commercial and industrial factors. In the case of the Russians especially, as well as in regard to members of the various branches of the Slavic race, the people of America have always been particularly friendly and well-disposed. But suddenly all the war-time hatred toward the "Hun enemy," the blindest intolerance and persecution are poured upon the head of the Russian, the Slav. Great indeed is the power of propaganda! Great is the power of the American thought controller—the capitalist press. The Russian has become the victim of American pogroms!

Often and again in the past have we Anarchists pointed out that the feudal lords of this land would follow, in their march to imperialism, in the footsteps of the Czars of old Russia, and even outdo their preceptors. Our liberal friends denounced us as fanatics, alarmists, and pessimists. Yet now we are confronted with a state of affairs in democratic America which, in point of brutality and utter repudiation of every fundamental libertarian principle, surpasses the worst autocratic methods the Czars of Russia ever dared apply against political dissenters.

The world is familiar with the story of the pogrom horrors practiced upon the Jews of Czarist Russia. But what the world, espe-

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cially the American world, does not know is that every pogrom in Russia was directly incited, financed, and prepared by the Government as a means of distracting the attention of the Russian people from the corrupt despotic regime under which they suffered—a deliberate method of confusing and checking the fast growing discontent and holding back the rising tide of revolutionary upheaval.

But thoughtful people in Russia were not long deceived by this hellish stratagem. That is why Russians of character and intelligence never lent themselves to the practice of Jew-baiting and persecution. The authorities frequently had to resort to importing the human dregs of distant communities, fill them with vodka, and then turn them loose on the defenceless Jews. These Black Hundreds and hooligans of Czarist Russia were the infamous regime now forever cast into the abyss of oblivion by the awakened and regenerated spirit of New Russia. There have been no pogroms in Soviet Russia.

But the Black Hundreds and the hooligans have now come to life again—in democratic America. Here they are more mad and pernicious than their Russian colleagues in crime had ever been. Their wild orgies of assault and destruction are directed, not against the Jew, but against the more comprehensive scape-goat of Capitalism, "the alien," the "radical." These are being made the lightning rod upon which is to be drawn all the fury of the storm that is menacing the American plutocracy. As the Czars pointed at the Jew as the sole source and cause of the Russian people's poverty and servitude, so the feudal lords of America have chosen the "foreign radical," "the Bolshevik" as the vicarious victim for the sins of the capitalist order. But while no intelligent and self-respecting Russian ever degraded himself with the Czar's bloody work, we see in our democracy so-called cultured people, professional men and women, "good Americans," inspired and aided by the "respectable, reputable" press, turn into bestial mobs. We see high Government officials, State and Federal, play the part of the hooligans, encouraging and aiding the American Black Hundred of legionaries, in a frenzied crusade against the "foreigner," whose sole crime consists in taking seriously the American guarantees of free speech, free press, and free assembly.

The war hate against everything German was vicious enough, though the people of America were repeatedly assured that we were not making war against the German people. One can understand also, though not countenance, the vulgar clamor against the best and finest expressions of German culture, the stupid prohibition of the language of Goethe and Schiller, of the revolutionary music

of Wagner and Beethoven, the poetry of Heine, the writings of Nietzsche, and all the other great creative works of Teuton genius. But what possible reason is there for the post-war hatred toward aliens in general and Russians in particular? The outrages and cruelties perpetrated upon Germans in America during the war pale almost into insignificance compared with the horrible treatment the Russians in the United States are now subjected to. In fact, the Czarist pogroms, barring a few exceptions, never rivaled the fearful excesses now happening almost daily in various American cities, their victims, men and women, guilty only of being Russians.

This state of affairs is the more significant because Russians, and the Slavic people in general, were hitherto always welcomed to these shores as the best offering Europe contributed to the Moloch of American industry. The Slav was so good natured, and docile, such a patient slave, so appreciative of the liberties he enjoyed in the new land—"liberties" which the socially conscious American had long since learned to see as a delusion and a snare. But to the unsophisticated Russian peasant, always half-starved and brow-beaten, they seemed real and resplendant, the symbol of paradise found. By the thousands he flocked to the promised land, swarmed into the centers of industry to build our railroads, forge iron, dig coal, till the soil, weave cloth, and toil at scores of other useful occupations, his reward a mere pittance.

Nor was it only the workers in fields and factories who were welcomed here from Russia. Russian culture was an honored guest in America. The great literature of the Slav, his music, his dancing—all found the most generous reception and fullest appreciation. Above all, the Russian *intelligentzia*, the political refugees, exiles, and active revolutionists that came to America, and came—most of them—not merely to express their opinions but rather to plot the forcible overthrow of the Russian autocracy, all found sympathetic hearing and generous purses in this country, aye, even at the seat of Government.

And now? Now it is considered the most heinous crime to have been born in Russia.

What has caused this peculiar change? What is back of this sudden reversal of feeling?

It *is the Russian Revolution.* Not, of course, the Miliukov-Kerensky revolution, but the real revolution that gave birth to Soviet Russia. The submissive, enslaved, long-suffering Russian people unexpectedly transformed into a free, daring Giant breaking a new path for the progress of mankind—that is the reason for the

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changed attitude of the capitalistic world. It is one thing to help Russian revolutionists to overthrow the Czar and to put in his place a "democratic" form of government which has proven such a boon to our own Czars of commerce and industry. But it is quite a different thing to see the Prometheus of labor rise in his might, strike off his chains, and with the full consciousness of his complete economic power bring to life the dreams and aspirations of a thousand years,—the economic, political, and spiritual emancipation of the masses of the world. This pioneer social experiment now being tried in Russia—the greatest and most fundamental ever witnessed in all history—is the guiding star to all the oppressed and disinherited of the world. Already its magic light is spreading over the whole European horizon, the harbinger of the approaching Dawn of Man. What if it should traverse the ocean and embrace our own shores within its orbit? The whole social order of the financial Czars, industrial Kaisers, and land Barons of America is at stake: the "order" maintained by club and gun, by jail and lynch law in and out of court; the "order" founded on robbery and violence, built upon sham and unreason, artificiality and insanity, and supported by misery and starvation, by the water-cure, the dungeon and straitjacket; an "order" that transcends all chaos and daily makes confusion worse confounded.

SUCH social "order" is doomed. It bears within itself the virus of disintegration. Already the conscience of America is awakening. The war marked the crisis. Already American men have chosen imprisonment, torture, and death, rather than become participants in an unholy war. Already American men and women are beginning to realize the anti-social destructive character and purpose of authority and government by violence, force, and fraud. Already the workers of America are outgrowing the vicious circle of craft-unionism, learning the lesson and the power of solidarity of the international proletariat, and gaining confidence in their own initiative and judgment, to the confusion and terror of their antiquated, spineless leadership. Already they are seeing through the sham of "equality before the law," and are in open rebellion to government by injunction.

A SPARK from the glowing flame of Soviet Russia, and the purse-proud autocracy of America may be swept away by the social conflagration.

WHEREFORE the united chorus of all Czars and Kaisers, "Death to the Bolsheviki, the aliens, the I. W. Ws., the Communists, the Anarchists!"

V

WHATEVER might be said of the American plutocracy and the Government, no one can accuse them of originality. The methods used by them to confuse and confound the people are but cheap imitations of the old tactics long resorted to by the despotic rulers of Europe. Even before the world war Washington had borrowed many a trick from London. And all through the war American militarism, with its conscription, espionage, torture of conscientious objectors, and suppressive legislation, was but aping—stupidly and destructively—the *modus operandi* of the bankrupt imperialism of the Old World. For lack of originality and ideas, American officialdom was content to be the echo of the military and court circles of London and Paris. And now again we witness Washington following in the exact footsteps of the worst autocracy of modern times. For the hue and cry against the "alien" is a faithful replica of the persecution of the Jews by the Czars of Russia, and the American pogroms against radicals are the exaggerated picture of Russian Jew-baiting.

AND, finally, the most infamous and most inhuman method of Czarist Russia, the method that sacrificed hundreds of thousands of the finest and bravest men and women of Russia, and systematically robbed the country of the very flower of its youth, is now being transplanted on American soil, in these great United States, the freest democracy on earth. The dreaded Russian *administrative process* the newest American institutions! Sudden seizure, anonymous denunciation, star chamber proceedings, the third degree, secret deportation and banishment to unknown lands. O shades of Jefferson, Thomas Paine, and Patrick Henry! That you must witness the bloodiest weapon of Czarism rescued from the ruins of defunct absolutism and introduced into the country for whose freedom you had fought so heroically!

WHAT means the administrative process?

IT means the suppression and elimination of the political protestant and social rebel. It is the practice of picking men upon the street, on the merest suspicion of "political untrustworthiness," of arresting them in their club rooms or homes, tearing them away from their families, locking them up in jails or detention pens, holding them *incommunicado* for weeks and months, depriving them of a hearing in open court, denying them trial by jury, and finally deporting them or banishing them to unknown shores. All this, not for any crime committed or even any punishable act charged, but merely on the denunciation of an enemy or the irresponsible

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accusation by a Secret Service man that the "suspect" holds certain unpopular or "forbidden" opinions.

LEST the truth or accuracy of this statement be called in question, let it be stated that at this very moment there are one hundred such "political suspects" held at Ellis Island, with several hundred more in the various Immigration Detention jails, every one of them a victim of the administrative process described above. Not one of them is charged with any specific crime; one and all are accused of entertaining "illegal" views on political or Social questions. Nearly all of them have been seized on the street or arrested in their homes or reading-rooms while engaged in the dangerous pursuit of studying the English language, mathematics, or American history. (The latter seems lately to be regarded by the authorities as a particularly dangerous occupation, and those guilty of it a *prima facie* menace to our American institutions.) Others were arrested in the factory, at their work bench, or in the numerous recent raids of homes and peaceful meetings. Many of them were beaten and clubbed most brutally, the wounds of some necessitating hospital treatment. In the police stations they were subjected to the third degree, threatened, tortured, and finally thrust into the bull pens of Ellis Island. Here they are treated as dangerous felons, kept all the time under lock and key, and allowed to see their wives and families only once a week, with a screen between them and malicious guards constantly at their side. Here their mail is subjected to the most stringent censorship, and their letters delivered or not, according to the whims of the petty officials in charge. Here some of them, because they dared protest against their isolation and the putrid food, were placed in the insane asylum. Here it was that the brutal treatment and unbearabe conditions of existence drove men and women, the politicals awaiting deportation, to the desperate extremity of a hunger strike, the last resort of defenseless beings, the paradoxical self-defense of despair. For weeks and months these men have now been kept prisoners at Ellis Island, tortured by the thought of their wives and children whom the Government has ruthlessly deprived of support, and living in constant uncertainty of the fate that is awaiting them, for the good American Government, refinedly cruel, is keeping their destination secret, and certain death may be the goal of the deportees when the hour of departure finally strikes.

SUCH is the treatment and the fate of the first group of Russian refugees from American "democracy." Such is the process known as the administrative methods, penalizing governmentally unap-

proved Thought, suppressing *disbelief* in the omniscence of the powers that be.

IN enlightened, free America. Not in Darkest Russia.

WHEN the terrible significance of the administrative process practiced in Russia became known in Europe, civilization stood aghast. It caused a storm of protest in the British Parliament, and called forth violent interpellations in the Italian Diet and the French Chamber. Even the German Reichstag, in the days of the omnipotent Kaiser, ventured a heated debate of the barbaric administrative process which doomed thousands of innocents to underground dungeons and the frozen *taigas* of Siberia.

ARE the Czar's methods, the Third Section, the secret political spy organizations, anonymous denunciations, star chamber proceedings, deprivation of trial, wholesale deportations and banishment, to become an established American institution? Let the people speak.

THE full significance of the principle of deportation is becoming daily more apparent. The field of its menace is progressively broadening. Not only the alien social rebel is to be crushed by the new White Terror. Its hand is already reaching out far for the naturalized American whose social views are frowned upon by the Government. And yet deeper it strikes. One hundred per cent Americanism is to root out the last vestige, the very memory, of traditional American freedom. Not alone foreigners, but the naturalized citizen and the native-born are to be mentally fumigated, made politically "reliable" and governmentally *kosher*, by eliminating the social critics and industrial protestants, by denaturalization and banishment, by exile to the Island of Guam or to Alaska, the future Siberia of the United States.

FOLLOWING the "alien radical," the naturalized American is the first victim of the Czarification of America. Patriotic profiteers and political hooligans are united in the cry for the "Americanization" of the foreigner in the United States. He is to be "naturalized," intellectually sterilized and immunized to Bolshevism, so that he may properly appreciate the glorious spirit of American democracy. Simultaneously, however, the Federal Government is introducing the new policy of summarily depriving the naturalized American of his citizenship, in order to bring him when so desired, within the scope of the administrative process which subjects the victim to deportation without trial.

A MOST important precedent had already been set. The case of Emma Goldman affords significant proof to what lengths the

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Government will go to rid itself of a disquieting social rebel, though he be a citizen for a quarter of a century.

THE story is interesting and enlightening. More than eight years ago Secret Service men of the Federal Government were ordered to gather "material" in Rochester, N. Y., or elsewhere, that would enable the authorities to disfranchise a certain Rochester citizen. The man in question was of no concern whatever to Washington, as subsequent events proved. He was an ordinary citizen, a quiet working man, without any interest in social or political questions. He was never known to entertain any unpopular views or opinions. As a matter of fact, the man had long been considered dead by his local friends and acquaintances; since he had disappeared from his home years previously and no clue to his whereabouts or any sign that he was still among the living could be found; indeed, has not been found till this day, notwithstanding the best efforts. At great expense, and with considerable winking at its own rules and regulations in such matters, the United States Government finally disfranchised the man—the corpse, perhaps, for anything known to the contrary. The proceeding necessitated a good deal of secrecy and subterfuge, for even the wife of the man in question, whose status as citizen by right of her marriage was involved, was not apprised by the Government of its intended action. On the pretext that the man was not fully of legal age at the time of his naturalization—about 20 years before—the mighty Republic of America declared the citizenship of the man of unknown whereabouts and against whom no crime or offence of any kind was ever charged, as null and void.

TEN years passed. The disfranchised citizen, so far as humanly known, was still as dead as at the time of his denaturalization. No trace of him could be found, and nothing more was heard of the motives and purposes of the Government in depriving of citizenship a man who had apparently been dead for years. Dark and peculiar are the ways of Government.

MORE time passed. Then it became known that the United States Government intended to deport Emma Goldman. But Emma Goldman had acquired citizenship by marriage 30 years before, and, as a citizen, she could not be deported under the present laws of the United States. But lo and behold! The Government suddenly announced that Emma Goldman was a citizen no more, because her husband had been disfranchised ten years ago!

DARK and peculiar indeed are the ways of government. But there is method in its madness.

WHAT a striking comment this case afford on the true character of government, and the chicanery and subterfuge it resorts to when legal means fail to achieve its purposes. Long did the United States Government bide its time. The moment was not propitious to get rid of Emma Goldman. But she must be gotten rid of, by fair means or foul. Yet public sentiment was not ready for such things as deportation and banishment. Patience! The hour of a great popular hysteria will come, will be made, if necessary, and then we shall deport this *bete noir* of government.

THE moment has now come. It is here. The national hysteria against radicals, inspired and fed by the bourgeois press, pulpit, and politicians, has created the atmosphere needed to introduce in America the principle and practice of banishment. At last the Government may deport Emma Goldman, for through the width and breadth of the country there is not a Judge—and possibly not even a jury—with enough integrity and courage to give this *enfant terrible* a fair hearing and an unprejudiced examination of her claim to citizenship.

THEREFORE Emma Goldman is to be deported.

BUT her case sets a precedent, and American life is ruled by legal precedents. Henceforth the naturalized citizen may be disfranchised, on one pretext or another, and deported because of his or her social views and opinions. Already Congress is preparing to embody this worthy precedent in our national legislation by passing special laws providing for the disenfranchisement of naturalized Americans for reasons satisfactory to our autocratic regime.

THUS another link is forged to chain the great American people. For it is against the liberties and welfare of the people at large that these new methods are fundamentally directed. Not merely against Emma Goldman, the Anarchists, the I. W. W's., Communists, and other revolutionists. These are but the primary victims, the prologue which introduces and shadows forth the tragedy about to be enacted.

THE ultimate blow of the imperialist plutocracy of America is aimed at Labor, at the increasing discontent of the masses, their growing class-consciousness, and their progressive aspiration for more joy and life and beauty. The fate of America is in the balance.

THAT is the true meaning and the real menace of the principle of deportation, banishment, and exile, now being introduced in the life of the United States. That is the purpose of the State and Federal Anti-Anarchist laws, criminal-syndicalist-legislation, and all

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similar weapons that the master class is forging for the defeat of the awakening proletariat of America.

SHALL the United States, once the land of opportunity, the refuge of all the oppressed, be Prussianized, Czarified? Shall the melting pot of the world be turned into a fiery caldron brewing strife and slaughter, spitting tyranny and assassination? Shall we here, on this soil baptized with the sacred blood of the great heroes of the Revolutionary War, engage in the sanguinary struggle of brother against brother? Shall we re-enact in this land the frightful nightmare of Darkest Russia? Shall this land re-echo the horrible tramp, tramp of a thousand feet, on their way to an American Siberia? Tortured bodies, manacled hands, clanking chains, in weary, endless procession—shall that be the heritage of our youth? Shall the songs of mothers be turned into a dirge, and little babies be suckled with the teat of hate?

No, it shall not be. There is yet time to pause, to turn back. High time, high time for the voice of every true man and woman, of every lover of liberty, to thunder forth such a mighty collective protest that shall reverberate from North to South, and East to West, and rouse the awakened manhood of America to a heroic stand for Liberty and Justice.

BUT if not,—if our warning prediction unhappily come true and the fearful tragedy be played to its end, yet shall we not despair, nor misdoubt the *finale*.

HATEFUL is the Dream of Oppression. And as vain. Where the man who could name the judges that doomed Socrates? Where the persecutors of the Gracchi, the banishers of Aristides, the excommunicators of Spinoza and Tolstoy? Their very memory is obliterated by the footsteps of Progress. Unceasingly it marches, forward and upward, all obstacles notwithstanding, keeping time with the heart beats of Humanity. Vain the efforts to halt it, to banish ideas, to strangle thought. Vain the frenzied struggle to turn back the hands of Time. The mightiest Goliath of Reaction has fought his last fight—his final gesture, Old Russia, a hopeless surrender. Too late to revive this corpse. It is beyond resurrection. Attempts there may be, aye, will be, for the Bourbons never learn,—and the people are long suffering. But attempts useless, destructive, utterly fatal to their purpose. The Dream of Reaction ends in abysmal nightmare.

IT is darkest before dawn, in history as in nature. But the dawn has begun. In Russia. Its light is a promise and the hope of the world.

MEN and women of America, there is much work to be done. If you hate injustice and tyranny, if you love liberty and beauty, there is work for you. If oppression rouses your indignation, and the sight of misery and ugliness makes you unhappy, there is work for you. If your country is dear to you and the people your kin, there is work for you. There is much to be done.

WHOEVER you are, artist or educator, writer or worker—be you but a true man or true woman—there is important work for you. Let not prejudice and narrow-mindedness blind you. Let not a false press mislead you. Permit not this country to sink to the depths of despotism. Do not stand supinely by, while every passing day strengthens reaction. Rouse yourself and others to resent injustice and every outrage on liberty. Demand an open mind and fair hearing for every idea. Hold sacred the right of expression: protect the freedom of speech and press. Suffer not Thought to be forcibly limited and opinions proscribed. Make conscience free, undisciplined. Allow no curtailment of aspirations and ideals. These are the levers of progress, the fountain-head of joy and beauty.

JOIN your efforts, lovers of humanity. Do not uphold the hand that strangles Life. Align yourselves with the dreamers of the Better Day. The cause is worthy, the need urgent. The future looks towards you, its voice calls you, calls.

MAY it not call in vain.

AND you, fellow workers in factory, mine, and field, a great mission is yours. You, the feeders of the world and the creators of its wealth, you are the most interested in the fate of your country. The menace of despotism is greatest to you. Long has your masters' service humiliated and degraded you. Will you permit yourselves to be driven into still more abject slavery? Your emancipation is *your* work. Others may help, but you alone can win. In shop and union, take up this your greatest problem. Let not the least of you be victimized. Remember, an injury to one is the concern of all. No worker can stand alone in the face of organized capitalism with all its legislative and military weapons. Learn solidarity: each with a common purpose, all with a common effort. Know your enemy: there is no "mutual interest" between the robber and the robbed. Understand your true friends. You'll always find them maligned and persecuted by *your* enemies. The idealists, the seekers of the slaveless world, speak from *your* heart. Give them hearing.

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YOUR fate, the fate of the country, is in *your* hands. Yours is the mightiest power. There is no strength in the Government, except you give it. No strength in your masters, except you suffer it. The only true mastery is in you, the working class, in your power to feed and clothe the world and make it joyous. The greatest power, for good or evil. Use it for liberty, for justice. Allow no suppression of the freedom of thought and speech, for it is a snare for *your* undoing. Sooner or later every suppression comes home to labor, for its greater enslavement. Realize the menace of deportation, of the principle of banishment and exile. 'Tis the latest method of the American plutocracy to silence the discontent of the workers. Lose no time. It is of the most vital importance to you. It threatens you, your union, your very existence. Take the matter up in your organizations. The fortunes of labor in America are at stake. Only your united effort can conquer the peril that menaces you. Take action. Rouse the workers of the whole country. In union and solidarity, in clear purpose and courage is your only salvation.

Quotations from American and Foreign Authors Which Would Fall Under the Criminal Anarchy Law, Espionage Law, Etc.

THESE authors, distinguished thinkers, philosophers and humanitarians of world-wide renown would, if still alive and of foreign birth, not be permitted on American shores if they tried to land here, or, if born Americans, they would be threatened by deportation to the Island of Guam.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

THE man who will not investigate both sides of a question is dishonest.

* * *

THE cause of civil liberty must not be surrendered at the end of one or even one hundred defeats.

* * *

THE authors of the Declaration of Independence meant it to be a stumbling block to those who in after times might seek to turn free people back into the paths of despotism.

I HAVE always thought that all men should be free, but if any should be slaves, it should be first those who desire it for themselves, and secondly those who desire it for others.

IF there is anything that it is the duty of the whole people never to intrust to any bands but their own, that thing is the preservation and perpetuity of their own liberties.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

ALL eyes are opening to the right of man. The general spread of the light of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth, that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legtimately, by the grace of God.

* * *

SOCIETIES exist under three forms, sufficiently distinguishable: (1) Without government, as among our Indians. (2) Under governments wherein the will of every one has a just influence; as is the case in England, in a slight degree, and in our States, in a great one. (3) Under governments of force; as is the case in all other monarchies, and in most of the other republics. To have an idea of the curse of existence under these last, they must be seen. It is a government of wolves over sheep. It is a problem, not clear in my mind, that the first condition is not the best. But I believe it to be inconsistent with any great degree of population. The second state has a great deal of good in it. The mass of mankind under that, enjoys a precious degree of liberty and happiness. It has its evils, too; the principal of which is the turbulence to which it is subject. But weight this against the oppressions of monarchy, and it becomes nothing. Even this evil is productive of good. It prevents the degeneracy of governments, and nourishes a general attention to the public affairs. I hold it, that a little rebellion, now and then, is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical. Unsuccessful rebellions, indeed, generally establish the encroachments on the rights of the people, which have produced them. An observation of this truth should render honest republican governors so mild in their punishment of rebellions, as not to discourage them too much. It is a medicine necessary for the sound health of governments.

* * *

WE have long enough suffered under the base prostitution of law to party passions in one judge, and the imbecility of another.

* * *

IT is error alone which needs the support of government. Truth can stand by itself.

* * *

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

LIBERTY for each, for all, and forever.

NO person will rule over me with my consent. I will rule over no man.

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ENSLAVE the liberty of but one human being and the liberties of the world are put in peril.

WHEN I look at these crowded thousands, and see them trample on their consciences and the rights of their fellowmen at the bidding of a piece of parchment, I say, my curse be on the Constitution of the United States.

WHY, sir, no freedom of speech or inquiry is conceded to me in this land. Am I not vehemently told both at the North and the South that I have no right to meddle with the question of slavery? And my right to speak on any other subject, in opposition to public opinion, is equally denied to me.

I AM aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as Truth, and as uncompromising as Justice. On this subject I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen —but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal and hasten to the resurrection of the dead.—*In the first issue of the Liberator, January* 1, 1831.

* * *

WENDELL PHILLIPS

IF there is anything that cannot bear free thought, let it crack.

NOTHING but Freedom, Justice, and Truth is of any permanent advantage to the mass of mankind. To these society, left to itself, is always tending.

"THE right to think, to know and to utter," as John Milton said, is the dearest of all liberties. Without this right, there can be no liberty to any people; with it, there can be no slavery.

WHEN you have convinced thinking men that it is right, and humane men that it is just, you will gain your cause. Men always lose half of what is gained by violence. What is gained by argument, is gained forever.

THE manna of liberty must be gathered each day, or it is rotten.

ONLY by unintermitted agitation can a people be kept sufficiently awake to principle not to let liberty be smothered in material prosperity.

LET us believe that the whole truth can never do harm to the whole of virtue; and remember that in order to get the whole of truth, you must allow every man, right or wrong, freely to utter his conscience, and protect him in so doing. Entire unshackled freedom for every man's life, no matter how wide its range. The community which dares not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterance of his opinions, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves.

* * *

STEPHEN PEARL ANDREWS

GOVERNMENTS have hitherto been established, and have apologized for the unseemly fact of their existence, from the necessity of establishing and maintaining order; but order has never yet been maintained, revolutions and violent outbreaks have never yet been ended, public peace and harmony have never yet been secured, for the precise reason that the organic, essential, and indestructible natures of the objects which it was attempted to reduce to order have always been constricted and infringed by every such attempt. Just in proportion as the effort is less and less made to reduce men to order, just in that proportion they become more orderly, as witness the difference in the state of society in Austria and the United States. Plant an army of one hundred thousand soldiers in New York, as at Paris, to preserve the peace, and we should have a bloody revolution in a week; and be assured that the only remedy for what little of turbulence remains among us, as compared with European societies, will be found to be more liberty. When there remain positively no external restrictions, there will be positively no disturbance, provided always certain regulating principles of justice, to which I shall advert presently, are accepted and enter into the public mind, serving as substitutes for every species of repressive laws.

* * *

HENRY GEORGE

IN our time, as in times before, creep on the insidious forces that, producing inequality, destroy Liberty. On the horizon the clouds begin to lower. Liberty calls to us again. We must follow her further; we must trust her fully. Either we must wholly accept her or she will not stay. It is not enough that men should vote; it is not enough that they should be theoretically equal before the law. They must have liberty to avail themselves of the opportunities and means of life; they must stand on equal terms with reference to the bounty of nature. Either this, or Liberty withdraws

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her light! Either this, or darkness comes on, and the very forces that progress has evolved turn to powers that work destruction. This is the universal law. This is the lesson of the centuries. Unless its foundations be laid in justice the social structure cannot stand.

* * *

HENRY DAVID THOREAU

LAW never made men a whit more just; and, by means of their respect for it, even the well-disposed are daily made the agents of injustice. A common and natural result of an undue respect for law is that you may see a file of soldiers, colonel, captain, corporal, privates, powder-monkeys, and all, marching in admirable order over hill and dale to the wars, against their wills, aye, against their common sense and consciences, which makes it very steep marching indeed, and produces a palpitation of the heart. They have no doubt that it is a damnable business in which they are concerned; they are all peaceably inclined. Now, what are they? Men at all? or small movable forts and magazines, at the service of some unscrupulous man in power?

THE mass of men serve the State thus, not as men mainly, but as machines, with their bodies. They are the standing army, and the militia, gaolers, constables, posse comitatus, etc. In most cases there is no free exercise whatever of the judgment or of the moral sense; but they put themselves on a level with wood and earth and stones; and wooden men can perhaps be manufactured that will serve the purpose as well. Such command no more respect than men of straw or a lump of dirt. They have the same sort of worth only as horses and dogs. Yet such as these even are commonly esteemed good citizens.

OTHERS—as most legislators, politicians, lawyers, ministers, and office-holders—serve the State chiefly with their heads; and as they rarely make any moral distinctions, they are as likely to serve the devil, without *intending* it, as God.

HOW does it become a man to behave toward this American government today? I answer, that he cannot without disgrace, be associated with it. I cannot for an instant recognize that political organizaion as *my* government which is the *slave's* government also.

ALL men recognize the right of revolution; that is, the right to refuse allegiance to, and to resist, the government, when its tyranny or its inefficiency are great and unendurable.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

IT will never make any difference to a hero what the laws are.

* * *

For what avail the plough or sail
Or land or life, if freedom fail?

* * *

THE wise know that foolish legislation is a rope of sand which perishes in the twisting.

* * *

OUR distrust is very expensive. The money we spend for courts and prisons is very ill laid out.

* * *

EVERY actual State is corrupt. Good men must not obey the laws too well. What satire on government can equal the severity of censure conveyed in the word *politics* which now for ages has signified *cunning,* intimating that the State is a trick?

* * *

No law can be sacred to me but that of my nature. Good and bad are but names very readily transferable to that or this; the only right is what is after my constitution, the only wrong what is against it. A man is to carry himself in the presence of all opposition, as if everything were titular and ephemeral but him. I am ashamed to think how easily we capitulate to badges and names, to large societies and dead institutions.

* * *

EDMUND BURKE

ALL writers on the science of policy are agreed, and they agree with experience, that all governments must frequently infringe the rules of justice to support themselves; that truth must give way to dissimulation, honesty to convenience, and humanity to the reigning interest. The whole of this mystery of iniquity is called the reason of state. It is a reason which I own I cannot penetrate. What sort of a protection is this of the general right, that is maintained by infringing the rights of particulars? What sort of justice is this which is enforced by breaches of its own laws? These paradoxes I leave to be solved by the able heads of legislators and politicians. For my part, I say what a plain man would say on such occasion. I can never believe that any institution, agreeable to nature, and proper for mankind, could find it necessary, or even expedient, in any case whatsoever, to do what the best and worthiest instinct of mankind warn us to avoid. But no wonder that what is set up in

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opposition to the state of nature should preserve itself by trampling upon the law of nature.

* * *

THOMAS PAINE

To argue with a man who has renounced his reason is like giving medicine to the dead.

* * *

THE more perfect civilization is, the less occasion has it for government, because the more does it regulate its own affairs, and govern itself; but so contrary is the practice of old governments to the reason of the case, that the expenses of them increase in the proportion they ought to diminish. It is but few general laws that civilized life requires, and those of such common usefulness, that whether they are enforced by the forms of government or not, the effect will be nearly the same. If we consider what the principles are that first condense man into society, and what the motives that regulate their mutual intercourse afterwards, we shall find, by the time we arrive at what is called government, that nearly the whole of the business is performed by the natural operation of the parts upon each other.

* * *

SOCIETY in every state is a blessing, but government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state, an intolerable one.

* * *

THE trade of governing has always been monopolized by the most ignorant and the most rascally individuals of mankind.

* * *

JOHN STUART MILL

MANKIND can hardly be too often reminded, that there was once a man named Socrates, between whom and the legal authorities and public opinion of his time, there took place a memorable collision. Born in an age and country abounding in individual greatness, this man has been handed down to us by those who best knew both him and the age, as the most virtuous man in it; while *we* know him as the head and prototype of all subsequent teachers of virtue, the source equally of the lofty inspiration of Plato and the judicious utilitarianism of Aristotle, the two headsprings of ethical as of all other philosophy. Their acknowledged master of all the eminent thinkers who have since lived—whose fame, still growing after more than two thousand years, all but outweighs the whole

remainder of the names which make his native city illustrious—was put to death by his countrymen, after a judicial conviction, for impiety and immorality. Impiety, in denying the Gods recognized by the State; indeed his accusers asserted (see the "Apologia") that he believed in no gods at all. Immorality, in being, by his doctrines and instructions, a "corrupter of youth." Of these charges the tribunal, there is every ground for believing, honestly found him guilty, and condemned the man who probably of all then born had deserved best of mankind, to be put to death as a criminal.

* * *

HERBERT SPENCER

WHEN we have made our constitution purely democratic, thinks to himself the earnest reformer, we shall have brought government into harmony with absolute justice. Such a faith, though perhaps needful for the age, is a very erroneous one. By no process can coercion be made equitable. The freest form of government is only the least objectionable form. The rule of the many by the few we call tyranny: the rule of the few by the many is tyranny also, only of a less intense kind. "You shall do as we will, and not as you will," is in either case the declaration; and, if the hundred make it to ninety-nine instead of the ninety-nine to the hundred, it is only a fraction less immoral. Of two such parties, which ever fulfills this declaration, necessarily breaks the law of equal freedom: the only difference being that by the one it is broken in the persons of ninety-nine, whilst by the other it is broken in the persons of a hundred. And the merit of the democratic form of government consists solely in this,—that it trespasses against the smallest number.

THE very existence of majorities and minorities is indicative of an immoral state. The man whose character harmonizes with the moral law, we found to be one who can obtain complete happiness without establishing the happiness of his fellows. But the enactment of public arrangements by vote implies a society consisting of men otherwise constituted—implies that the desires of some cannot be satisfied without sacrificing the desires of others—implies that in the pursuit of their happiness the majority inflict a certain amount of *un*happiness on the minority—implies, therefore, organic immorality. Thus, from another point of view, we again perceive that even in its most equitable form it is impossible for government to disassociate itself from evil; and further, that, unless the right to ignore the State is recognized, its acts must be essentially criminal.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Deportation, Its Meaning and Menace / Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman.— New York : M.E. Fitzgerald, 1919.— 17 p. ; 22 × 28 cm.

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LYOF N. TOLSTOY

THE cause of the miserable condition of the workers is slavery. The cause of slavery is legislation. Legislation rests on organized violence. It follows that an improvement in the condition of the people is possible only through the abolition of organized violence. "But organized violence is government, and how can we live without governments? Without governments there will be chaos, anarchy; all the achievements of civilization will perish, and the people will revert to their primitive barbarism." But why should we suppose this? Why think that non-official people could not arrange it, not for themselves, but for others? We see, on the contrary, that in the most diverse matters people in our times arrange their own lives incomparably better than those who govern them arrange for them. Without the least help from government, and often in spite of the interference of government, people organize all sorts of social undertakings—workmen's unions, co-operative societies, railway companies, and syndicates. If collections for public works are needed, why should we suppose that free people could not without violence voluntarily collect the necessary means, and carry out all that is carried out by means of taxes, if only the undertakings in question are really useful for anybody? Why suppose that there cannot be tribunals without violence?

* * *

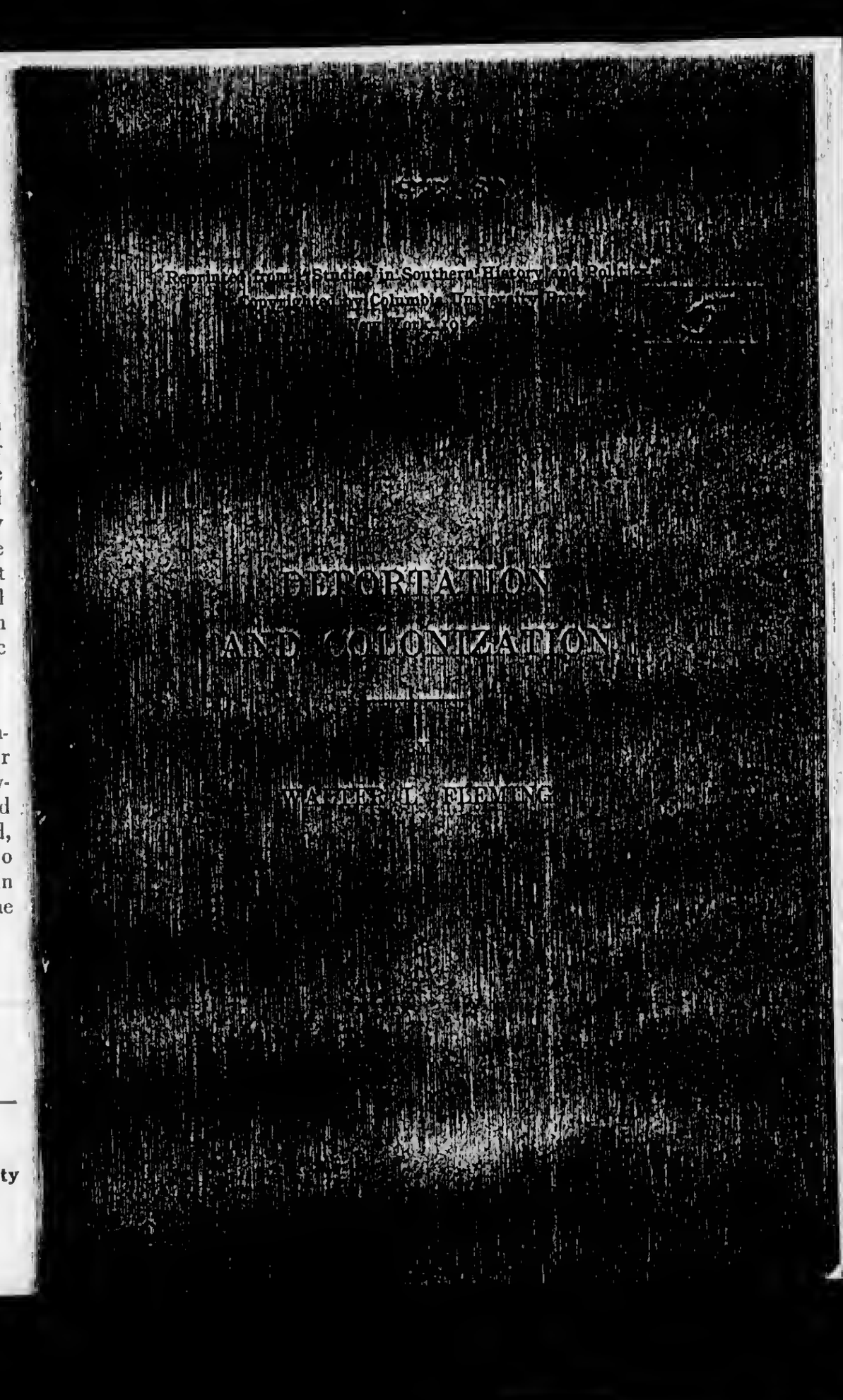
THE robber generally plundered the rich, the governments generally plunder the poor and protect those rich who assist in their crimes. The robber doing his work risked his life, while the governments risk nothing, but base their whole activity on lies and deception. The robber did not compel anyone to join his band, the governments generally enrol their soldiers by force. All who paid the tax to the robber had equal security from danger. But in the state, the more any one takes part in the organized fraud the more he receives not merely of protection, but also of reward.

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附註一　有幾種書雖然自稱黑幕，其實却係官場現形記一流的小說。不過因黑幕的聲名大了，便趕緊冒牌，希望多賣；當然不能歸在一處，所以文中也不論及。

附註二　我對於楊君的意見，幾乎完全不同，但其中幾節，也狠以爲是。如說醜處應該公布這一段話，我在論黑幕末節，也曾說及。唯柯南達利却又非純粹寫實派文人；研究偵探小說，也看不出別國的內幕所以一天下的老鴉一樣黑一這比喻，實是不確。中國的壞處，未必與外國相同；便是老鴉原來也非一樣有伞黑的，有白項的，此雖小事，也足見中國舊說的不可靠，決不能與新的動物學折衷的了。

八年二月十五日

近代戲劇論

美國高曼女士(E Goldman)著

震瀛譯

社會一小部分，久已不滿意於今日之制度；壓力愈重，則反抗力之興愈速。且愚蒙之輩一旦醒悟，則舉世界人之思想舉動，莫不一變。社會與個人表示其生存之價値，漸次不同於往昔矣。

近代思想之傳播，不僅一派之文字所能成功。藝術文學上所表示之人生觀，範圍更爲廣大；故近代戲劇描寫社會之弱點，較之他種文字，其功用亦特大也。

畫家美拉(Millet)之描寫社會，極爲淋漓盡致，喚醒社會之愚頑，其力甚偉。其形容農民之慘狀，惕目驚心；對於社會缺憾之注意，尤無微不至。天然之物產本甚豐富，而農民終日勞苦，不得一飽，其慘狀何可勝言？麥耶(Millet)之理想，在描寫勞動界之聯合，及鑛工之協助以拯救其傷亡之倡仵。麥氏以其卓越之天才，形容奴隸之社會，傳播革命之精神。其文字之功甚偉。

近代文學之革命潮流，誠爲警醒愚蒙之利器。觀乎都介納夫(Turgenev)；陀思妥夫斯基(Dostoyevsky)；陶斯道(Tolstoy)，安特來夫(Andreev)，哥爾基(Gorky)，威德曼(Wedekind)，愛馬生(Emerson)等，可以知矣。其著作中莫不含有人道之情感，而希望社會之革新。劇曲之勢力尤大，爲

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自由思想之萌芽，傳播新思潮之利器。

余之論劇曲如此重要，誠非過當。若考察世界各國之新思潮，其發達之程序，足以證明戲劇之功效：蓋劇曲能使社會之眞理大明，非其他各種文學之功用所能及。唯俄法兩國，不在此例耳。

俄國平民，處於專制政治範圍之下，曉然於社會之情感，思所以改革之，以人民智育之發達，決不容於殘暴之專制政體。陶斯道契訶夫（Tchechov）哥爾基安特夫之劇曲大爲社會所歡迎，蓄以描寫國民之生活與競爭，爲俄人所欲聞者也。但其功效之影響於他國自由思想者較之己國尤爲重要，政治使之然也。

黑暗之力（The Power of Darkness）及夜店（Night Lodgings）兩曲，其影響之大，雖以盡述。陶斯道誠屬耶教之徒，乃其著作反足以爲近代耶教組織莫大之勁敵。陶氏以其天才描寫黑暗之威力及耶教之迷信，慘無人道，莫逾於是。其效驗之大，遠非其他文字所能幾及。無知之民，被誘而爲種種罪惡；耶教之會不能辭其咎。陶氏喚醒人類之良知及不平之氣，功莫大於是矣。

哥爾基之夜店對於社會問題，意見與陶氏曾無少異。無知小民，被驅於憂患及罪惡，幾無一線之生機。其慘無人道流離失所之境遇，隨地皆是，不僅西伯利亞一地爲然也。

法蘭西一國，爲自由而競爭，無時或已，爲近代自由思想之淵源，故不必藉賴劇曲爲醒羣之利器。唯佳劇亦甚夥：如白利奧（Brieux）之紅袍（Robe Rouge），形容司法之極端腐敗；而馬爾堡（Les Affaires Sont les affaires），描寫金錢之勢力，使人類之靈魂受無限之痛苦。法國研究社會問題之文字範圍極廣，然其中劇曲亦佔其一部分。

其他如那威瑞典丹麥英德美諸國，雖其程度路有等差，然劇曲固屬歷史上傳播自由思想之利器也。德國二三十年來，哲人達士，以其不朽之文字，灌輸人類平等博愛之眞理，使痛苦之平民猛然醒悟，卽其一例。近代社會主義，爲極大之革命潮流，處此慘無天理之制度之下，平民一線之希望，全在於此。而今日所謂有教育之人，反毫不動心，其對於革命潮流，不過視爲平民不守本分之怨懟，以爲平民因無教育而作亂，應以刑罰制止之，否則恐其足以危及社會也。

「安守本分」爲「有教育者」之常語，彼輩不知何以處此物質文明之世界，不知千萬之平民，仍顚連無告也。以今日之奢華，誠不信尙有其他人類之無希望無意志者，可憐無告，犬馬不若。此等慘狀，英法戰爭之後，德國尤甚；彼以其戰勝之功，目空一切，以歌功頌德之文章，爲忠君愛國之論調，史以其窮兵黷武之功勳，荼毒少年之心志，以演成今日戰爭之慘劇。

是以德國之智育不能不藉賴他國之文學爲之助矣。其最著者，有易卜生（Ibsen）左拉（Zola）杜達（Daudet）莫泊三（Maupassant）等，而陀思妥夫斯基陶斯道都介納夫之著作尤爲重要。凡國家如無文學劇曲，以描寫本國之社會現狀，決不足以維繫教育之標準，與世界各國抗衡。於是德國之劇曲亦漸次發達，敍述其國人之生活及競爭。

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詞爾茲(Arno Holz)爲德國劇曲界之先進，少年英俊，始行描寫己國鄙陋之人民。莎力克格之家庭(Familie Selicke)一劇，文筆暢達，得未曾有，描寫社會之迷妄，與夫人民之抵抗力，祇圖目前之私利，罔計日後之安寧，苟安旦夕，爲進化之障礙。此等民族之心志精神，牢不可破，可憂孰甚。

此劇出世，社會大恚，不言而喻。然真理終難泯滅，是以柏林頑固者流，亦以反對眞理之故，爲世間所唾棄也。

此種論調，早已瀰漫於社會，非待詞氏始然，不過其劇曲之才技，能形容襯致，繪聲繪影，非他人所能及。其影響所及，使人民覺醒，不能不考察其境遇之極爲不平等也。

蘇達曼(Sudermann)之名譽(Ehre)，及故鄉(Heimat)對於此種問題，更加以嚴重之討論；余嘗謂感情作用之愛國主義，至此已完全變易。德人之心志，足以使其名譽之概念，趨於邪辟，貽害世界；如決鬥之成爲風俗，犧牲無數之生命是也。著名之文人，多已大聲疾呼，卓起反對，而名譽一劇，尤爲痛快，至罵之爲國蠹也。

此劇不獨描寫決鬥，且長明名譽之眞義，證其非爲一定不易之天賦情感。吾人於此劇中，見君相之所謂名譽，大異於平民之所謂名譽也。

此劇之情節，寫一夥伴爲其主人謀利遠方，生意極爲發達，贏利甚鉅，其主人坐享其成，富甲一方。其夥伴以遠行之故，託其家人於主人；其主人以小破屋居之，而其家人乃感戴不已。及夥伴回家，睹其妹爲小主人利誘，致身敗名裂，世所謂家庭光榮之裏面，如是而已。此夥伴所以痛罵一切也。

故鄉一劇之精神，形容新舊思想之爭競。寫一女子名瑪格大(Magda)者，爲一副官之女，因反對其父代爲擇婚之故，致犯不可赦之罪狀，（歐洲古例）爲其親所棄。此女以其天眞爛漫自由之精神，專心致志以課所獨立十二年後，成一大音樂家，馳名社會。後至故鄉，往見其親，惟其父固執「親權」爲嚴重之質問。其女怒不可遏，乃宣布其一生之慘狀。當此女圖謀經濟社會上之獨立，曾與一學生相識，迨懷孕後，爲其所棄。此男子亦在故鄉，已爲議員，瑪格大之父逐逼之使復認其女爲妻；議員今又欽其榮譽，卽允其所請，惟此時其女已不復從事歌舞事業，并告其私生子於育嬰院中。此嗣續上新舊之爭，畢露之於瑪格大言辭中，痛罵社會之罪惡，犧牲無數女子，散布僞善，適足以增人類之羞。

故鄉一劇佈局之大概，對於新舊競爭，誠非創作。俄國大文豪都介納夫之父與子(Fathers and Sons)，已先此而言，描寫一時代之醒悟。雖蘇氏之文筆遠不及都氏，惟其喚醒女子問題，誠爲革命重要之利器，全因其爲劇曲體裁故也。

哈德曼(Hauptmann)爲一傳播自由急進主義之劇曲大家。最初作一劇，名曰出前(Vor sonnenaufgang)，德國舞臺，莫肯爲之排演；後得拉星(Lessing)獨立舞臺之允諾，開演之日，如雷電交至，社會驚駭萬狀，大夢驟然驚醒。

此劇描寫一暴發富戶之平生，緐鄙暴戾，唯以酒色爲事；其工人之愚蒙，亦無殊於其主人。且敍金

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錢罪惡，主人工人，均蒙其害；而頑固者流，反責難著者，以爲煽惑後進也。

織工（Die weber）一劇開演時，思想家及道德家咸譁然。彼輩之言曰：「何哉工人固穢朽不堪之奴隸也，何以排演之於舞臺之上，其疾病困窮，使人見之不歡，是豈足以供茶前酒後之娛樂乎？失當之甚矣！」以飽食終日之中流社會，而參觀織布工人之生活，其不樂也無疑矣！眞理之傳播，如暮鼓晨鐘，發聾振聵，自甘暴棄之徒，視之能不憫然！

此劇之反響，自可預料。其寫人生之所以能致富者，定因刻剝工人，不顧他人之饑寒困苦；此種現象，執政者常欲爲之保存，誠恐平民一旦醒悟，則知其境遇之痛苦，將有害於社會也。近代劇曲之正鵠，在予喚醒被壓制之人民；此作者之所以形容敍利西亞（Silesia）工人之景況，而表暴之於世。其敍人類以每日十八小時之工作，不能謀一溫飽，破屋一椽，衣衫襤褸，加以孩童之號泣，孕婦之哀鳴，慘慘難以盡述；而耶教之恩盡固不及此，罪可憐人也。人生之生機及希望，消滅淨盡矣！

以作者之奇才，其劇曲之形容人生，無微不至，不僅描寫金錢之罪惡，且及個人之競爭，擺脫身心羈絆不去，則自由之幸福難臻，非有革命之精神以驚醒之，使之抵抗陋習，則個人及社會之解放，難於實現也。

哈爾培（Max Halbe）之少年（Jugend）及衛特堅（Wedekind）之春醒（Frühlings Erwachen）爲

劇曲中之別體，以他法面描寫自由思想，形容孩童及庶人與夫偏促之清教制度（Puritanism），已臻於醒悟之境。青年男女，爲不正當之教育及爲道德所束縛者，不知幾許，遏抑青年之發育之教育，誠足以障礙社會之幸福及生機。社會上所謂慈母，對於其女之年已長成者，仍不使之有絲毫社會交際，更不知其有所謂男女問題，卒之其女不幸夭死，是無異爲其母置之於死地；而社會反以爲不足怪，謂其體弱而死；以爲如是。始於道德，可謂完滿也！

此種情節，誠爲清教（Puritan）僞道之大打擊，加以衛氏之雄才，尤放異彩。今日社會中無數可愛之青年男女，爲情而死，其致此之由，莫不由於兒童教育之失當，無以喚起其自覺力。大抵青年男女之罪惡，多由於父母所造成，而父母自身則獨莫名其妙；今日之爲父母者，莫非此類也。

年來德國有思想之青年男女，從事於男女問題，爲自由之討論，視爲必要。言論界中，無時或已；其劇曲影響所及，雖教育界及各學校，亦多設男女衛生一科焉。

北歐諸國，如那威丹麥瑞典等，亦無異於德國，文學界中之提倡此問題者，以劇曲爲最早。易卜生以前，早已發表於大文豪勃爾生（Björnson）之著作中，極力攻擊世間之不平等及不公道，惟其效力，遠不如易氏也。

易卜生之白蘭特（Brand），娜拉（社會棟樑，羣鬼及國民之敵等劇，以近代人生之眞義，打破往昔之迷夢。讀白蘭特一劇，而知近代宗教之概念，不過爲世間之一舊思想；而宗教之原意，亦不過人類博

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愛之原理耳。

易卜生嫉惡爲仇，對於社會一切罪惡，莫不揭破其黑幕，尤肆力攻擊社會所維繫之四大惡：其一，爲今日人生一切之詐僞；其二爲傳播道德法律犧牲之無益；其三爲世人崇拜之物質精神；其四爲頑固之死之勢力。此爲易氏劇曲之主旨，而以社會棟樑娜拉羣鬼及國民之敵四劇爲最著。

社會棟樑乃攻擊社會之組織，支持於枯朽之棟樑，其表面上金色耀煌，無絲毫之瑕疵，惟其內容則不堪問耳。此劇之情節，以一領事而執社會紳濟事業之牛耳，爲全城最重要之人物。人民不識其中之詐僞。反爲之歌頌德呼之爲仁人。實則攘奪親友之令名，竟己之情婦，而娶其妹，貪其財故也；假公益之名，圖私利之實，終至不惜以人命爲犧牲，以破底之輪船，而載客航海矣。迨夫黑幕既破，其卑劣之行爲大白於世，良知發現，憂患靡窮，往者不諫，來者可追，爲後人計，爲社會計，不能不爲積極之懺悔也。惟眞理不能以詐僞爲之基礎，其罪惡之身，已不能自拔。乃世人尙依然醉生夢死，爲之表揚也。

娜拉一劇，乃易氏爲婦人建設其解放之途徑之作也。娜拉能醒悟己身之爲他人玩偶，幷悟其夫其父之爲過極爲不平等。其夫罔顧人生之正鵠，而以爲婦之道及社會之眞望爲口頭禪，但娜拉已脫離其玩偶之衣裳，發表其完全覺悟之態度。彼知人生第一要義，乃對於己身之責任；知己身爲人類之一，無殊於爲人父，爲人夫者；至於爲人妻爲人母之責任，乃人生之餘事耳。彼嘗見棄於社會，此志終不可移；因被對於所謂法律之正誼，及制度之意義，已懷疑義，不爲所欺矣。其革命之精神，在乎反對一切社會制度；故彼果敢而言曰：「吾志高無可移，試觀吾與社會，孰爲正誼。」

娜拉前日之所希望於其夫者，今乃終不可兒，始曉然於婚姻之詐僞。其夫反詆人生不可有絲毫損壞社會之現狀；其僞善有如此者！

娜拉逃脫其黃金色之藩籠，以獨立之新人格，開社會廣大之生機，將來男女種嗣自由之眞理，發軔於此時矣。

羣鬼一曲，對於社會之組織，從根本上推翻，不留餘地，如迅雷不及掩耳。世界上之劇曲，無出其右者。

在娜拉劇中，論斷夫婦關係不免之陋習，其夫對於今日社會之爲人夫，爲人父之責任，可謂無缺，然此非所以語羣鬼一曲也。此婦人兒其夫之身心已無可救藥，若與之偕老，定無生人之樂趣；且於後代表大堂，爲靈魂之眞救主，故以爲人生之知遇，各有不同，應各守其本分，乃遺其女友歸於其夫家，闘讀傳問題，尤有危險失望之餘，惟有脫離之一法。彼因家教於一青年之伴侶，爲教會之牧師，其職志使之舍着忍辱，以克盡其爲婦爲母之職。此牧師謂人生無幸福之可言，其欲求之者，乃革命精神之發現，製毒神聖，罪莫逾於是，且其以婦人之責，祇在於三從四德，他非所計也。

此婦人背負耶教之十字架，至二十六年之久，忍痛負重，無敢稍犯神威；惟對於其幼子，則百計圖謀，使之脫離其萬惡之家庭，因汚濁之空氣大不利於血氣未定之青年也。且期此子能幹乃父之罅，仍

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未脫前人之迷夢。迨乎醒悟，則已身已完全爲其夫所檻牲，而其子亦爲其父之罪所遺傳矣。疾病既深，挽救乏術，曉曉晚矣。此其所以列舉今日社會之萬惡制度而痛罵之也。

易卜生此曲爲社會革命之首功。而社會之人，醉生夢死，習爲詐僞，甘於暴棄，不惟不感戴易氏指導之功，而乃驅逐之，仇視之，侮謾之，不遺餘力，易氏所以不能不鼓其勇氣，成國民之敵一劇，以解答之。

易卜生於此名著中，對於今日社會腐敗不堪之死制度，爲之行喪葬禮，而願其永遠不復現於社會之上。處此僞促社會中，而能產生此百折不撓之易卜生爲革命之先導，斯誠怪事。斯鐸曼博士（Dr. Stockmann）亦以一理想家而愛護社會，無所不至。彼爲一鎭中浴池之官醫，察知其水源之不潔，不惟不能使病人身體復原，且有害游客之衞生。此誠惡之博士以己之經驗，與職務故，必須將此事實宣佈於世，冤使貽禍他人。惟社會之人，祇顧一己之私，對於公理衞生，皆可置於不聞不問之列；全城因以民聲報爲改良之代表，而已發民之隱爲職志者，今乃亦反對博士之舉動，詆爲暴噪之理想家。蓋恐博士之言一出，其城之聲價將減，而於己之私產有損也。

博士堅持其志，不爲所動，召集市民，共計其事。其初人民非不樂爲贊助，及開會，即爲他人利害之說所動，乃舉起而反對。曲高和寡，特立獨行，且全城會未肯借一會場爲其宣佈之所。今幸而得，其結果又若是。市民莫不自私自利，譏笑侮謾，無所不至。且公決其爲人民之公敵，以博士之始願，欲借助於人民，以去此惡物，今乃被逼於絕境，爲民之仇。今日社會之公理，已滅絕淨盡，其發現之毒菌，一經宣佈，恐無以鼓振全城必至失其利益，是以官吏公民民黨，全體禁止此眞理之宣佈。社會欲求全城之發達，不惜以詐僞爲之基礎，而博士之志則斷乎不可搖動「所謂非全有卽全無」也

博士睹墓惡濁社會，欲從根本上解決，爲之完全推翻。因人民日夕呼吸此詐僞腐敗之空氣，必將傳染此惡劣社會之情勢如此，不已何待乎。博士以初入政途，未嘗深悉政治之罪惡，彼以爲自由之人，不應如彼待之無行，惟天下之黑夫乃以一黨一部之私利，置眞理於不顧，故黨章社約，僅足以窒塞眞理之萌芽，政治生涯，常以顚倒黑白爲事，道德正義，亦所不悉，社會所由危險矣。

易卜生四劇，描寫羣鬼之游蕩於此社會地獄，以示今之所謂文化者，不過如是。然易氏之功，不僅此也，其破壞之中，含有建設之能力，不獨去此腐敗之棟樑，且建築將來之基礎，使人生各能自由獨立，改革此惡社會，不致爲後人累也。（以上四劇新青年易卜生號揣著易氏傳亦詳論之）

雪萊

黃國自由思想之先導，傳播智育上之種子，如哥文（Holcroft）阿文（Owen）達爾文（Darwin）雪萊（Shelley）莫理士（Morris）等輩，不勝枚舉。其詩人之高唱自由歌曲者，尤爲可貴。如莎士比亞（Shakespeare）拜倫（Byron）基茲（Keats）皆是。劇曲界中之勢力，亦屬可觀。現代作者，如蕭伯訥（Bernard Shaw）賓納羅（Pinero）格斯威地（Galsworthy）堅尼地（Kennedy）等，竭力傳播自由之思潮，英國歷史上所未嘗見者也。是以其社會之變遷，亦因之歷歷可考。視阿文氏之論貧，或讀蕭伯訥社會主義之作，如巴巴拉少佐（Mayor Barbara）一劇，則可知貧窮爲耶教文化中最大之罪惡，所謂「貧

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窮使人爲懦夫爲奴隸，且能產生疾病罪惡，卑汚，刑罰等；故貧窮乃負其完全責任。」貧困既能造成世間一切罪惡，更使人倚賴性成不能自立，任他人之踐踏，使社會各種惡劇制度保存不敗。蕭氏此劇中之救世軍，與酒魔相戰，使賣糖者損害無數之金錢，亦屬人間快事。蕭氏結論寫少佐之父爲一製造鎗彈者，其平生宗旨，乃以爲火藥之勢力，非公理所能普及也。其論貧之言極爲痛快，其言曰，「貧窮者，人生最大之罪惡。其他一切之罪惡，莫不有善行爲之伴，而其一切之善德，以己身較之，亦得稱爲英勇焉。貧窮足以墮人之城市，罪人於死地；凡略嘗貧窮之滋味者，若聞其聲，嗅其味，見其色，即莫能免於罪戾。精神因之而頹敗，終身由是而機械；而人類之爲罪惡者，亦莫知其故。此一暗殺彼一竊盜，今日一爭鬥，明日一衝突，而人不以爲怪也。此等事實，僅爲人生偶然之缺憾，以倫敦之大，無五十罪有應得之犯人，然其中至有千百萬之窮人賤夫，無衣無食，精神肉體，爲之戕賊；社會幸福，爲之摧殘。吾人之自由，爲之剝奪。暴虐無倫，稍一動蕩，即能驅吾人於萬劫不復之地。貧困與奴隸兩問題，數百年來，所嚴重討論者也。彼既不能以理喻，以言勸，則吾惟有利用吾之機關鎗，以戮滅之耳。此乃最終之試驗，信而有徵，此勢力足以推翻社會之惡制度。所謂選舉者，兒戲耳！其所更變者，乃內閣之名號，而非內閣之實也。諸君若從事，則推倒政府，可也；破壞舊制度，可也；建其新者，以代其舊，爲之創造一新紀元焉」

世人所以不願讀蕭氏社會主義之論著者，無足怪也。除劇曲一門外，蕭氏不能傳播歷史上顯明之眞理，故蕭氏乃利用此一道，以傳播革命利器之自由思想也。

勞動界劇曲，自哈德曼之織工後，以格斯威地之競爭（Justice）爲最著，此劇之內容，有兩重分子；其一爲工廠之總理，苛刻殘忍，固執己見，不肯稍爲讓步，雖工人罷工數月，形勢慘切，幾爲餓殍，彼不顧也。其他爲工黨之代表，與之相持不下，以其革命之精神，爲勞動家謀自由幸福，有死無二。的彼二人之故，致數月未能解決工人及其妻子流離失所其慘狀不能盡述。

此劇中寫勞動家衣衫襤褸，智識愚陋，任人播弄，毫無定見，或甚成他人傳播宗教思想，而反對革命；或驅逐其聯合會代表之宣布罷工之理由者，以餓工人要求之志，第亦有賢頭其代表之有毅力者。其團體之散漫，有若是之甚者。此工人所以不易有爲，而任人踐踏也。

無應變之才，乃今日商戰時代最大之罪惡。無論其志願如何堅決，位置如何重要，時機既至，則不能不犧牲其宗旨，任人處置。彼兩人之命運，固如是，其各處極端，恐終亦不能解決也。

工廠之總理，爲一舊思想之人物，固足以阻礙社會之進化，非吾輩所贊同，然其宗旨始終不變，其毅力固足嘉也。較之假公益以圖私利者，猶爲勝之。而橫征暴斂者，略解私囊，以盡公益，或對於青年女子，設一工廠爲之棲留，以爲蓄養女權之預備，而他人反爲之頌揚其手段之卑劣，爲何如乎？惟此工廠之總理，以其堂堂正正之旗鼓，爲工人之敵，而不以狡猾伎倆出之，尚不愧爲有價值之敵黨也。

工黨之代表，以全力對付之；其理想之新穎，且以道德精神及革命精神爲之副，故有「之死靡他」之概，非至完全成功不可也。

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惟兩方面之損失過重，難以持久，不得已而讓步，使和議成立，而留彼兩人之持極端者於不顧；能不爲之憮然！此次工黨雖未能全得勝利，然敢信將來之勞動家，必有後起者成代表之志。雖預言固非劇曲家之職志，然欲爲社會之先覺，則不能不如是；故將來工人之改絃易轍，亦意中事也。

調和資本與勞動之主張，將必歸於淘汰。因二者終無相協之日也。欲拯救此社會於專制魔王之手，惟革命精神是賴。將來之社會，定必光明璀璨，造成自由正當之人生，共惡生存之眞義焉。

近數年來，社會對於刑罰問題，爲嚴重之研究，較之其他之社會問題爲甚。輿論界日以是爲討論歐美文人，亦專心研究此問題。以歷史心理及社會主之觀察，對於今日刑罰制度，與夫世人抗拒罪惡之方法，皆謂爲倒行逆施，無益於實際；而犯人與皆由社會之罪惡以造成之。欲從根本上解決，則不能不借助於文字。今日之牢獄，尤須改革，此社會之重大謬誤，乃發表於格斯威地之裁判（Justice）以劇曲之體裁傳播之。

此劇之首幕，爲一律師事務所；父子共同執業，其中并有書記數人。是時發現一僞匯單，爲其一少年書記所爲者，因其戀愛一婦人，而此婦人，則爲其夫所虐待者也。此書記因爲其主人所迫挾，不能不自白其罪，謂因欲營救其情人以脫離其夫之苛刻，乃冒險而爲此。并哀求赦免。惟法律乃不近人情者，而此少年於是被逮於警察。第一幕至是止矣。

第二幕爲裁判所，建築極其宏偉。此少年今已爲囚人，形容憔悴，時年僅二十三。其情人親臨旁聽，

尤爲憮悵。少年以愛彼之故，致罹於罪；歷言人類之良知及情感，以及奧妙之社會哲學發揮之，暢言一切，不僅爲此僞單而發也；亦不僅爲此被告而言也。其根據於社會之覺悟性，深得辯護之本旨，且痛論及今日社會罪惡之源流。彼謂被告不忍見其所愛之人爲其夫虐待而法律又束縛之，使之不能離婚，故不得已而至犯法，非求法官之原宥不可。

法律既背乎人情，無法官乃依據之，此少年之難逃法網，乃意中事；於是三年之苦役，乃定讞矣。此無知之少年，日處囹圄中，乃悟其自身之爲惡制度所戕賊，而法官亦知其不得已而爲之，然皆無足以施其技。生今之世，天下幾多無知之少年，墮入此嚴刑峻法中，噫亦可憐矣。

其後少年出獄，身心上已歷受荼毒，額上隱然見罪人之符號，其舊主復圖其職任，是可喜也。惟惡消息同時而至，其所愛之人，已因貧而自賣其身，今爲他人所有矣。

當此少年之出獄，其禁期固未滿，不過其情人哀求其舊主之恩，復圖其職守，使法庭行特赦之例，而彼則自願與少年永遠脫離關係。惟此少年因未嫻法律上之手續，致爲警察復驅於牢獄。少年絕望乃自投樓下而死，遂閉幕完場。

此劇對於社會問題，功德無量。英國牢獄之革新，誠不容緩。近代劇曲對於此問題，其力甚大，足以警醒社會之良知；然此劇乃其中最佳者也。

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堅尼地 (Kennedy) 之家奴 (The Servant of the House) 一劇，尤爲社會現狀重大之打擊；此劇之主人翁，爲一下流之酒徒，而爲社會所唾棄者，然不惜犧牲一己，以惠同儕，猶爲士流所不及。勞動爲社會幸福之救世主，已爲衆所共認；而此狂徒，亦能明確解釋勞動之特色，其大有功於社會，斯誠難能可貴矣。

美國之劇曲，猶在幼稚時期，其描寫人等，毫無效驗。幸而文學界對於劇曲之事，極表同情，雖取材於外國者，亦重視之，其一線之希望在是矣。

美國獨一無二之完美劇曲爲華爾特 (Eugene Walter) 之捷徑 (The Easiest Way)，此劇描寫紐約城之生活，別開生面；形容社會，如一明鏡，其價值特色，乃在是耳。紐約城中最流行之社會病，在乎取巧，貪目前之微利，固顧人生之正鵠，致爲眞理正義之敵。此劇善能表現此種情狀。其次則形容女界之醉生夢死，慘不忍聞，其針砭社會，以此兩事爲特色。

社會之罪惡，虛耗人類之精神，而金錢之罪惡，乃驅世間可憐之女子日夕以求夫爲事，視爲一生之正鵠，以家庭爲生活立足地。次則又驅世間之男子甘執賤役，以謀溫飽也。又有其他之惡制度，足以制女子之死命者，娼妓問題是也。女子名爲人妻，實無異於娼妓，其所恃以圖存者，乃爲男子之玩具耳。故今日之萬惡社會中之男女生活，捨盜與娼二者之外，幾別無所有也。

此戕賊人生之制度，慘無人道，使女子盡爲寄生無人類之精神，其視爲人生捷徑者，乃爲妓妾耳；而社會之心理，則又視爲天經地義也。

其他劇曲之傳播自由思想者，日前加增；其彰彰在人耳目者，如克黎 (Charles Klein) 之第三級 (The Third Degree)，巴達生 (Mellll Patterson) 之第四級 (The Fourth Estate) 與夫克魯遮 (Crutchers) 之一人世界 (A Man's world)，皆足爲美國劇曲界發達之表徵，而爲發表今日社會罪惡之利器也。

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Goldman Released, Condemns Jailers / Emma Goldman.— 29 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(Sept. 29, 1919).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

GOLDMAN RELEASED, CONDEMNS JAILERS

Life for Women in Missouri Prison Is Worst Kind of Slavery, She Says.

LEAVES FOR NEW YORK

Will Lay "Atrocities" Before Federal Officials—Awaits Deportation Decision—Has No Money.

Special to The New York Times.

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo., Sept. 27.—Emma Goldman, the anarchist, was released from the Missouri Penitentiary today and left this afternoon for New York accompanied by her niece, Mrs. Stella Ballantine of Rochester, N. Y. Miss Goldman was arraigned before United States Commissioner H. C. Geisburg this morning, after testifying that she did not have any property with which to pay the fine of $10,000 imposed upon her by the Federal Court of New York at the time she was convicted of violating the Espionage Act and sentenced to the penitentiary here for two years.

Miss Goldman told the Commissioner that she had been married, but was not inclined to make any statement concerning her spouse. She said Goldman was her father's name and she had never been known under any other name and she did not want to be known under any other name. Asked her professlon, she said:

"I have three callings; I am a trained nurse, a writer and a lecturer."

She said she did not have any money at all save what relatives had furnished her, and this would be no more than enough to take her home.

After the Commissioner told her she was free, so far as he was concerned, she turned loose on the penitentiary management of the women's department a torrent of sharp criticisms. She talked freely to the newspaper men.

"Life for women serving in the Missouri Penitentiary is the worst kind of slavery," she said. "Until about one month ago and following an investigation by the Federal authorities, there was neither enough food or a variety. The food situation has changed for the better, and decidedly so, since the Government sent agents here to investigate the conditions. There are things happening in that department of which the world knows nothing, but I intend to lay the facts before the Federal authorities. The blind cell for the punishment of women convicts is a human atrocity."

The Department of Justice at Washington notified the prison officials today that Miss Goldman had furnished a bond of $15,000 in New York to answer in the deportation case against her. She will be given a hearing at Ellis Island Oct. 3.

"I am going to the home of my people at Rochester, N. Y., and for the next few days will rest up and seek to recover from the shock of imprisonment," she said. "Until the question of my deportation has been settled I will not make any plans as to the future."

Emma Goldman does not look as if she had been underfed. She looks better than she did two years ago, and she must weigh close to 200 pounds.

FEAR CRISIS IN GERMANY.

Dissolution of Assembly Talked Of —Hertz Predicts Monarchy.

BERLIN, Sept. 27. (Associated Press.) The newspapers are speculating on an approaching political crisis, the possible dissolution of the National Assembly, and elections at the end of October.

According to the Kreuz Zeitung, Dr. Hertz, former Prussian Minister of Finance, addressing a Nationalist meeting at Breslau, said that the monarchy would be revived by Constitutional means.

"A two-thirds majority in Parliament is sufficient, and when the entire nation demands it we shall have a Hohenzollern monarchy," Dr. Hertz is quoted as having said.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman to Fight / Emma Goldman.— p. 5 ; 29 cm. *In* The New York Times. —(Sept. 29, 1919).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

E NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1919.

EDS QUOTA

Members En- to Join.

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EMMA GOLDMAN TO FIGHT.

Says She Cannot Be Deported, as We Do Not Recognize Lenin

Special to The New York Times.

CHICAGO, Sept. 28.—Emma Goldman, following her release from the Missouri State Penitentiary, where she served a two-year term for violation of the Espionage act in preaching resistance to the selective draft, arrived in Chicago today on her way to New York, where, on Oct. 3, she faces deportation proceedings before a Federal Commissioner at Ellis Island.

She was cheerful and celebrated her release in a Michigan Boulevard hotel, where she was questioned about the deportation proceedings.

"I'll fight them every inch of the way," she said. "Deport me? Why, I've put in thirty years of work in America and have an affection for it, if it's only the affection one has for trouble. But do you know of Russia?" And the anarchist, who was born in Russia, talked of Russian factional politics and the influences of Bolshevism, then declared the reason the Americans are not being returned from Russian areas is that they are Bolshevists.

"Will they deport me to Russia?" she asked. "Well, they can't, because they don't recognize the Government there, but if they should I could keep up my work, and there would be a great welcome for me, I am sure."

She became reminiscent.

"But all the throngs that have cheered me and all else are forgotten today," she said, smiling. "Of all the tributes I ever had, the best was on the day I left prison when the women filed past, some sobbing, to clasp my hand.

"What I am most interested in just now is prison reform," she added.

"No, prison isn't amusing," she concluded.

SHOOTS GIRL, KILLS HIMSELF

Chicago Broker Turns on Companion in Paris Restaurant.

PARIS, Sept. 28.—Ernest C. Ladd, who is said to have been a Chicago broker, last night shot a young woman named Adrienne Policloni, with whom he was having dinner, and then cut his throat, dying shortly afterward. Although wounded several times, the condition of Miss Policloni is not considered serious.

Ladd, who was about 40 years old, had been living at the Hotel Continental for six months. The police assert that the shooting of the woman was due to jealousy on the part of Ladd, declaring that the couple previously had quarreled.

MAKE 'BLACKHAND' ARRE

Brockton Police Say Pris Threatened Shoe Manufactur

BROCKTON, Mass., Sept. 28.—Min Thompson, 16 years old, was arr last night, charged with sendi "blackhand" letter to George E. K a shoe manufacturer, and threat him with death unless he left $2,5 designated place. Mr. Keith rec the letter on Sept. 3. He paid n tention to it, but after receivi threatening telephone call ten day notified the police.

Policemen sent to the spot ment in the letter reported that they Thompson lift a stone in the woods examine a wallet underneath in the letter had directed Mr. Keit place the money. Thompson said h seen two men examining the stone had gone there out of curiosity. A days later Mr. Keith was threat again over the telephone, and Th son's arrest followed.

Hears Germans May Emulate F

WARSAW, Sept. 28. The Ga Poranny says it has proof that the mans are preparing for "a d'Ann move" against Danzig.

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MISSES' FROCKS
That Have Been Selling
at $25, $29.50 and $35
Reduced to
$15 and $18.50

These are all up-to-the-moment in styling and material, but have been marked at these low prices for prompt disposal because the size ranges in the various models are incomplete

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Back from Prison, Spirits Undaunted / Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.— p. 21 ; 28 cm. *In* Gal[e?]. —[(Oct.? 1919)].

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Back From Prison, Spirits Undaunted

A Message From Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman

(Since the below article was written, orders have been issued by the American government for the deportation of the two splendid comrades who wrote this inspiring message. The good wishes of Radicals of every creed and shade go with them. May they reach Soviet Russia safely and suffer no treachery on the way.--L. A. E. G.)

Dear Friend:

There are moments in life when one's heart is too full for utterance, and language too inadequate to satisfy one's urge for expression. We are just now living thru such a moment. Fresh on the threshold of the larger life, upon our release from prison, we would fain like to meet and embrace each and every dear comrade whose spirit and thots were with us during our incarceration, and whose invisible hand and sympathetic touch made them the living and ever-present companions of our long, weary days and months. But unfortunately, such close personal contact is not within our power, and therefore we take this much less satisfying method of sending our greetings and love to you, dear friend, comrade, and fellow-sufferer.

Need we say the things that swell our hearts at this crucial moment, or even mention the deep appreciation of your friendship and comradeship that helped to sustain our spirits in the dark night of our past two years? Surely you know and understand. It is the inexpressible blessing enjoyed only by the politicals in prison, that they—in contrast with the ordinary social victim—have an ideal to sustain them, a star of hope and faith to guide and encourage them even in the blackest hours of humiliation and suffering. It is the great cause of the New Life, of the already approaching Dawn, that lifts the mind and spirit of a political prisoner above and beyond the stifling atmosphere and crushing routine of prison life and inspires him or her with ever renewed courage and endurance. But in this triumphant inspiration of a great Ideal, the devotion and loyalty of one's friends and comrades is the greatest single factor, the vital importance of which only the prisoner can realize fully. And so, dear friend, we want you to feel that it was you, your sympathetic understanding, your faith and confidence in us, and your steadfastness of heart and mind amid the present chaos of soul demoralization that have been our main support and source of strength and hope.

And now we are out again, out in the free air and sunshine that feel so good and invigorating, out in the larger prison called the world of which the little cell and the penal discipline are but the reflex in miniature. We say it freely and frankly, with utmost conviction, that both of us are entering again upon the remaining sentences of our lives, with our spirits unbroken, entirely unrepentant— indeed, with a will unembittered by the acid of the prison test, but rather purified and made stronger, with our minds happily unimpaired by the terrible experiences of the last two years, our hearts youthful with the joy of life, of work, of social effort.

In short, to speak colloquially, we are on the job again. Locks and bars and dungeons may stifle the voice, but no power on earth can paralyze our inherent love of liberty. Even in the grave-like silence of the prison night our wills remained steadfast, our minds alive and active. Many thots and hopes we have dreamed, many plans fashioned in the solicitude of the two past years. Now is the time to attempt their realization.

Among the very first of the things we have planned is the immediate effort to aid the fellow prisoners we have left behind. In the Missouri State Prison, at Jefferson City, in the Federal Penitentiory, at Atlanta, Ga., as in every other prison of these democratic United States, there are buried men and women—and especially political and industrial prisoners—whose voices call loudly to us, whose misery we suffer again in our waking days and restless nights. We owe them a duty that society has neglected, the duty of one human toward another, and particulary the duty of helping to restore the political prisoners to comparative liberty.

We mean to concentrate our immediate efforts upon arousing widespread public sentiment in behalf of the political prisoners, thousands of whom fill the jails and prisons of this country, with the aim of securing a general amnesty. In this work we shall also use the opportunity of exposing the brutal treatment and the barbaric punishments that still prevail in our prisons and to which the political prisoners are subjected with even greater severity than the average offender.

Furthermore, there is another work of utmost importance. The government of these United States has now introduced, on a large scale, the Czarist methods of supressing unpopular thot and ideas. Deportation of so-called aliens is fast becoming an established American institution, and if allowed to remain unchallenged by the liberal minded spirits of the country, this imperialistic system of stifling the voice of social protest will become rooted in American life. Deportation is but the first step that will inevitably lead to its ultimate, the complete suppression of popular discontent and free speech by the system of exiling even the native protestants and rebels. Among others threatened with deportation are also ourselves. We mean to fight this new symptom of American Prussianism with our utmost efforts.

These, briefly sketched, are our plans for immediate activity. For this purpose we plan to begin a tour of the country, visiting for the present the larger cities such as Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis and Kansas City. Our tentative program is to have one or two mass-meetings in each city, as well as one social affair, such as a dinner, for the purpose of more informally meeting our friends and comrades. The proceeds of the meetings are to be devoted to the purposes mentioned above.

Dear friend, we know that you realize fully the necessity and importance of our proposed activities. Your aid and cooperation are vital to secure the success of our efforts. We are anxious to hear from you in this matter at the earliest date, as we are planning to begin our tour very soon.

Hoping to hear from you, we are

Fraternally,

Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman

Address:
Emma Goldman,
36 Grove St., New York City.
Alexander Berkman, c/o M. E. Fitzgerald,
857 Broadway, New York City.

The Expulsion of Berger

Congress has decided, by an all but unanimous vote, that Victor L. Berger is unfit to sit as one of its members.

There was but one dissenting vote, that of a Wisconsin representative, who doubtless fears the wrath of his constituents, affected as they are by the work of the Milwaukee Socialists; the House, with that one exception, votes that the Socialist party has no right to be heard.

This is the House that tolerates, without protest, a leading member who said on its floor "a conscript is as bad as a convict" .... But he was not a Socialist, and he keeps his seat.

This is the same congress that accepted as a member the late Timothy D. Sullivan, elected in 1912 while inmate in an asylum, and who drew his congressional pay for a year, until he was killed on a railroad track while escaping from the asylum, altho he was not mentally competent to do anything, much less exercise his congressional functions.

This is the House that has tolerated for years the presence of the unspeakable Heflin, whose pleasure it has been to make foul and scurrilous and well nigh unprint-

Continued on page 27

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Tells of Evil Conditions at Missouri Penitentiary / Emma Goldman. – 39 cm. *In* The New York Call. – (Oct. 9, 1919).

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Emma Goldman Tells Of Evil Conditions at Missouri Penitentiary

Sweat Shop Methods Used to Speed Up Production, Blind Cell and Bread and Water Diet in Vogue, and Violence Common.

Speaking of the conditions in the Missouri state penitentiary, from which she was recently released, Emma Goldman said yesterday that in no other prison in the world could such horrors be found. In addition, she pointed out, prison labor was being used there in competition with free labor throughout the United States.

After acknowledging kindness shown her and Mrs. Kate Richards O'Hare by W. L. Painter, president of the State Parole Board, Miss Goldman said:

"Two months are allowed for the mastering of a task, that is, a trade, yet the persecution begins at once. The foreman in charge is a boy of 21, who took up the art of slave driving at the age of 18. He bullies and terrorizes the women, holding the threat of the blind cell and the bread and water diet over them.

Vile Language Used.

"The vilest language is none too bad for the women, some of them old enough to be the boy's mother. Of course, he is paid to bring results. The only way he can get results is first through slave driving methods, then by actually stealing part of the women's output, especially from the more ignorant, who are unable to do their own counting.

"I want it clearly understood that it is utterly impossible to keep up the required speed day after day. The working hours are nine a day, but in order to complete the task the women are driven to the old-time sweatshop methods of taking work evenings to their cells. In view of the fact that the cells are vermin infected and the overalls and jackets and suspenders the prisoners make are sold, broadcast and have already been handled by consumptive and venereally infected male prisoners, who prepare the work, the results can readily be imagined.

"The contract system is supposed to have been abolished in the state of Missouri. The state is now the employer of 2,600 prisoners. I have evidence to prove that the convict labor of the state of Missouri supplies private business concerns in every state in the Union with overalls, jackets and suspenders. Of this I have personal knowledge.

Will Move for Remedies.

"It is my intention," Miss Goldman added, "to turn over this evidence to the Department of Labor and to organized bodies of labor throughout the United States, who are in the position to remedy this evil.

"Civilization claims to have advanced, and in no country do we hear so much about prison reform as in our own," she began. "Yet what can we say for the state of Missouri when at the head of their female department is a woman in charge of 90 women prisoners who has discretion over their life and death?

"This woman, Lilah Smith," she continued, "has been employed in penal institutions since her 15th year, and has, therefore, little education or training. She is a believer in rigid discipline and punishment. She is really a neurotic, who has no control over her temper.

Often Uses Violence.

"She uses physical violence on the slightest pretext, especially when a particular prisoner is not in her good graces. Not once in 20 months did I hear her address one single encouraging or kind word to a prisoner. Flogging in the state of Missouri has been officially abolished, but Lilah Smith's vigorous slapping goes on.

"There are three methods of punishment [illegible]

of their recreation; second, they are locked up in their own cells for 48 hours, from Saturday to Monday on a diet of bread and water and then expected to begin their task Monday in their weakened condition. Third, they are sent to a blind cell, a cell 52 inches by 104 inches, with an aperture of [illegible] inches by 1½ inches, supplied with one blanket, two pieces of bread and two cups of water a day. In this tomb they are kept from three to 22 days.

"For example, one woman, who is ill, has been sent to the blind cell eight times for various periods because she can not make the required task. Another woman, a foreigner, who speaks very poor English, is subject to temporary fits of insanity. Only lately they confined her to her cell, which was stripped bare, on a diet of bread and water, while she was seized with one of her insane spells. In these United States we seem still to sanction medieval practices on the irresponsible and insane.

Heavy Meal Killed Prisoner.

"The most horrible tragedy which occurred while I was in the Missouri penitentiary was that of a woman who had been ill two weeks," Miss Goldman related. "She was unable to make the task, was locked up in her cell on bread and water for 12 days.

"Thanksgiving Day this woman was brought up and given Thanksgiving dinner of pork and the other stuff, which poisoned here after her long starvation. She became violently ill in her cell and, as we later learned, perforated her intestines.

"I made a vigorous personal protest to Painter. Then the woman was removed at his order to what is known as the hospital, though it is a room with no sanitary appliances whatever.

"She died there in two days, after they had tried to forcibly feed her, though she was already unconscious when they removed her to her own cell. Her death was officially given out as due to influenza.

"Since the death of this woman they do not keep a prisoner longer than three days in the blind cell now. The criticisms of Kate Richards O'Hare and myself have also bettered the conditions somewhat, although I am now convinced that they will fall back into their evil ways the moment Kate O'Hare is released.

Shamming or Lazy.

"There are two criterions on the part of the officials in dealing with the prisoners. If they are sick they are told that they are shamming; if they cannot make the task, they are told they are lazy.

"Often and often the women have been sent back to the shop by the physician when they are barely able to drag themselves along. This is more remarkable because he is not an unkindly man and was especially decent to me. The reason for the indifference to the other women there I discovered during my last days at the prison. He is at daggers' points with the board, therefore he is unable to do what he would like.

In concluding Miss Goldman declared that she had been treated well and that in order to keep the confidence of the prisoners she did as much work as possible.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Statement by Emma Goldman at the Federal Hearing on Re-Deportation / Emma Goldman. – [1919 Oct. 27, draft]. – 3 p. ; 36 × 22 cm.

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Statement by EMMA GOLDMAN

at the Federal hearing in re deportation

At the very outset of this hearing I wish to register my protest against these star chamber proceedings, whose very spirit is nothing less than a revival of the ancient days of the Spanish Inquisition or the more recently defunct Third Degree system of Czarist Russia.

This star chamber hearing is, furthermore, a denial of the insistent claim on the part of the Government that in this country we have free speech and a free press, and that every offender against the law — even the lowliest of men — is entitled to his day in open court, and to be heard and judged by a jury of his peers.

If the present proceedings are for the purpose of proving some alleged offense committed by me, some evil or anti-social act, then I protest against the secrecy and third degree methods of this so-called "trial." But if I am not charged with any specific offense or act, if — as I have reason to believe — this is purely an inquiry into my social and political opinions, then I protest still more vigorously against these proceedings, as utterly tyrannical and diametrically opposed to the fundamental guarantees of a true democracy.

Every human being is entitled to hold any opinion that appeals to her or him without making herself of himself liable to persecution. Ever since I have been in this country — and I have lived here practically all my life — it has been dinned into my ears that under the institutions of this ~~alleged~~ Democracy one is entirely free to think and feel as he pleases. What becomes of this sacred guarantee of freedom of thought and conscience when persons are being persecuted and driven out for the very ~~motives and purposes~~ reasons for which the pioneers who built up this country laid down their lives?

And what is the object of this star chamber proceeding, that is plainly based on the so-called Anti-Anarchist law? Is not the only purpose of this law and of the deportations en masse, to supress every symptom of popular discontent now manifesting itself throughout this country, as well as in all ~~the other~~ European lands? It requires no great prophetic gift to foresee that this new Governmental policy of deportation is but the first step towards the introduction into this country of the old Russian system of exile for the high treason of entertaining new ideas of social life and industrial reconstruction. Today so-called aliens are deported, tomorrow native Americans will be banished. Already some patrioteers are suggesting that native American sons to whom Democracy is not a sham But a sacred ideal should be exiled. To be sure, America

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does not yet possess a suitable place like Siberia to which her exiled sons might be sent, but since she has begun to acquire colonial possessions, in contradiction of the principles she stood for over a century, it will not be di difficult to find an American Siberia once the precedent of banishment is established.

The Anti-Anarchist Law confuses the most varied social philosophies and isms in order to cover with the same blanket, so to speak, every element of social protest, so that under the guise of this single law, striking steel workers, or railroad men, or any other class of workers, may be coralled wholesale and the most active of the strikers hurried out of the country, in order to serve the interests of our industrial kings.

Collective bargaining for the workers is now an admitted right, recognized by the highest officials of the land and accepted by the most reactionary elements. Yet when the steel workers of this country, after a quarter of a century of desperate struggle for the right to bargain collectively, have mustered enough spirit and cohesion, to enter into a struggle with the steel barons for that fundamental right, the entire machinery of government, State and Federal, is put in operation to crush that spirit and to undermine the chance of establishing humane conditions in the industry where conditions have been worse than those that existed under the most brutal feudalism. The workers in the steel industry have expressed no particular social philosophy. They are certainly not on strike "for overthrowing the government by force or violence", yet the Anti-Anarchist Law is used as a means to reach out for these simple hard-driven and hard-pressed human beings, who have endangered life and limb to build up this devouring monster -- the Steel Trust. A reign of terror has been established in the strike region. American Cossacks, known as the State Constabulary, ride over men, women and children; deputies of the Department of Justice break into the strikers' homes, violating the sacred Anglo-Saxon tradition that a man's home is his castle and may not be entered except by due warrant of law, and to add the finishing touch to this picture of American "freedom", the Immigration authorities, the men of your department, take the strikers off secretly and order them deported by such proceedings as I am being subjected to, today, without having committed even the slightest offense against American institutions, save the one that is the greatest crime today -- the right of the workers to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness - a right that was made in America, and not imported by those hated aliens.

A commission, appointed by your department, finds that eighty percent of the wealth is produced in this country by these aliens themselves or the sons of these aliens. In return for this, they are hounded and persecuted

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as criminals and enemies.

Under the mask of the same Anti-Anarchist law every criticism of a corrupt administration, every attack on governmental abuse, every manifestation of sympathy with the struggle of another country in the pangs of a new birth,- in short, every free expression of untrammeled thought may be suppressed utterly, without even the ~~s~~semblance of an unprejudiced hearing or a fair trial. It is for these reasons, chiefly, that I ~~must~~ meet strenuously protest against this despotic law and its star chamber methods of procedure. I protest against the whole spirit underlying it -- the spirit of an irresponsible hysteria, the result of the terrible war and of the evil tendencies of bigotry and persecution and violence which are the epilogues of five years of bloodshed.

Under these circumstances it becomes evident that the naked purpose of all of these repressive measures -- chief among them the Anti-Anarchist law, - is to aid the capitalist status quo in the United States. Vain is the pretense that the safety of the country or the well-being of the American people demands these drastic, Prussian methods. Nay, indeed, the people can only profit by a free discussion of the new ideas now germinating in the minds of thinking men and women in society. The free expression of the hopes and aspirations of a people is the greatest and only safety in a sane society. In truth, it is such free expression and discussion alone that can point the most beneficial path for human progress and development. But the object of deportations and of the Anti-Anarchist Law, etc. is the very opposite. It is to stifle the voice of the people, to muzzle every aspiration of labor. That is the real and terrible menace of the star chamber proceedings and of the tendency of exiling and banishing everyone who does not fit in the scheme of things our industrial lords are so eager to perpetuate.

With all the power and intensity of my being I protest against this conspiracy of imperialist capitalism against the life and the liberty of the American people.

Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Statement by Emma Goldman at the Federal Hearing in Re-Deportation / Emma Goldman. – 1919 Oct. 27, leaflet?. – 1 p. ; 27 × 22 cm.

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Statement by EMMA GOLDMAN at the Federal hearing in re deportation

At the very outset of this hearing I wish to register my protest against these star chamber proceedings, whose very spirit is nothing less than a revival of the ancient days of the Spanish Inquisition or the more recently defunct Third Degree system of Czarist Russia.

This star chamber hearing is, furthermore, a denial of the insistent claim on the part of the Government that in this country we have free speech and a free press, and that every offender against the law—even the lowliest of men—is entitled to his day in open court, and to be heard and judged by a jury of his peers.

If the present proceedings are for the purpose of proving some alleged offense committed by me, some evil or anti-social act, then I protest against the secrecy and third degree methods of this so-called "trial." But if I am not charged with any specific offense or act, if—as I have reason to believe—this is purely an inquiry into my social and political opinions, then I protest still more vigorously against these proceedings, as utterly tyrannical and diametrically opposed to the fundamental guarantees of a true democracy.

Every human being is entitled to hold any opinion that appeals to her or him without making herself or himself liable to persecution. Ever since I have been in this country—and I have lived here practically all my life—it has been dinned into my ears that under the institutions of this alleged Democracy one is entirely free to think and feel as he pleases. What becomes of this sacred guarantee of freedom of thought and conscience when persons are being persecuted and driven out for the very motives and purposes for which the pioneers who built up this country laid down their lives?

And what is the object of this star chamber proceeding that is admittedly based on the so-called Anti-Anarchist law? Is not the only purpose of this law, and of the deportations en masse, to suppress every symptom of popular discontent now manifesting itself through this country, as well as in all the European lands? It requires no great prophetic gift to foresee that this new Governmental policy of deportation is but the first step towards the introduction into this country of the old Russian system of exile for the high treason of entertaining new ideas of social life and industrial reconstruction. Today so-called aliens are deported, tomorrow native Americans will be banished. Already some patrioteers are suggesting that native American sons to whom Democracy is not a sham but a sacred ideal should be exiled. To be sure, America does not yet possess a suitable place like Siberia to which her exiled sons might be sent, but since she has begun to acquire colonial possessions, in contradiction of the principles she stood for over a century, it will not be difficult to find an American Siberia once the precedent of banishment is established.

The Anti-Anarchist law confuses the most varied social philosophies and isms in order to cover with the same blanket, so to speak, every element of social protest, so that under the guise of this single law, striking steel workers, railroad men, or any other class of workers, may be corralled wholesale and the most active of the strikers hurried out of the country, in order to serve the interests of our industrial kings.

Collective bargaining for the workers is now an admitted right, recognized by the highest officials of the land and accepted by the most reactionary elements. Yet when the steel workers of this country, after a quarter of a century of desperate struggle for the right to bargain collectively, have mustered enough spirit and cohesion to enter into a struggle with the steel barons for that fundamental right, the entire machinery of government, State and Federal, is put in operation to crush that spirit and to undermine the chance of establishing humane conditions in the industry where conditions have been worse than those that existed under the most brutal feudalism. The workers in the steel industry have expressed no particular social philosophy. They are certainly not on strike to "overthrow the government by a force or violence," yet the Anti-Anarchist law is used as a means to reach out for these simple, hard-driven and hard-pressed human beings, who have endangered life and limb to build up this devouring monster—the Steel Trust. A reign of terror has been established in the strike region. American Cossacks, known as the State Constabulary, ride over men, women and children; deputies of the Department of Justice break into the strikers' homes, violating the sacred Anglo-Saxon tradition that a man's home is his castle and may not be entered except by due warrant of law; and to add the finishing touch to this picture of American "freedom," the Immigration authorities, the men of your department, take the strikers off secretly and order them deported by such proceedings as I am being subjected to today, without having committed even the slightest offense against American institutions, save the one that is the greatest crime today—the right of the workers to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—a right that was made in America, and not imported by these hated aliens.

A commission, appointed by your department, finds that eighty per cent of the wealth in this country is produced by these aliens themselves or the sons of these aliens. In return for this, they are hounded and persecuted as criminals and enemies.

Under the mask of the same Anti-Anarchist law every criticism of a corrupt administration, every attack on Governmental abuse, every manifestation of sympathy with the struggle of another country in the pangs of a new birth—in short, every free expression of untrammeled thought may be suppressed utterly, without even the semblance of an unprejudiced hearing or a fair trial. It is for these reasons, chiefly, that I strenuously protest against this despotic law and its star chamber methods of procedure. I protest against the whole spirit underlying it—the spirit of an irresponsible hysteria, the result of the terrible war and of the evil tendencies of bigotry and persecution and violence which are the epilogue of five years of bloodshed.

Under these circumstances it becomes evident that the real purpose of all of these repressive measures—chief among them the Anti-Anarchist law—is to support the capitalist status quo in the United States. Vain is the pretence that the safety of the country or the well-being of the American people demands these drastic Prussian methods. Nay, indeed, the people can only profit by a free discussion of the new ideas now germinating in the minds of thinking men and women in society. The free expression of the hopes and aspirations of a people is the greatest and only safety in a sane society. In truth, it is such free expression and discussion alone that can point the most beneficial path for human progress and development. But the object of deportations and of the Anti-Anarchist law, as of all similar repressive measures, is the very opposite. It is to stifle the voice of the people, to muzzle every aspiration of labor. That is the real and terrible menace of the star chamber proceedings and of the tendency of exiling and banishing everyone who does not fit into the scheme of things our industrial lords are so eager to perpetuate.

With all the power and intensity of my being I protest against the conspiracy of imperialist capitalism against the life and the liberty of the American people.

New York, October 27, 1919

EMMA GOLDMAN

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Testimony] Deportation Defied by Emma Goldman / Emma Goldman. – p. 32 ; 29 cm. *In* The New York Times. – (Oct. 28, 1919).

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

LOST AND FOUND.

[illegible] agate line.

[illegible] through Rapid Transit train [illegible] West and 50th St station, gentleman's pocketbook with citizenship declaration and foreign receipt of registered letter and $4 cash; please take $14 but return documents. George Kurdzeyk, 318 Edgecombe Road, 10

[illegible] afternoon, in 50th St, between Lexington and Amsterdam Aves., a short platinum flexible bracelet; reward and no questions asked for return of same to E. M. Gattle & Co., 630 5th Av.

Diamond pendant, containing three emeralds, attached to platinum chain in vicinity Station of Mercantile Express Philadelphia on Oct. 24. Reward returned. Riverside Drive, Apt. 3 E. Phone Audubon 7.

Left in dressing room Lonacre Theatre, Forty-first evening, Oct. 25, gold vanity case and $5 bill. Liberal reward to finder. Department of Associations of A. E. F., no questions asked. Phone Plaza 7568, 375 5th Av.

Tan leather lawyers brief pouch, to be taxicab by party hiring same at 100 Broad to 50th St. and West End Av., 9 P. M. Monday night. Contents have no value except to owner. Liberal reward. 2201 Madison Square.

Pocket case, silver trimmings containing keys, sum of money and a gold [illegible] case initialed E. J. C. Substantial reward if returned; no questions asked. Morningside 1 E. 205 West 72d St.

Friday evening, between 55th St. and Park, Chester, pocketbook containing [illegible] and two small keys. Finder may keep money; [illegible] please mail keys to J. van [illegible], Waldorf.

Fifty dollars reward paid to questioner asked for return of black bag taken from Bus stop opposite Waldorf between 1 and 2 Saturday. Telephone Mr. [illegible], Circle 1284.

[illegible] diamond and platinum horseshoe pin between Delmonico's and Ritz Carlton, or in the Heavenly Rest. $250 reward. Mrs. Wilfrid J. O'Neil, 44 West 55th.

[illegible] cab, at Grand Central Station, [illegible] 25, short bracelet watch, [illegible] Reward returned to 121 [illegible] 57th St.

[illegible] of keys and large flat [illegible] used by U. S. Navy, in [illegible] Empire City track to Waldorf. Reward Lexington 2-3 West [illegible].

[illegible] day, Oct. 18, Pekingese for five-months-old, answers to name of Tom; [illegible] Park. $50 reward and no questions asked if returned to Central Park [illegible].

[illegible] beaded bag, containing a [illegible] sum of money, between Bear Mountain and Tuxedo Parks, valued because [illegible] reward. J. Unger, 500 [illegible] Fremont 6582.

[illegible] Oct. 25, 1919, at Metropolitan [illegible] Hotel Biltmore or between Hotel Biltmore and [illegible] Theatre, one pearl pendant. Finder rewarded. Winsor, 512 5th Av.

[illegible] Certificates National Oil, 1552 [illegible] dated 1915, 1050, 600, and [illegible] 8251. Finder rewarded. V. 751 [illegible] Av.

[illegible] Persian lamb scarf, size 524 a. Paris [illegible] velvet handbag; [illegible] Reward for [illegible].

[illegible] between 52d and 54th Sts., on [illegible] 5th Street Theatre, brooch, [illegible] diamonds. $100 reward if [illegible] & Ballou, 504 5th Av.

[illegible] brown leather portfolio, containing [illegible] books, orchestrations, and [illegible] papers. Liberal reward. Joseph L. [illegible], Room 1502, 1564 Broadway).

[illegible] for return cameo brooch, sur-

DEPORTATION DEFIED BY EMMA GOLDMAN

Anarchist Leader Refuses to Answer All Questions at Hearing.

ASSERTS SHE IS A CITIZEN

Says Removal of Undesirables Is Like Russian System of Banishment and Exile.

When Emma Goldman went before Immigrational Inspector A. F. Shell yesterday for a hearing on why she should not be deported to Russia as an alien anarchist and an advocate of the overthrow of the United States Government she refused to answer all questions on the ground that she was a citizen of the country, and, consequently, that the proceedings were not of interest to her. It became evident at the hearing that her real fight against deportation will be reserved for the courts.

As a reply to questions, Miss Goldman handed in a statement in which, among other things, she said the policy of deporting undesirables was a first step in the introduction of the Russian system of exiling offenders. Through her attorney she declared the hearing was an inquisition into her opinions. The Government put in evidence her writings and speeches, and there was placed in the record the confession of Leon Czolgosz, the assassin of President McKinley, in which he said Miss Goldman's writings had made him resolve to do something bold in the cause of anarchy.

Asked if she wished to reply to questions, Miss Goldman said shortly: "I do not."

Emma Goldman was born in the Russian Province of Kovno in 1886. She came to America when she was 17. Her father became a citizen. If she seeks to base her rights to citizenship on the fact that Jacob Kersner of Rochester, whom she married in 1887, was a citizen the Government will produce evidence of the annulment of his citizenship papers for fraud in 1909.

"I wish to register my protest against these star chamber proceedings, whose very spirit is nothing less than a revival of the ancient days of the Spanish Inquisition, or, more recently, the secret third degree of Czarist Russia," her statement read. She added that the proceedings constituted a denial of the right of free speech and a deprivation of her "day in open court."

"Today so-called aliens are deported," the statement continued. "Tomorrow native Americans will be banished. Already some patriotoers are suggesting that native American sons to whom democracy is a sacred ideal, should be exiled.

"The free expression of the hopes and aspirations of a people is the greatest and only safety in a sane society. The object of deportations and of the anti-anarchist law, &c., is to stifle the voice of the people, to muzzle every aspiration of labor. That is the real and terrible significance of the star chamber proceedings and of the tendency of exiling and banishing every one who does not fit in the scheme of things our industrial lords are so eager to perpetuate."

BAKER'S NEWS CHIEF QUITS.

Newdick Leaves War Department to Aid in the Coal Strike.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 27. — Edwin Newdick, for the past six months the official publicity representative of the War Department, has resigned to accept the place of publicity manager of the Iron and Steel Workers Strike Committee in Pittsburgh, of which committee William Z. Foster, the author of the now-famous "red" book on syndicalism, is the Secretary. Mr. Newdick severed his official relations with the War Department about two weeks ago. He served as news director of the War Department by appointment of Secretary Baker.

The liberal views of Mr. Newdick have been common knowledge in the War Department for months. For weeks before he resigned to go with the steel workers, Mr. Newdick had been an outand-out supporter of the Plumb Plan and a faithful wearer of the "Plumb Button," which little lapel disk on the lapel of his coat attracted much attention at a recent meeting of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, the occasion being one of Glenn E. Plumb's appearances before the committee.

THE TABLE SAUCE

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It makes second cuts more like first and adds to the enjoyment of every meal.

LEA & PERRINS SAUCE

THE ONLY ORIGINAL WORCESTERSHIRE

has been the leading table sauce for generations

AS a wise wife sticks to a gay husband, seventy-five per cent. of our customers stick to us year

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[Speech, at the Kate Richards O'Hare Testimonial Dinner, Gonfarone's, New York] / Emma Goldman. – [1919 Nov. 17]. – 28 p. ; 29 × 22 cm.

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KATE RICHARDS O'HARE

TESTIMONIAL DINNER

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1919

7:30 o'clock

at

GONFARONE'S

179 MacDougal Street,
New York City.

ADDRESS OF EMMA GOLDMAN,

Verbatim Report by
CONVENTION REPORTING COMPANY,
32 Union Square,
New York City.

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ADDRESS OF MISS EMMA GOLDMAN

(Miss Goldman was greeted with great applause at 9:58 p.m.)

Friends, in these trying days, do not let us waste our time on applause, for we none of us know how long we will enjoy the right to speak.

First of all, I wish to say that I hope that you all understand that this dinner is really not in my honor. It is in the honor of Kate O'Hare. (Applause) I have said at the first dinner we had that those of us who are out, need not be honored. Only those of us who are in, should be honored. To speak about Kate O'Hare during a limited time at a dinner is a very difficult thing, especially for me. I have left her only six weeks ago; and the one thing which remains behind when you go out, is the prison. You cannot get rid of that, no matter what you do, and how you try. Therefore, it is difficult for me to talk about Kate O'Hare at a dinner. Should I talk about her as Kate Richards O'Hare the rebel, as Kate Richards O'Hare the mother, or as Kate Richards O'Hare the comrade? -- I don't know which side of Kate Richards O'Hare to discuss. And so, if my talk seems rather jumbling to you, you will understand that under the circumstances I find it difficult to speak at length about one of America's very great women.

I met Kate Richards O'Hare years ago at some meeting in St. Louis, and met her again on another occasion, and then we drifted apart -- each one busy in her

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own work and in her own movement. Just one [illegible] Kate Richards O'Hare was brought to the Missouri State Penitentiary as a prisoner she came to see me, to visit me, and we had twenty minutes together. At that time Kate Richards O'Hare was like most Americans -- regardless of the fact that she had been tried and convicted and sentenced on a trumped-up charge, owing to political corruption and political graft and political jealousies. Kate Richards O'Hare still had the childlike faith of most Americans, that certain things can not happen, and that certain things our government will not do. She said to me, "I don't believe for a minute that the Supreme Court, the highest court, will sustain the sentence, and I don't believe for a minute that I will have to go to prison." It was really pathetic to me, in a way, because you see, I am a hardened criminal (Laughter). The Missouri State Penitentiary was not my first governmental home, and I hope it is not going to be my last governmental home (Laughter). I knew many years ago what it means to have the door locked upon you. I did not feel the same thing when the door was locked upon me in the Missouri Penitentiary. I had gotten used to the door being locked on me so much that it did not matter one time more or less. But Kate believed implicitly in the justice, in the freedom, in the decency, in the liberty of her country, and of the government, though it was not her government. It would have been useless for me to say to Kate, "You are mistaken. They WILL send you to

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prison. They will send you to prison, not because of what you said, but because of what you think, and because of your courage to sustain your thought." So I let her believe till the last minute that she will not have to go to that prison, and every hour of the day during that month, I hoped with all the intensity of my being that Kate Richards O'Hare will not have to be brought to the Missouri State Penitentiary, for I knew what it will mean to her. I knew how it will affect her. I knew the terrible time that is facing her in that terrible prison. Perhaps if I believed in the efficacy of prayer, I should have prayed that Kate Richards O'Hare do not go to the prison, or any prison.

One month later, I saw Kate Richards O'Hare in convicts clothes -- in a checked -- blue, checked dress which we all wore. I remember very vividly, she was brought in the night before, but as prisoners have a way of finding out things even before the officials find out anything, it was immediately brought to me that Kate Richards O'Hare has been delivered to that prison. I could not see her until the next noon-hour, when we were all filing into the dining-room, and though it is strictly against the law -- against the rule to stop or to speak to any prisoner, it was more than I could do -- I could not pass Kate Richards O'Hare, and not take her by the hand or talk to her -- punishment or no punishment. And so I greeted her loud enough for the ignorant, coarse, vulgar matron to hear, as "Comrade Kate Richards O'Hare". Why I was not punished, I will tell you at another time.

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I am not up for discussion here. Kate Richards O'Hare is. Naturally, in the United States, we have such a thing as a Department of In-Justice (Laughter); we have such a thing as a democracy with a question mark (Laughter); we have such a thing as liberty, which is buried - has been buried alive and sunk deep into the sea, underneath the statue, a long time ago (Laughter). Therefore, we do not believe that there are such things as political prisoners. If you want to get the warden of a prison wild, mad with rage, address Kate Richards O'Hare as a political prisoner. They cannot stand it. The very idea of political prisoner evidently suggests to them the writing on the wall, and they are afraid of it. It is like a ghost. It walks when it is dead much more than when it is alive. (Laughter) They don't recognize political prisoners. Therefore, they treat -- you see, in a democracy you treat all alike. You commonize all alike, and you treat them with the same club alright, if they belong to the people -- of course, not if they belong to the other class. Therefore, Kate Richards O'Hare was immediately placed in the shop. I wish I had the power to tell you what that shop is. If any one of you has read Dante's Inferno, I want you to know that there is nothing that occurred to Dante in his most vivid imagination fully describes the shop of the State Prison of Missouri. It is an absolute hell. It is the worst sweatshop that ever existed in the United States. In that shop, under constant pressure, under constant drive, under constant threat from the moment you

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enter it, until yo leave it, the women must work nine hours a day, and must make a task, whether they are young or old, sick or well; whether they have strength or whether they are delicate. They have to make that task no matter what happens. And in charge of all these women, and in charge of all these women, and in charge of a woman like Kate Richards O'Hare, is a miserable gutter-snipe of twenty-one years of age, a boy who got his job when he was sixteen years of age, who has been there five years already, and he is paid to get results. He gets results. He does not actually carry a whip. He does not actually carry the same kind of a lash that is today being used on the peons of Mexico, or that used to be used on the negroes in the south, and is being used to this very day on the negroes. He does not have the whip. But he has something. He has got the prison board to sustain him, and he has the punishment of the dungeon and the blind cell and bread and water for twenty-two days. He uses this club on every woman, and the task must be made. In that surcharged atmosphere, in that maddening rush and hurry and dread and terror of the women, Kate Richards O'Hare, who, after all, comes from middle-class surroundings, who has had comforts all her life, who has had a loving father and loving mother and a most devoted husband and most wonderful children, who has had everything that a woman of her circumstances can get, and that woman was torn away from everything all at once and was placed in that terrible shop, and placed at the machine, and

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was compelled to make the task. But there is one thing, that while the authorities of the Missouri State Penitentiary do not recognize a political prisoner, they are yet mortally afraid of the political prisoner, and it is for this reason that they never dared punish Kate Richards O'Hare once, nor did they ever dare punish Emma Goldman once (Great Applause). As one of the officials expressed it at a fake investigation, "We decided it was not practical to punish Emma Goldman. It will cause too much publicity" -- and they are mortally afraid of publicity. Now, bear that in mind, because I shall come back to this a little later. Publicity is what the prison officials fear, like poison, and for this very reason they never punished Kate Richards O'Hare, for after all she is a Missouri woman, and they are even much more afraid for the publicity in their own state which would be made in behalf of Kate Richards O'Hare, than they were afraid of the publicity which might arise out of the punishment of Emma Goldman. So there sits Kate Richards O'Hare over one of the machines, run by electricity at a terrific speed, and makes her task day after day. But I want you to know that it is impossible to make your task day after day. It is utterly impossible. Women like Kate and myself who had the support of the comrades, who got food from outside, who have money to buy food, who are well-nourished, we could not make the task every day -- and imagine what it must be for the men and God forsaken human-beings that society daily and yearly turns into that institution, the unfor-

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fortunate social victims -- the prisoners who have no friends and no money, and who are starved to death. They have to make the task, and because they cannot make the task every day they are constantly punished, until their body and their spirit are broken. They dared not break our bodies as political prisoners, and they know that whatever they may do they cannot break our spirit (Great Applause), because, stupid as the prison officials are, comrades, they have yet sense enough to know that men and women who are sustained by an ideal, men and women who have the truth on their side, men and women who are fighting for a great noble ideal, of human brotherhood -- the spirit of such men and such women is on fire, and nothing on earth, nothing that the police, nothing that the Department of Justice, nothing of any of these hundreds of departments of state can do can affect even in the least the spirit of Kate Richards O'Hare (Applause). Now then, she works every day nine hours. But in order to make the task, what do you suppose these women must do? They must take their work to their cell. When the day's time is over -- nine hours a day -- they must take the preparatory work to their cell. The work is prepared first in the men's shop; is being done by consumptives, by men infected with venereal disease in the last stages, and that infected work is turned over to the women. They have to continue the job and finish it up. And that germ-eaten material which is sent out on the market, which the working men have to buy and wear, and which the working men have to

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compete with, that work they have to take to their cells and work two or three hours a day extra. As a matter of fact, the work -- the average work-day of Kate Richards O'Hare would be from eleven to eleven and a half hours a day. But when Kate came I told her at once, "Whatever you do, Kate, don't take your work to your cell. They will never dare punish you. If you can make the task, well and good; if you cannot,do not kill yourself. It is not worth while. You have something more important to live for." And Kate does not take her work to her cell (Great Applause). She does as much as she can, and if she can not, and the foreman comes along -- God save the mark, some foreman I can tell you (Laughter) -- he says, "Aren't you going to speed up a little today?" And Kate tells him, "You know what you can do. Report me to the warden" and the poor boy begins to tremble as if he is scared to death when he looks at Kate Richards O'Hare (Laughter). He does not report her to the warden.

Kate Richards O'Hare during the day is the life of every prisoner in that institution. She has to work, she has to do the amount if she can, and if they do not dare to punish her it is only because they have not the courage. But here is the situation, with a woman like Kate Richards O'Hare or any political prisoner. We simply feel this -- that if the other eighty-eight women who have no friends, and who have no support of any sort, if they are compelled to make a task and are punished if they do not make the task, how can we, who have friends

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and support, not at least attempt to make the task [illegible] we knew that we will not be punished, and that was the very reason why we tried as hard as we could for the sake of the other women to do our share of the work. For what Kate wanted, and what I wanted from the very beginning is not to get the approval of the officials or the respect of the officials -- what we want was the confidence of the prisoners, and the only way we could get the confidence of the prisoners and the faith of the prisoners and the love and the devotion of the prisoners was to show them that we do not wish to set ourselves apart, that we do not wish any special privileges, that we do not wish to be treated with kid gloves; and the result was that all the eighty-eight women worship Kate Richards O'Hare. Up to the time when Kate came there, and during my first year of imprisonment, I had a single-handed struggle against the brutality and the prejudice in that institution. When I came there was not one single book that any of the women could have a chance to read -- no books, no library, nothing to occupy the minds of the women. Several publishers sent me books which I circulated, and I found that women who had never read a decent thing except Snappy Stories or dime novels or some other trash -- they have simply swallowed the books that were sent to me. They were hungry for reading. A new world, new ideas, a new conception of life opened to these women. And then when Kate came she began to pound and pound, why shouldn't the men's library be open to the women, and the matron said, "why no. We cannot have the women get books from the men's library.

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If they will get the books, they will write love notes in the books to the men, and God forbid that such things should happen." Well, you see, you cannot blame these two matrons. Both of them are old-maids, and never knew the meaning of love in their whole life (Laughter). They are starved to death for love, and they don't know its meaning, and therefore they are afraid that some of the women will receive a kind word from the men on the other side. But, thanks to Kate Richards O'Hare, thanks to her insistent propaganda, thanks to the letters which she sent out to her husband, and which were published in some of the St. Louis papers, it was finally the successful result that the library was opened to the women.

Now, that may seem nothing at all to you, friends, but you have no idea what it means to people who are sent away, and have absolutely nothing to occupy their minds. It is not that the prison breaks their body, but it makes them insane. They have nothing to occupy their mind with. They have no social vision, they have no ideal. They are just unfortunate human-beings, some of them maimed through birth; others of them maimed through economic and social conditions -- most of them maimed through our entire cruel, brutal machinery of government and of law. And so Kate succeeded through her efforts to open up the library to the women, and that meant opening up a new world to the women. Kate planned to have classes for the women. And I never will forget the wonderful thing that almost moved me to tears --

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and I am not one who weeps very easily, for if one who strug-
gles in the revolutionary movement would have to shed tears,
I am afraid he would not have any vitality left to carry on
propaganda (Laughter). There is a colored woman -- a love-
ly girl, who has a fifteen-year sentence. She has not a
friend in the world. Even if the authorities should want
to parole her, she could not be paroled because she has
30/ no sponsor. The girl's name is Matty Law. She was cell-
ing over Kate Richards O'Hare's cell, and as we were to-
gether we used to hear her voice, and hear her talking.
She heard that Kate Richards O'Hare will open classes,
and she said to me, one time, when the matron was away,
"Miss Goldman, if i buy me a grammar and a dictionary,
do you think i will get education? I do want education
so badly. I never was taught anything." And Mrs. O'Hare
tells her she will open classes. "Do you think if i have
a grammar or a dictionary i will get an education?" And
I told her, "No. I think if you will attend Kate Richards
O'Hare's classes you will get an education without a dic-
tionary and without a grammar." (Laughter) It merely
shows that these women cling to this new thing, to this
new spirit -- Kate Richards O'Hare, who goes into their
life, who has their confidence, who is their adviser,
who is everything to the prisoners.

That is the beginning of real life for Kate Richards O'Hare -- not when she is in the shop, not when she has to make the task, not when she has to argue with that miserable boy of a foreman. But when she gets into

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the yard, for instance, and the women cluster around her, and ask her advice, or get her to write a letter, or get her to tell them about her experience and her troubles, and the hundred and one things that come into the life of a woman who has lived so intensely and vividly as Kate Richards O'Hare -- that is the time her life begins. So she lives a sort of double existence. We prisoners live a double existence. In the daytime, we are just like all common clay -- we are all of the same material -- all victims of ignorance, of stupidity, of brutality, and of greed. But in the evening, when the hour of recreation comes, only one hour in twenty-four, or on Sunday afternoon or on Saturday afternoon, when we can get together with woman -- that is the time that Kate's life begins. Then she is the teacher. Then she is the educator. And then she is the mother to all of these women. Kate Richards O'Hare, when she came to discover that though the State of Missouri exploits the prisoners to the very bones, it does not even give these women underwear, ladies and gentlemen. They are not allowed to have any underwear unless it is sent in to them from outside. What does Kate Richards O'Hare do when the comrades write to her and say, "Kate, what can we do for you?" -- she writes back "Send me five or six dozen pair of underwear" (Laughter), "so I can clothe these women. Send me stockings, send me handerchiefs, or send me candy, or send me whatever you can." Does Kate Richards O'Hare use all these things?

I want to tell you a joke in connection with

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that. My friends used to send me a great many boxes -- five, six, ten boxes a week, and at the end of the week there was nothing ever left, for there are ninety women in that prison, and they are all underfed and all starving. I had rather a hard time at first in prison. I suffered a great deal, and the news was given out to the reporter of the local paper that Emma Goldman is having very severe stomach attacks, because she receives too many boxes. (Laughter). In other words, the prison authorities knew perfectly well that Emma Goldman or Kate Richards O'Hare do not eat the things -- all the things that are sent to them, but they hate the idea that any prisoner should be kind or devoted or humane with the other prisoners. Can't you realize why? They do not want anyone in prison, who stands out either intellectually or in character -- for that is the time when they will lose the control over their prisoners. (Applause) And that is precisely the

5/ reason why the ignorant matrons hate Kate Richards O'Hare. They know that with all their punishment and with all their dungeons, and with all their starvation they cannot induce these women to do what Kate Richards O'Hare can induce them to do with one single kind word.

Now then, among the other things, there are so many things to tell you, but you cannot do it in one evening, -- Kate Richards O'Hare makes it her business to encourage the women, to sustain them, and when they go out to send them to poor Frank O'Hare, who is worked to death (Laughter) in his own position, and in the amnesty work, and with the children -- Kate is now presenting him with

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gifts every week (Laughte./. She sends prisoners to him. When I passed St. Louis, Frank said, "What does Kate mean anyway? I am busy from morning until night, and every other week I get some poor forlorn creature." It will interest you to know that Kate Richards O'Hare sent out a woman who was in the penitentiary three years. She was broken in health and in spirit, and all that she had with her was $5.00, which the state gave her after three years. She sent this woman to Frank O'Hare, and this woman became the devoted person to the children of Kate Richards O'Hare. She is in charge of the household, and no human being ever served anyone so faithfully and so devotedly as that girl by the name of Laura serves Kate Richards O'Hare's children and Kate Richards O'Hare's husband. And yet, these are the criminals, if you please, who should be locked away, and who must not be trusted. She is trusted with money. She is trusted with everything. She even helps in the amnesty work for Kate Richards O'Hare. (Great Applause) She never heard any social ideas in her life. She never heard the name of Kate Richards O'Hare before. She certainly don't know the meaning of amnesty or political prisoner, and yet this woman is now worshiping the very word, the very image of Kate Richards O'Hare. Why? What has she done for her? She only gave her kindness. She gave her affection. She gave her love, and she gave her a home. She gave her back the confidence in herself. She told her, "Go out in the world. Don't mind what has been in the past. Never mind that you are

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marked by the police and drawn into the net. Have courage, have self-respect, and you will see that people will stand by you." That is the work that Kate Richards O'Hare is doing in the State Prison of the state of Missouri.

When I was listening to the music, I was reminded of an extraordinary scene that took place in the penitentiary, or rather, outside of the penitentiary. Kate Richards O'Hare's son came to see her. I am sure most of you have read about him -- Dick, a wonderful boy of sixteen years of age, and he asked permission whether he could not play for the prisoners and for his mother. He was denied that permission, and he went on the other side of the street, in front of the penitentiary, and there at six o'clock in the evening suddenly we heard the strains of music, and immediately, of course, everyone sensed -- we knew that that boy had come to play for his mother. Every one sensed that he must be Dick O'Hare. And I cannot tell you what a tremendous thing it was to these prisoners. It was the greatest spiritual event in their lives, I am sure. And there was Kate -- at that time she had not yet been given the cell next to me -- she was away from me -- and there was Kate -- imagine if you can -- place yourself in her position if you can -- there was Kate Richards O'Hare, not behind wooden doors, doctor, but behind iron doors, locked away as an American coming from American stock, belonging to one of the oldest southern families, having in her family grandfathers who have fought in behalf of freedom -- a cultured and refined

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American woman -- not a Russian, not a Jew, not a foreigner, not an alien -- but your own blood and your own flesh -- there was Kate Richards O'Hare locked up in her cell, listening to the music of her son, and realizing that she is kept from that son for five years -- that she is separated during the most important period in the life of a child, the most vivid, the most impressionable period -- and yet Kate, never a moment did she whince or weep or cry or lament. Not at all. She only felt that if a woman can bring into the world a child who will feel so at one with his mother, who will understand her ideal, who will go and play for her when she is in prison, then it is worth going to prison for (Interrupted by Applause).

I might mention another thing that happened with two children of Kate O'Hare. The two children named after Eugene Debs -- they are twins. They came down to the town to see their mother, and on the way they lost their caps, and when they arrived at the station there was a city detective, andhe thought that they were truant boys who had run away from home, and he said, "Kids, where are you going?" And they said, "None of your business." (Hearty Laughter) They are both ten years of age, I think. "Well, where are you going? You must tell me." "We are going down the street." "Where did you come from? Did you run away from home?" "No sir." "Did you run away from school?" "No sir." "Well, where are you going?" "We are going to visit our mother." "Your mother? Where is your mother?" "In the penitentiary" they said very

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boldly. You can imagine, the detective nearly had a fit. (Laughter) And he said, "What is her name?" "Kate Richards O'Hare" he said. Oh my God! -- that was enough for him. (Laughter) And he said, "Alright boys, come along, and I will give you a feed." And they said, "A feed -- ahem -- with a detective -- no sir. We don't eat with detectives." (Hearty Laughter and Applause) Now friends, Kate Richards O'Hare -- if she had not done anything else in the world -- if she had contributed nothing at all to the emancipation of her country, -- the liberation of her country and the emancipation of her people -- if she had done nothing at all except if she had demonstrated her wonderful motherhood in bringing up such children, she would be worthy of the support and the assistance and the solidarity of all men and women.

I cannot go further to tell you Kate's life, for you must understand that Kate, like many of us bear a very bold front, but our suffering does not consist of the fact that we have to make a task, or that we have to be locked up, or that we may not have recreation. It is the injustice, the brutalities that go on every day in prison -- to see it with your own eyes, to be day after day a witness of man's inhumanity to man, to see how a woman of fifty-seven, a colored woman is put into the blind cell on bread and water for twelve days, to see how another woman is killed -- starved to death deliberately during twenty-two days, to see how a girl who is in the last stages of a venereal disease is not even taken to a hospital, to see all these horrible things -- that is the difficulty for men and women

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with a social vision, or with any kind of humane feeling. And that is the thing under which Kate suffers most. The only way she can endure it is because she feels that her experience in prison will give her strength to come out with more spirit and more courage and more fire to fight the very institutions which grind the working class, and which are at the same time responsible for the unfortunate prisoners in the penal institutions of the United States.

This, in short, is only a very very poor picture of the life of Kate Richards O'Hare. I considered it a great event in my life when she came to prison, because until the time of her arrival, and up to the time of the arrival of a little wonderful child of twenty, also a political prisoner, Ella Antoinetti, I was all alone in the prison -- I mean in the spiritual and intellectual sense. And when Kate came it was like water to a desert wanderer. It was like something that you give to a starved person, who has been starved spiritually and mentally and physically. And a very beautiful comradeship developed between Kate and myself. I think -- in fact, I believe, I owe the presence of a great many Socialists to the character given to me by Kate Richards O'Hare. Some of them even told me that they now realize that Emma Goldman is not quite as bad as she was painted , since Kate Richards O'Hare gives her such a good send-off. We became very great comrades. It is true we did not argue Socialism or anarchism -- we did not discuss political differences. Why friends -- we felt we who were in prison for the time in America now when all the

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imperialistic forces are arrayed against every revolutionary thought, the time of splitting hairs is passed (Tremendous and Prolonged Applause). The time of repudiating the revolutionary forces because we are respectable Socialists, or we are philosophical anarchists, whatever that may mean (Laughter) is passed, because, friends, that is what the enemies want. They want us to be divided. They want us to tear each other's hair. They want us to do out and to say that the Bolsheviki are bad, that the Socialists are no good, that the industrial workers are criminals. But, as I said to a reporter today,-- that if my very life depended upon it, I would not ally myself with a capitalistic regime (Great Applause). I will ally myself with the industrial workers, and with the Bolsheviki, and with the revolutionary Socialists, and with everyone who has a great opinion (Great Applause). I am not so much interested in whether his theory for the future is correct. I am much more interested in whether his spirit of today is correct (Applause). And that is why Kate and I did not argue, and we did not discuss Socialism, and we did not discuss Karl Marx, and all the other good people who have preceded us. We were busy looking facts in the face. We were busy helping the crippled, the maimed and the blind and the unfortunates, and we were busy working out in our own minds some possibility of combining, of uniting all the revolutionary forces in one great revolutionary movement, and to tell the enemies, "Do your damnedest. We stand and fall together." (Deafening Applause).

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And besides that -- besides that, among my many other vices, I have a great vice. I love to cook. I really do love to cook. It is a great recreation to me. I used to prepare many lectures in the kitchen, while preparing dinner (Laughter). And Kate does not particularly love to cook, and she was busy, and she was fortunate always to have some one to do the cooking for her. We are not allowed to cook in that place, but we have, fortunately, hot water. We are allowed to steam things and make coffee, and boil an egg in the water. And so I used to cook. The bars are very narrow, but if you learn the real meaning of crookedness in prison, you know how to reach through the bars (Laughter) by all sorts of contortionist motions, and to pass the food to each other. And so I would pass it to Kate, and Kate would pass it to the next one, and in that way we would feed the girls on our side. And then they developed a machine that comes down from the upper tiers and the lower tiers, and we would feed them. You see, the meals are such in that prison that thewomen have not the vitality to sustain them at their work, especially on certain days when they have so-called vegetarian days. I wish the vegetarians would see such a meal. They would not believe in vegetarianism (Laughter). And then the girls are so terribly hungry at six o'clock-- perfectly faint with hunger, and then Kate and I would prepare fifty or sixty sandwiches, send them along on that dumbwaiter (Laughter). And so we were terribly busy. And then we would take up some article and discuss it. You know, Kate is very keen on psycho-analysis, and when

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when she came to that place, she thought that she could make some tests. In fact, she had hoped that she would be sent there as an investigator. I am sure that Kate has learned since that she never in her lifetime could have gotten anything from the prisoners if she would have gone there as an investigator, because these poor prisoners know what it means to be investigated inside and out, and they don't like investigators. I am not a believer in these great wonderful scientists that are always with a question mark and have this method of saying that the prisoners are degenerates or defectives, etc. Why friends, I was in prison twenty months, and I have not met one single degenerate or defective prisoner. I have met defective and degenerate keepers and wardens, but not the prisoners. We were busy. We were not discussing Socialism. We left that to the Left Wing and the Right Wing (Laughter). In fact, Kate planned one day to send a message to one of the conferences, and I said, "Kate, for Heaven's sake, don't do it. You are in prison -- don't do it. Let them fight it out between themselves. That is the only way they will come to any logical conclusion."

So Kate O'Hare is doing a wonderful work in prison, a marvelous work, which is going to count for the future, I am sure. But nevertheless it is up to us to see that Kate should not continue in prison. It is up to you, friends, to see that Kate O'Hare, as well as all other political prisoners, should be liberated. And here I come back to this powerful thing -- the greatest weapon in all

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the world, more powerful than dynamite and bombs, and all other things together -- that is the fear of public opinion -- that the keepers and the jailers and the law-makers and the politicians have the fear of public opinion. It is necessary to create an intelligent, conscious, wide-awake revolutionary public opinion in the United States. That alone will open the prison doors, and nothing else. How are you going to create a wide-awake public opinion? You cannot get halls -- very few at any rate. You cannot reach the people at a dinner like this, though it is at a popular price. You have not the pulpit, you have not the press, you have nothing. How are you going to reach the people? How are you going to create an intelligent public opinion? It seems to me that an organized amnesty movement should make it its purpose to send its emissaries in every hamlet and village and town of the United States to appeal to the workers, to appeal to the women, to appeal to all thinking men and women; and though I am supposed to be an alien, and to be kicked out of this country, I have more faith in the American people than Mr. Palmer, who is sitting in Washington. I know that once you awaken the American people they will establish their rights. But the way to awaken them is left to us, and the only way we can awaken them is to create a strong movement -- a movement already in existence, which is to be sustained -- an amnesty movement -- and that can only be done by money.

It is not pleasant for me, friends, at my second

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public appearance to ask for money, but I could never digest tonight's dinner, and I never could have a moment's peace if I were to attend a dinner knowing that Kate Richards O'Hare is still in the Missouri Penitentiary, and that Louise is in Colorado, and that Foreman is in Texas, and that Debs is in Atlanta, and the thousands of other -- I could not enjoy a moment's peace if I did not set aside my own particular feelings, and if I did not tell you. Tonight, friends, if you really came to greet me,-- if you came to show me your solidarity, I want you to show it in cash. I want money for Kate Richards O'Hare's fight, in order to free her, and I am going to ask you all to contribute tonight to that fight. It is necessary, to my mind, though I do not wish to impose any suggestions on Kate Richards O'Hare -- it should not be necessary to stipulate any petitions, if you please. She does not want any petitions, but it is necessary to circulate a pamphlet which will set forth her case, and should set forth her position, should set forth the personality of Kate Richards O'Hare, and that pamphlet should be carried into every shop, into every factory, into every club-room, into every woman's home, and they shall be awakened until they go and demand that Kate Richards O'Hare be released from the jail of the Missouri State Prison.

Now friends, in the name of the Amnesty League, I am going to subscribe $10.00 tonight towards that fund, and I would like to know how many more are here who will give $10.00 towards that fight tonight.

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Now friends, don't lose time. I am going to ask for other sums after I get through with the ten. Take down the names if they have not the money, and if they have the money, please let us have the money. We will take checks, but to-day, providing you are not a pauper like myself, and have no bank accounts. The Committee will collect from those who want to give $10.00. I have not yet finished about Kate O'Hare, so don't run away.

(A collection was thereupon taken. It was followed by an appeal for $5.00, then $1.00.)

Now friends, just a minute. Those of you who have not as much as we have asked, and do not like to come forward, will now have the opportunity to drop whatever you can in the hat, and give as much as you can. Every cent is necessary in the amnesty campaign.

(The collection thereupon proceeded.)

Friends, I am sure that you will give whatever you can quietly. I don't want to keep you very much longer, and I just want to say a few words more.

First of all, you will be surprised, perhaps,-- some of you annoyed, that in the appeal I emphasized Kate Richards O'Hare, when so many others are in prison. I will tell you why I emphasized the necessity of getting Kate out as quick as possible. Kate Richards O'Hare is one of the most brilliant and able women in America, and in the Socialist movement (Applause). If she is out, and she makes a tour through the country, she can accomplish in one month more than we can accomplish in

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these dinners in a year. And it is the reason that I want her out as quick as possible, so she should be free, as is her desire, to devote herself to the amnesty -- to the work of all the political prisoners -- to get out the political prisoners -- and that is the one of the main reasons why I am in favor of getting Kate Richards O'Hare out as quick as possible. But there is another reason. While, it is true that Kate Richards O'Hare has wonderful children, and while it is true that these children have a remarkable father, it is nevertheless true that Kate's children are just in the age when they need their mother, and for this very reason it seems to me absolutely imperative that we should concentrate on getting Kate Richards O'Hare out as quick as we possibly can. We owe it to the movement. We owe it to her children, and we owe it to ourselves, that a brilliant woman like Kate Richards O'Hare should be free in order to take up the work of the other political prisoners. That is why I made the appeal for her, and also because this dinner should be for her.

Now friends, the money will be counted, and you will be told how much was collected. I hope that you will agree with me that in your name a telegram of greeting ought to be sent to Kate Richards O'Hare, and to Eugene Debs out of this meeting (Great Applause). I think the Kate Richards O'Hare Committee will see to it. I hope that such a telegram, giving the greetings of the assembly here, should be sent to the two comrades who are still in prison.

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And in conclusion I wish to say, friends, don't think that we love to go to prison. Don't think that we enjoy going to prison. There was a time when I used to think, and say it is a picnic. But when you get a little older and more experienced, and you have had a couple of prisons back of you, you are not so eager, and not so anxious to go to prison. But it is one thing not to want to go to prison, and it is another thing to compromise in your ideas. We have but one alternative, and that is how Kate Richards O'Hare feels that if it is a question of remaining true to her ideals, even if she has to remain in prison, she will remain in prison. But why should she not remain true to her ideals, and why should you not, friends, concentrate on getting Kate out of prison? You need her outside a great deal more now with the new hysteria. I was always under the impression that hydrophobeia takes place in the hight of summer, but I see that hydraphobeia is abroad now in the country, even in the winter (Laughter). Now is the time when all these terrible things happen every day -- people clubbed, people kicked out of the country, people have no chance of redress. Isn't it necessary that we should do everything in our power to get the men and women who have the brilliancy, who have the courage, who have the ability to take up the fight? And therefore, friends, I hope that you won't rest until you have Kate out of prison; until you have her in your ranks, until you have her on the platform of Madison Square Garden -- until you have Debs out of prison -- until you have every political prisoner out

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of prison (Great Applause).

And I will say in conclusion, I have said to a reporter when I was asked today would I go to Russia -- if the American government will consent to the proposition made by the representative of the Soviet government -- I said, "Yes, tomorrow." I would not even raise a finger to gain my right to remain in a country where freedom and independence are daily trampled under foot. But there is one thing, if I have to go, that I shall regret -- that I am not remaining long enough in the country to greet Kate Richards O'Hare and Eugene Debs and the other political prisoners to my beloved city, where the police are so gentle and the Department of Justice so kind, that everyone is treated with kid gloves -- that you are never clubbed, and never handcuffed -- into my beloved city, New York. That is, the time when they are out, and they can take up the work for their country, when I will say, "No more of the United States for me." (Great Applause)

I am sorry, friends, that the amount of money will be announced later.

Friends, I was asked to say that the telegrams which are to be sent to Kate Richards O'Hare and to Debs should also include a telegram to the Leavenworth political prisoners. (Applause)

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TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1919.

PALMER IS SCORNED BY EMMA GOLDMAN

"Smoke Screen," She Calls His Information to Senate—Sent Letter of Cheer to Czolgosz, She Admits.

"A smoke screen" was Emma Goldman's characterization yesterday of the information supplied by Attorney General Palmer to the Senate, in answer to the Poindexter resolution. In this, Miss Goldman's record was given in detail, with particular reference to her activities about the time that President McKinley was assassinated by Leon F. Czolgosz.

"All that misinformation was merely supplied to prejudice my case and prevent me from getting a fair hearing by the Labor Department, and later, perhaps, by the courts," said Miss Goldman yesterday. "However, I am determined to fight the conspiracy on the part of the Department of Justice to deport me, and, if the Department of Labor decides against me, I shall certainly carry the case to the highest court in the land.

"At the same time I will carry on a campaign of education, though this latter is rather difficult, as owners of halls tell me they are afraid to antagonize the police by renting their places for my meetings.

Would Return to Russia.

"On the other hand, I am willing to return to Russia if the offer of the Soviet Ambassador here to provide for transportation for those who wish to go back is accepted.

"The Government's case against me must certainly be very weak if it must use antiquated material like that contained in Mr. Palmer's report. If Czolgosz's alleged confession is enough to send me out of the country, why was it not enough to convict me or even to obtain my extradition from Chicago?

"As a matter of fact, Czolgosz insisted to the end that I had absolutely no connection with the case. He said this to the Warden of Auburn Prison, even after he was strapped in the chair, and when he had been untruthfully told that I had said cruel things about him. He declared then that he realized what I had said about him [illegible] I had nothing to do with [illegible]

[illegible] the enemy who [illegible] ners of a better, nobler and [illegible] life."

Admits Writing Czolgosz.

"I do not retract one word of that," she declared. "I feel the same toward the I. W. W., the Bolsheviki and the Socialists to-day, who are being cruelly used, though this does not mean that I agree with all their doctrines."

Of her marriage, Miss Goldman reiterated that this took place in 1887, and that her husband, Jacob Kersner, had been naturalized in 1884. She said that the rabbi who performed the wedding ceremony was still alive. She accused the Government of revoking Kersner's naturalization to deprive her of her rights.

Harry Weinberger, Miss Goldman's lawyer, issued a statement yesterday declaring that Mr. Palmer's statement was "an attempt to prejudice the public mind."

Hearings were resumed on Ellis Island yesterday in the cases of eighty-two radicals arrested in recent Federal raids. The hearings had been temporarily suspended last week to give those detained a chance to obtain counsel. The immigration officials conducting the cases will forward their reports to Washington, where decisions will be reached.

Urges Union of "Reds."

"Public sentiment will be more powerful in having our prisoners released than dynamite," said Emma Goldman last night. She was one of the principal speakers at a dinner given at Gonferone's, No. 179 MacDougal Street, by friends of Kate Richards O'Hare, who is serving five years in the Jefferson City Federal Prison for violation of the Espionage Act.

She suggested tha tall the Anarchists, I. W. W., Bolsheviki and Revolutionary Socialists unite in one organization, and added:

"Let us unite in one great revolutionary movement and tell our enemies to do their damndest; we will stand or fall together."

Other speakers were Elizabeth Flynn, Dr. Elizabeth Baer and Harry Weinberger.

Shortly after the dinner began, one of the speakers made some reference to the manner in which the Nation was treating the I. W. W. A woman diner in another part of the room remarked: "I cannot stand this," and, walking out, telephoned to the police. A Sergeant, a patrolman and two men in civilian attire went to the dinner room and remained there until the affair ended.

facts that the wife [illegible] claims to have married [illegible] married, and that the [illegible] says was once her husband was never a citizen of this country, although he did obtain by fraud citizenship papers which by court orders were subsequently cancelled.

So Emma Goldman, teacher [illegible] Czolgosz, struggling to escape the dreaded fate of returning to her own land where alone her theories of social and political reform are [illegible] nation, has stopped Mr. Palmer's machinery of justice by throwing into it a monkey wrench which, he explains to the Senate, is no wrench at all.

If Mr. Palmer knows, as he [illegible] to admit that he knows, that [illegible] Goldman woman has no valid claim to American citizenship, and as she has been guilty of offences punishment for which in the case of an alien is deportation, why does he not [illegible] Commissioner-General of Immigration Caminetti and permit the Commissioner to deport the turbulent advocate of sedition? Why?

The Sun.

AND NEW YORK PRESS.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1919.

Again, Why?

Perplexed citizens are informed by Attorney-General Palmer of qualities of the law as he interprets it which would be only whimsical were they not wholly abhorrent. Answering a Senate inquiry why Emma Goldman has not yet been deported, Mr. Palmer explains that she is [illegible] those allegations [illegible] that the [illegible]

Tribune [illegible] 1919

The Real Leaders

Why Do Highbrow "Reds" Escape Arrest?

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: With anxious interest I have been watching for evidence that the United States government, acting with our city government, is moving against the intellectual leaders of the Bolshevists of New York. Thus far I have seen one scintilla of evidence pointing to show that any of the big-headed [illegible] are most responsible for the present situation have been arrested or even [illegible]

The list published in Wednesday's newspapers, giving the names of [illegible] persons held by Justice McAdoo, contains nothing but a lot of small fry, many with unpronounceable Russian names and not one real leader of Bolshevism in New York. Where are the [illegible] and the "parlor Bolsheviki" who have been financing, leading and [illegible] the roughnecks? Where are the [illegible] who have presided at the many Bolshevist mass meetings that have been held in Madison Square Garden with packed audiences, and where are the [illegible] before these mass meetings [illegible] speeches and openly [illegible]

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Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

Clemenceau Urged to Visit Us and Appeal on Europe's Behalf

By EDWIN L. JAMES.

Special cable to The New York Times.

PARIS, Nov. 26. That Premier Clemenceau should go to Washington and appeal to America in the interest of Europe is the suggestion put forward today by the editor of the Petit Midi. His argument is that La Patrie is [illegible]

"We are told that much prejudice but Americans as well, will no doubt be glad to see Clemenceau take a steamship and go over there on a mission in the interests of civilization.

"He is to-day the only great statesman whom America can claim as on a plane [illegible] Lloyd George cannot [illegible] Wilson [illegible] Clemenceau, [illegible] appeals to the American people, speaking English, he can appeal to [illegible] suffering Europe. Let him go to Washington, and [illegible] there in the name of civilization as well as in the name of Europe. It will not be necessary for him to make a speaking tour [illegible] like that which killed President Wilson. A few [illegible] in the right [illegible] will [illegible] to produce the desired effect. The Republicans [illegible] as well as Democrats, and before such an embassy would not [illegible] to end the speech by [illegible] Clemenceau [illegible]

GOLDMAN WROTE 'DEAR FRED HOWE'; HAD FRIEND FREED

White Slaver Saved from Deportation After Anarchist Interceded.

HUNDREDS MORE ESCAPED

Congressman Siegel Blames Department of Labor for the Growth of Red Propaganda.

SEEK 500 FRIENDS OF REDS

Police Work on Membership Rolls Found in Raid—Gambling and Immorality on Ellis Island.

[illegible] the fight against Bolshevism and other virulent forms of radicalism [illegible] efforts [illegible] in New York yesterday, when a great amount of evidence was [illegible]

Before [illegible] the House Committee [illegible] investigation at Ellis Island [illegible] was produced which had been sent to ex-Immigration Frederic C. Howe by Emma Goldman and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, both notorious agitators, who wrote friendly appeals for the release of colleagues under detention there. It was asserted at the hearing that immorality and gambling existed on the Island under the Howe administration and that of 697 suspected or convicted radicals sent there in the last two years the majority had been released. Mr. Howe is to be called as a witness later.

Joint investigation by the police and Federal agents of evidence obtained in Tuesday's raid at the Russian Workers' headquarters in East Fifteenth Street showed that the explosives secreted there were sufficient to do untold damage. Ledgers containing the names of 391 active radicals were scrutinized. Their contents were not given out, but it was stated that many of the men implicated by the evidence were now at Ellis Island. It was stated also that in some cases they would be removed from

Coal Profits 15 to 800% in 1917, Less in the East in 1918, S

Special to The New York T

WASHINGTON, Nov. 26.—The Trea public tonight an official statement containi the income tax returns of coal operators. tance at this time on account of the charges Adoo, former Secretary of the Treasury, o come tax returns of coal operators showed earnings on capital stock in some cases as hi

The statement reads:

MEMORANDUM—Furnished to the Sec by experts of Internal Revenue Bureau as ators.

Coal operators generally in the United S and 1915 lost money when normal depletio taken into consideration. What is meant b item in fixing costs is depreciation of plan cost or value of the coal in the ground.

In the latter part of 1916 all coal compani save those in the extreme West, began m result that the operations for the year 1916 of from 10 to 35 per cent. on capital investe

In 1917 all bituminous coal mines east o made what might be termed fabulous profi being from 100 to 150 per cent. on invested c in 15 to 800 per cent.

In 1918 conditions were not so good i central competitive districts, profits general 30 per cent. less than for the preceding yea 15 to 300 per cent. on invested capital. In 1918 were better than in 1917, the profits i district ranging as high as 400 per cent. on i

Official figures for 1919, incomplete, profits of the operators are less than for 191 claiming to have a really lost money.

CHINA HOPES TO WIN RESERVATION FIGHT

Will Demand the Right to Sign the Treaty on the Same Terms as America.

NEW CHARGE AGAINST JAPAN

Peking Government Says She Is Sending Warships to Quell Riots She Started.

TROOPS SEIZE 52 AS MINE AGITATORS

Regulars Invade a Wyoming Camp, Round Up Strikers, and Take Some to Jail.

ACT UNDER MARTIAL LAW

Miners in Two Camps Vote to Return to Work After Arrests by Soldiers.

Special to The New York Times.

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Sending Warships to Quell Riots She Started.

BY EDWIN L. JAMES.

[illegible]

PARIS [illegible] If the Amer[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Parley [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Japs

[illegible] to sign the Versailles treaty, pending the acceptance of the Shantung settlement. This privilege was denied, [illegible] were similar requests from other [illegible] minor powers to make reservations on various points affecting their peculiar interests. China thereupon refused to [illegible] the treaty unless the reservations [illegible] allowed. Although a position [illegible] apologetic [illegible] text of the American Senate.

Inasmuch as one of the American reservations refers to the Shantung settlement, the Chinese diplomats think that they have an especially strong case in their demand for the privilege of signing the treaty with a reservation to that effect. Their action is [illegible] by the League of Nations [illegible] signing of the treaty.

[illegible] the record of the Shantung and reservation in the American Senate, as I did not consider them pertinent when the reservation was adopted by the Senate. They still have their eyes on the situation in Washington, and they are very frank in saying that they hope the Lodge reservation, with the preamble requiring action by the Allies, will be adopted along with the American ratification of the treaty.

Whether this move by the Chinese gives them the coveted privilege of signing the treaty with reservations or not, they are counting on it to be of great propaganda value in bringing the Shantung issue more forcibly to the notice of the world. They make it clear that without the reservation they will never sign the Versailles treaty.

Says Japan Started Fukien Riots.

The Chinese Peace Delegation issued a statement this afternoon, asserting that the Japanese Government was sending warships to Fukien under the pretense of protecting Japanese subjects. According to the Chinese, the Japanese are responsible for the disorders which precipitated this action. Fukien lies down the Chinese coast south from Shantung.

The Chinese statement, which is based on a cable received today from the Peking Government, says:

On the 16th instant there occurred a

Continued on Page Two.

"BUDDIES," THE JOLLIEST SHOW IN TOWN.

[illegible] treated by the officers were now at Ellis Island. It was stated also that in some cases they would be returned from the immigrant station, but it was not to be deported to [illegible] Secretary Lansing.

[illegible] Masters, [illegible] Airbus [illegible], who was to have been questioned by the Lodge Committee at the City Hall [illegible] of the foreign sources of [illegible] organizations in this country, was excused until [illegible] Isaac A. Malone made a similar appeal for the committee.

[illegible] Secretary of State [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] certificates that [illegible] [illegible] with him to Europe. He addressed [illegible] ultimate aim of the Bolshevist [illegible] to extend their [illegible] other countries.

Dynamiters Pleaded for Man.

David Kaplan and Matthew A. Schmidt, [illegible] of the McNamara case, who took up The Los Angeles Times bombing so successfully with the foreign-born [illegible] in 1911 in favor of a well known [illegible], Joseph Goldberg, who had been their fellow-[illegible], according to letters and testimony before the House Immigration Committee at Ellis Island yesterday.

Kaplan and Schmidt appealed to Emma Goldman, who wrote an urgent letter to Mr. "Dear Fred Howe" in favor of Goldberg just as he was about to be sent to Russia because of proof that he [illegible] engaged in [illegible] [illegible] to Africa. She [illegible] Commissioner Howe, as [illegible] [illegible] to have that [illegible] [illegible] of war, with [illegible] [illegible] to force [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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GOLDMAN WROTE 'DEAR FRED HOWE'

Continued from Page 1, Column 3.

[illegible] to Soviet Russia, [illegible] understand, the [illegible] battlefield, to [illegible] of Bliss. As it [illegible] New York [illegible] It is [illegible] the [illegible] to [illegible] Fred Howe, [illegible] being [illegible] just [illegible] and friendless, [illegible] to what [illegible] state.

"[illegible] cautioned to us by Matthew A. Schmidt and David Sapiro [illegible] may or have heard from Lincoln Steffens, the two men who are on [illegible] Los Angeles for their lives. It [illegible] almost criminal to take [illegible] as said, but I [illegible] to understand [illegible] Republic, like Belgium [illegible] fast.

[illegible] to [illegible] Angeles, a [illegible] the [illegible] compel to politicians. He [illegible] fascist [illegible] He refused to [illegible] our friends in Los Angeles [illegible] has visited [illegible] often, [illegible] to be a [illegible]

I [illegible] but I hope [illegible] something. I know you will [illegible] to a possibility, to [illegible] of [illegible] matter, and [illegible] behalf [illegible] as a great favor.

I hear about you a great deal, even though you are among the high muckamucks to Americanize America. I was rather surprised to find your Political Refugees could take it up. Our hands are full here and we can do no more. We have filed protests to Commissioner Wilson, Ac[illegible] We rely on our liberal-spirited friends in New York and count [illegible] the first to see that this young rebel is not sent to certain death. With all good wishes I am,

Yours cordially,
ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN.

Andreytchine was released on parole through the efforts of Mr. Howe. Another letter on this case was introduced showing the manner in which wires were operated in Washington to obtain the release of this friend of Commissioner Howe.

Lincoln Steffens Mentioned.

According to [illegible] in the files of Commissioner Howe was the following, which was sent by Dante A. Barton, Vice Chairman of the Committee on Industrial Relations, to Miss Helen Marot in this city, in care of The Masses, and turned over to Commissioner Howe:

Committee on Industrial Relations,

Aug. 4, 1916, Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Hele:

Mr. Andreytchine came in this morning. Lincoln Steffens and George West came in shortly after, and we talked the whole thing over. I called up Louis Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor, who is now in charge with Secretary Wilson out of town.

Incidentally, also, the Solicitor of the department, J. H. Benedict, has rendered an opinion, as I told you in my brief letter of yesterday, that under the Taylor decision Andreytchine's contract that he was no anarchist, or believer of what kind, Bolshevist or otherwise, makes it compulsory on the department to send him out of the country.

Of course, we know that it is a rotten legalistic, "cut-eyed incarnation of attorneyism" of the Solicitor, but whether Secretary Wilson will agree to that is a question. Possibly, altogether we can scare him into [illegible]

I think we can feel pretty sure that Fred Howe will continue his parole and also give him and all of us a longer time in which to decide what to do. We find out what Secretary Wilson's final order will most likely be, to put up to him, and to make such a stir throughout the country by our committee's fight and all the help we can get from the N. E. A. and other newspapers and the whole Socialist bunch.

DANTE A. BARTON.

Howe's Letter to Mrs. J. S. Cram.

ing Secretary Densmore and I was turned loose to enjoy the prosperity and freedom of your dear country.

From now on I will do all I can to foster the coming of the golden age for which millions have fought and died.

I remain yours and ever,
For the emancipation of mankind,
GEORGE ANDREYTCHINE

Mr. Howe wrote back a brief letter congratulating Andreytchine and suggesting that he call.

"Evidently," said Congressman J. E. Baker, Democrat of California, "this man was then turned loose to continue preaching the [illegible] of Bolshevism."

[illegible] of New York brought out the fact that scores of Reds, picked up in other cities for deportation and taken to Ellis Island en route, had been turned loose here, on parole, in the custody of [illegible] or on a nominal bond. While the correspondence mentions Howe as paroling Andreytchine, prior to the quashing of the whole proceeding against him, it was shown that the parole or release on bail was usually confirmed at Washington, on recommendation from the Commissioner at this port.

"Is there any warrant in law for releasing a man on parole or on bond?"

"I don't believe there is," said Mr. Uhl. "I have examined the law, and find no authority for it."

"I know that it is entirely illegal," said Congressman Siegel. "I had a good deal to do with the revision of the law in 1917 and there is not a word in it to justify such an occurrence."

Acting Commissioner Uhl said, in reply to questions, that it was true that Frederick C. Howe, while Commissioner, had permitted the free circulation of Socialist, Earth and all kinds of radical literature on the island.

"Was it the desire of your predecessor to make this a place for personal rule and personal government?"

"Pretty nearly so, yes Sir."

"Wasn't this institution conducted in such a manner as to make it a gambling den and a disorderly resort?" asked Chairman Albert Johnson of the committee.

"I don't think I would be justified in saying that, but conditions here were very lax."

"Were not women held here for deportation because of immoral character, allowed to go freely about the island?"

"They had a good deal of freedom here."

"Didn't employes on this Island gamble with immigrants who were held here and win money from them?" asked Congressman Siegel.

"I have heard that report, but I don't know whether it is a fact."

"Didn't the crew of a Chinese steamship lose $3,000 here gambling while detained on this island?"

"Yes, I believe that is a fact."

Ellis Island Report Suppressed.

When Congressman Siegel was asked afterward what had inspired these questions, he said:

"Oh, we learned a lot from the record of an investigation of conditions on the island made by the Labor Department. That investigation showed that gambling and immorality were rife, but the department suppressed the report, in order to avoid having a scandal.

"The Department of Labor is very largely responsible for the growth of the Red propaganda in this city because they have dumped about 500 of them here in the last two years instead of sending them abroad, or sending them to the parts of the country in which they were seized for deportation. If they had acted in 1917, the conditions which were allowed to grow up in this city since the armistice would not have developed. It is due simply to a failure to enforce the law."

Congressman Siegel said that the cases of the Reds, which were appealed in 1917 and have not been decided since by the Department of Labor, seemed to have been held up through some disagreement between the Washington officials and those on Ellis Island.

Commissioner Howe, who resigned after his course had been criticised in Congress, will be called as a witness, Congressman Siegel said.

"This inquiry started," Mr. Siegel added, "when a movement got under way in the House of Representatives to tack a clause on an appropriation bill providing that no part of it should be paid to Howe. Some thought that this was not a good way of doing business, and so it was dropped.

"After I had made a speech on the subject in the House, calling for an investigation, Mr. Howe called at my office in this city, and asked what the trouble was. I told him that we were tired of complaints of the circulation of Red literature on the island and of his long absence from duty. He said that during his six months in Paris he had not drawn his salary as Commissioner, but had been paid from the contingent fund of the Secretary of State. I told him that this absence was but one thing in many. He told me that he was going to resign in a short time, because he had decided to give all his time to advocating the Plumb plan.

"One thing that we found was that,

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something to him. And then what Baginsky tells me, who has visited him often, Goldberg seems to be a decent chap.

I don't know what you mean to do, but I hope you will do something. I know you will, if there is a possibility, to save that poor boy from the horrors of war. Do look into the matter, and if there is anything we can do in his behalf I will gladly do it as a great favor.

I hear about you a great deal, even though I am not in the high councils of Anarchistic America. I was rather surprised to find your name there, but one in your position, I suppose, must participate in a lot of foolish things. I do, however, trust that your fine spirit and good taste will not be overawed by Chicago authoritarianism, with its ostrich head in Attorney Fred Howe and Steele-Post body still. Please remember me very kindly to her. I leave for a two weeks' trip tomorrow which I will take in St. Louis and back.

EMMA GOLDMAN

Mr. Howe, who was the assistant under Mr. Howe at Ellis Island, now Acting Commissioner, said that Doctor Goldman had visited the island while Mr. Howe was there, and had interviewed comrades awaiting deportation. Many other letters to Mr. Howe asking for the exercise of his good offices in behalf of certain Reds were found by the committee in the files on Ellis Island. According to an official of the island, who talked outside of the committee room, Comrade Fred Howe in his infrequent visits to the office paid much of his time with [illegible] who was called there to [illegible]

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn Writes.

[illegible] Mass., July 24, 1919

Dear Mr. Howe:

[illegible]

ten legalistic, "rat-eyed incarnation of attorneyism" of the Solicitor, but whether Secretary Wilson will agree to that is a question. Possibly, altogether we can scare him into agreeing.

I think we can feel pretty sure that Fred Howe will continue his parole and thus give him and all of us a longer time in which to decide what to do and find out what Secretary Wilson's final order will most likely be. It is up to him, and to make such a stir throughout the country as our comrades fight and all the help we can get from the N. L. N. and other newspapers and the whole forward [illegible]

PANTE A BALLON

Howe's Letter to Mrs. J. S. Cram.

Another letter in the correspondence on the Andreytchine case, which was produced at the hearing, was the following:

July 3, 1919.

Mrs. J. S. Cram,
Care of the Colony Club.

Dear Mrs. Cram: This is in answer to your telephone message in regard to George Andreytchine recently brought from Duluth, Minn., for deportation. I find the Department of Labor at Washington has consented to his request to go voluntarily to South America, but when delivered here he was without funds and was not held on Ellis Island. It was understood that he was to secure funds from parties interested in him, and that he would advise this office of the intended date of his departure, so the same might be verified. It is our understanding that, if he does not do this, he will be subject to arrest.

Sincerely,
FREDERIC C. HOWE,
Commissioner.

The records in the case showed that Secretary of Labor Wilson had not been "stirred" as was suggested by friends of Andreytchine, into ordering his release, but that the deportation order had been canceled in the Secretary's absence by Assistant J. B. Densmore, who became prominent later in connection with the Mooney case. The findings of his secret investigation at San Francisco were the basis for President Wilson's attempted intervention in behalf of Mooney. Attacks were made on Densmore in Congress later when he refused to appear and testify before the Grand Jury in San Francisco. The final disposition by Densmore of the Andreytchine case was an order prohibiting [illegible]

Anarchist Thanks Howe.

Alexander Berkman wrote this letter to Howe:

The Masses,
New York City, Aug. 22, 1918.

[illegible]

Dear Mr. Howe: I have no words to express [illegible] for your appreciation [illegible] As you probably have heard, I was sent for my deportation [illegible]

"Wasn't this institution conducted in such a manner as to make it a gambling den and a disorderly resort?" asked Chairman Albert Johnson of the committee.

"I don't think I would be justified in saying that, but conditions here were very lax."

"Were not women held here for deportation because of immoral character, allowed to run freely about the island?"

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"One thing that we found was that,

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Women's & Misses'

OXFORDS *and*

WALKING BOOTS

Reduced to

8.75

Formerly 9.00 to 12.00

These walking boots and oxfords are in various styles. Featured are dark tan or brown Russia calfskin with simulated wing or straight tips, welt soles, military or Cuban heels.

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WOMEN'S SUITS

Women's Tailored Suits

Formerly 59.50 to 79.50

44.00

In various attractive models in silvertone, checked and plain velour.

Four diffe
adjustable
brown, na



My idea of a three course breakfast is

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NEW YORK TIMES. THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1919.

...nd I was ...sperity ...ountry. ...I can to ...den age ...ght and ...nkind. ...CHINE. ...brief letter ...and sug- ...man J. E. ...nia. "this ...to continue ...hevism." ...New York ...stores of ...ies for Ca- ...Island en ...e here, on ...eir counsel ...the corre- ...s paroling ...uashing of ...at him. It ...or release ...at Wash- ...from the ...aw for re- ...on bond?" ...said Mr. ...law, and ...y illegal." ...I had a ...evision of ...not a word ...urrence." ...aid, in re- ...true that ...missioner, ...lation of ...of rad- ...predeces- ...r personal ...t?" ...nducted in ...gambling ...? asked ...the com- ...justified ...here were ...re for de- ...character, ...Island?" ...f freedom ...land gam- ...held here ...asked Con- ...rt, but I

don't know whether it is a fact."

"Didn't the crew of a Chinese steamship lose $3,000 here gambling while detained on this island?"

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When Congressman Siegel was asked afterward what had inspired these questions, he said:

"Oh, we learned a lot from the record of an investigation of conditions on the island made by the Labor Department. That investigation showed that gambling and immorality were rife, but the department suppressed the report, in order to avoid having a scandal.

"The Department of Labor is very largely responsible for the growth of the Red propaganda in this city because they have dumped about 500 of them here in the last two years instead of sending them abroad, or sending them to the parts of the country in which they were seized for deportation. If they had acted in 1917, the conditions which were allowed to grow up in this city since the armistice would not have developed. It is due simply to a failure to enforce the law."

Congressman Siegel said that the cases of the Reds, which were appealed in 1917 and have not been decided since by the Department of Labor, seemed to have been held up through some disagreement between the Washington officials and those on Ellis Island.

Commissioner Howe, who resigned after his course had been criticised in Congress, will be called as a witness, Congressman Siegel said.

"This inquiry started," Mr. Siegel added, "when a movement got under way in the House of Representatives to tack a clause on an appropriation bill providing that no part of it should be paid to Howe. Some thought that this was not a good way of doing business, and so it was dropped.

"After I had made a speech on the subject in the House, calling for an investigation, Mr. Howe called at my office in this city, and asked what the trouble was. I told him that we were tired of complaints of the circulation of Red literature on the island and of his long absences from duty. He said that during his six months in Paris he had not drawn his salary as Commissioner, but had been paid from the contingent fund of the Secretary of State. I told him that this absence was but one thing in many. He told me that he was going to resign in a short time, because he had decided to give all his time to advocating the Plumb plan.

"One thing that we found was that, while it took months or years for the deportation of radicals the machinery works with remarkable speed in cases where good, honest people, who should be admitted, are ordered excluded under a rigid interpretation of the law."

Blankl An Avowed Anarchist.

The committee yesterday investigated the case of Peter Blankl, the leader of the hunger strikers on Ellis Island at present. He was rearrested in the recent raid on the Russian People's House after being released from Ellis Island on the recommendation of ex-Commissioner Howe pending his appeal. The record of his hearing at Ellis Island was obtained, in which he frankly explained that he was one of the number of radicals who had formed a definite plan to set up a proletariat dictatorship in this country, one group of Reds being organized to deal with the police and officials, while another seized the lands and property. This hearing was on Feb. 26 of this year, and shortly afterwards Blankl was freed on appeal on the recommendation of Mr. Howe.

The committeemen were amused in the case of John De Lucca, who was sent to Ellis Island from the Federal Prison at Fort Leavenworth as a "white slaver" and was subsequently released on his own recognizance and has not been heard of since. Howe suggested that the man should be released, saying that he had heard that Henry Ford would give employment to such men.

After their talk with Commissioner General Anthony J. Caminetti members of the committee stated positively that the policy of temporizing with Reds was at an end and that their movement toward Russia and other countries would begin very shortly. Congressmen said that Mr. Caminetti was co-operating with the committee to the fullest extent, and that the responsibility for conditions on Ellis Island was not to be laid at his door because of the fact that he had no power over Howe and no way of enforcing his policy in immigration matters.

Hunger Strike Goes On.

The hunger strike at the island went on yesterday, sixty of the sixty-six Red prisoners having refrained from eating for a day and a half. The critical period of the strike, it is expected, will be tomorrow afternoon, when an elaborate turkey dinner is served on the island to all who will eat.

'LIBERALS' MEET IN ST. LOUIS

Propose to Save Country Both from Bolshevism and 'Morganism."

Special to The New York Times.

ST. LOUIS, Nov. 26.—More than 200 new members were recruited to the ranks of the proposed new political party to be organized next month at a meeting held today. Percival Chubb, leader of the Ethical Society, presided, and the meeting was called at the request of the Committee of Forty-eight of New York.

The meeting did not resemble a political assemblage and there was no enthusiasm displayed among the 500 men and women present except when Howard F. Williams, assistant secretary of the Committee of Forty-eight, told that 93 per cent. of the answers to questionnaires recently sent out were opposed to the espionage law.

"There is no real leadership in America," Mr. Williams asserted. "We are a vast bewildered body of people. We are hysterical. We are more hysterical than the French or British. The people are not partisan, yet we are divided into partisan political groups. We want to get together as American citizens and discuss our own affairs.

"We are interested in the getting of money and of spending it. What we should seek in forming the new civilization is to do the minimum of work necessary to acquire the necessities and comforts of life, so that we will have ample time to cultivate and develop our minds and social conditions.

"The time has come for liberals to get together and save this country from Bolshevism on the one hand and Morganism on the other hand."

The party now has a membership of about 250,000, Mr. Williams said. He expects an attendance of about 700 at the organization meeting to be held on Dec. 9.

Laborite Wins By-Election.

LONDON, Nov. 26.—John Lawson, Laborite, has been elected to the House of Commons in the by-election in Chester-le-Street, Durham County. He polled 17,838 votes as against 5,313 cast for his National Democratic opponent, David Gilmour. The election was held on Nov. 13.



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The Emma Goldman Papers

The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation [Part 1] / Emma Goldman. – p. 30 ; 39 cm.
In The Spur [London]. – Vol. 6, no. 7 (Dec. 1919).
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Interlibrary Borrowing Service, Doe Library.

The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation

(By EMMA GOLDMAN).

[The great apostle of Human Unfoldment, who has achieved considerable improvement in American for her far-reaching propaganda, is about to be deported to Russia. The following essay is one of her earliest American productions.—Ed.]

I begin with an admission: Regardless of all political and economic theories, treating of the fundamental difference between the various groups within the human race, regardless of class and race distinctions, regardless of all artificial boundary lines between woman's rights and man's rights, I hold that there is a point where these differentiations may —— and grow into one perfect whole.

With this I do not mean to propose a peace treaty. The general social antagonism which has taken hold of our entire public life to-day, brought about through the force of opposing and contradictory interests, will crumble to pieces when the reorganisation of our social life, based upon the principles of economic justice, shall have become a reality.

Peace and harmony between the sexes and individuals does not necessarily depend on a superficial equalisation of human beings; nor does it call for the elimination of individual traits or peculiarities. The problem that confronts us to-day, and which the nearest future is to solve, is how to be one's self, and yet in oneness with others, to feel deeply with all human beings and still retain one's own innate qualities. This seems to me the basis upon which the mass and the individual, the true democrat and the true individualist, man and woman, can meet without antagonism and opposition. The motto should not be: forgive one another; rather, understand one another. The oft-quoted sentence of Mme. de Stael: "To understand everything means to forgive everything," has never particularly appealed to me; it has odor of the confessional; to forgive one's fellow-being conveys the idea of pharisaical superiority. To understand one's fellow-being suffices. The admission partly represents the fundamental aspect of my views on the emancipation of woman and its effect upon the entire sex.

Emancipation should make it possible for woman to be human in the truest sense. Everything within her that craves assertion and activity should reach its fullest expression; all artificial barriers should be broken and the road towards greater freedom cleared of every trace of centuries of submission and slavery.

This was the original aim of the movement for woman's emancipation. But the results so far achieved have isolated woman and have robbed her of the fountain springs of that happiness which is so essential to her. Merely external emancipation has made of the modern woman an artificial being,

girls are so willing to accept the first offer of marriage, sick and tired of their independence behind the counter, or at the sewing or typewriting machine. They are just as ready to marry as girls of the middle class, who long to throw off the yoke of parental dependence. A so-called independence which leads only to earning the merest subsistence is not so enticing; not so ideal that one could expect woman to sacrifice everything for it. Our highly prized independence is, after all, but a slow process of dulling and stilling woman's nature, her love instinct and her mother instinct.

Nevertheless, the position of the working girl is far more natural and human than that of her seemingly more fortunate sister in the more cultured professional walk of life—teachers, physicians, lawyers, engineers, etc., who have to make a dignified, straightened and proper appearance, while the inner life is growing empty and dead.

The narrowness of the existing conception of woman's independence and emancipation; the dread of love for a man who is not her social equal; the fear that love will rob her of her freedom and independence; the horror that love or the joy of motherhood will only hinder her in the full exercise of her profession—all these together make of the emancipated modern woman a compulsory vestal, before whom life, with its great clarifying sorrows and its deep, entrancing joys, rolls on without touching or gripping her soul.

Emancipation, as understood by the majority of its adherents and exponents, is of too narrow a scope to permit the boundless joy and ecstasy contained in the deep emotion of the true woman, sweetheart, mother, in freedom.

The tragedy of the self-supporting or economically free woman does not lie in too many, but in too few experiences. True, she surpasses her sister of past generations in knowledge of the world and human nature; it is just because of that that she feels deeply the lack of life's essence, which alone can enrich the human soul and without which the majority of women have become mere professional automatons.

That such a state of affairs was bound to come was foreseen by those who realized that, in the domain of ethics, there still remained many decaying ruins of the time of the undisputed superiority of man; ruins that are still considered useful. And, which is more important a goodly number of the emancipated are unable to get along without them. Every movement that aims at the destruction of existing institutions and the replacement thereof with such as are more advanced, more perfect, has followers who in theory stand for the most extreme radical ideas, but who, nevertheless, in their every-day practice, are like the

[illegible] logical emotion, and cannot [illegible] will see in her, not only man, but also the woman, belongs, the friend, the cultured and strong individuality, who cannot and ought not lose a single trait of her character.

(To be concluded).

Anarchism and Bolshevism.

Our Berlin contemporary, *Der Freie Arbeiter*, in its seventeenth number for the present year, reviews the discussion between Comrades Aldred and Grossmann [Ramus] on the question of Anarchism and the Dictatorship of the proletariat. Says *Der Freie Arbeiter*:

"In England, Bolshevism has a particularly powerful champion in Guy Aldred, the co-worker of our contemporary *The Spur—To Communism!* In opposition to an assertion of Pierre Ramus that the dictatorship of the proletariat is unnecessary, he states that he holds it to be unavoidable, and that Bakunin and Peter Kropotkin also champion the idea of the revolutionary dictatorship. That Pierre Ramus is nettled with the soviet republic because it does not destroy capitalism as rapidly as he would wish. But Rome was not built in a day. He [Ramus] recognises no difference between the soviet organisation of society and parliamentary statism. Here he differs openly from him. Aldred believes that those Anarchists who oppose themselves to the transitory measure of the dictatorship of the proletariat are perilously near supporting the reaction, in spite of their motives being the noblest possible. Our English comrade oversteps himself in his polemic against Ramus in his sentence: 'If abstract Anarchism stands in the way of the social revolution and the triumph of the proletariat, then it must be spurned by every soldier of the red flag.'

"We repeat comrade Aldred's remarks without in anyway making them our own. Particularly, we do not know why Anarchism should stand in the way of the social revolution. For the rest, we joyfully congratulate the revolutionary agitation of our English friends, for, in England, above all, it was highly necessary that the workers should awaken from the bane of nationalism and orientiate themselves Internationally."

In a recent issue of *Erkenntius und Befreiung*, Comrade Grossmann says:—

"In the *Liberator* I read that the Governor of Petrograd is an Anarchist named Shatoff. Shatoff, to whom I am bound by ties of friendship, was one of the most intelligent and most active of the Russian Anarchists in New York. He published an Anarchist weekly in Russian, spoke at all International meetings, took part in strikes and was a member of the revolutionary syndicalist organisation, the Industrial

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This was the original aim of the movement for woman's emancipation. But the results so far achieved have isolated woman and have robbed her of the fountain springs of that happiness which is so essential to her. Merely external emancipation has made of the modern woman an artificial being, who reminds one of the products of French arboriculture with its arbesque trees and shrubs—pyramids, wheels and wreaths; anything, except the forms which would be reached by the expression of her own inner qualities. Such artificially grown plants of the female sex are to be found in large numbers, especially in the so-called intellectual sphere of our life.

Liberty and equality for woman! What hopes and aspirations these words awakened when they were first uttered by some of the noblest and bravest souls of those days. The sun in all his light und glory was to rise upon a new world; in this world woman was to be free to direct her own destiny, an aim certainly worthy of the great enthusiasm, courage, perseverance and ceaseless effort of the tremendous host of pioneer men and women, who staked everything against a world of prejudice and ignorance.

My hopes also move towards that goal, but I insist that the emancipation of woman, as interpreted and practically applied to-day, has failed to reach that great end. Now, woman is confronted with the necessity of emancipating herself from emancipation, if she really desires to be free. This may sound paradoxical, but is, nevertheless, only too true.

What has she achieved through her emancipation? Equal suffrage in a few states. Has that purified our political life, as many well-meaning advocates have predicted? Certainly not. Incidentally, it is really time that persons with plain, sound judgment should cease to talk about corruption in politics in a boarding-school tone. Corruption of politics has nothing to do with the morals or the laxity of morals of various political personalities. Its cause is altogether a material one. Politics is the reflex of the business and industrial world, the mottoes of which are: "to take is more blessed than to give"; "buy cheap and sell dear"; "one soiled hand washes the other." There is no hope even that woman, with her right to vote, will ever purify politics.

Emancipation has brought woman economic equality with man; that is, she can choose her own profession and trade, but as her past and present physical training has not equipped her with the necessary strength to compete with man, she is often compelled to exhaust all her energy, use up her vitality and strain every nerve in order to reach the market value. Very few ever succeed, for it is a fact that women doctors, lawyers, architects and engineers are neither met with the same confidence as their male colleagues, nor do they receive equal remuneration. And those that do reach that enticing equality generally do so at the expense of their physical and psychical well-being. As to the great mass of working girls and women, how much independence is gained if the narrowness and loss of freedom of the home are exchanged for the [illegible], and lack of freedom of the factory, department store, or office? In addition to the burden of household duties is laid the heavy expense of [illegible] dreary dismal, uninviting—after a day's hard work. Economic independence! No wonder that hundreds of

[illegible] walk of life—teachers, physicians, lawyers, engineers, etc., who have to make a dignified, straightened and proper appearance, while the inner life is growing empty and dead.

The narrowness of the existing conception of woman's independence and emancipation; the dread of love for a man who is not her social equal; the fear that love will rob her of her freedom and independence; the horror that love or the joy of motherhood will only hinder her in the full exercise of her profession—all these together make of the emancipated modern woman a compulsory vestal, before whom life, with its great clarifying sorrows and its deep, entrancing joys, rolls on without touching or gripping her soul.

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That such a state of affairs was bound to come was foreseen by those who realized that, in the domain of ethics, there still remained many decaying ruins of the time of the undisputed superiority of man; ruins that are still considered useful. And, which is more important a goodly number of the emancipated are unable to get along without them. Every movement that aims at the destruction of existing institutions and the replacement thereof with such as are more advanced, more perfect, has followers who in theory stand for the most extreme radical ideas, but who, nevertheless, in their everyday practice, are like the next best Philistine, feigning respectability and clamouring for the good opinion of their opponents. There are, for example, Socialists, and even Anarchists, who stand for the idea that property is robbery, yet who will grow indignant if anyone owe them the value of a half-dozen pins.

The same Philistine can be found in the movement for woman's emancipation. Yellow journalists and milk and water literateurs have painted pictures of the emancipated woman that make the hair of the good citizen and his dull companion stand up on end. Every member of the woman's rights movement was pictured as a George Sand in her absolute disregard of morality. Nothing was sacred to her. She had no respect for the ideal relation between man and woman. In short, emancipation stood only for a reckless life of lust and sin; regardless of society, religion and morality. The exponents of woman's rights were highly indignant at such misrepresentation, and lacking humor, they exerted all their energy to prove that they were not at all as bad as they were painted, but the very reverse. Of course, as long as woman was the slave of man, she could not be good and pure, but now that she was free and independent she would prove how good she could be and how her influence would have a purifying effect on all institutions in society. True, the movement for woman's rights has broken many old fetters, but it has also established new ones. The great movement of *true* emancipation has not met with a great race of woman, who could look liberty in the face. Their narrow puritanical vision banished man, as a disturber and doubtful character, out of their emotional life. Man was not to be tolerated at any price, except perhaps as the father of a child, since a child could not very well come to life without a father. Fortunately, the most rigid puritanism never will be strong enough to kill the innate craving for motherhood. But woman's freedom is closely allied with man's freedom, and many of my so-called emancipated sisters seem to overlook the fact that a child born in freedom needs the love and devotion of each human being about him, man as well as woman. Unfortunately, it is this narrow conception of human relations that has brought about a great tragedy in the lives of the modern man and woman.

About fifteen years ago appeared a work from the pen of the brilliant Norwegian writer, Laura Marholm, called "Woman, a Character Study." She was one of the first to call attention to the emptiness and narrowness of the existing conception of woman's emancipation and its tragic effect upon the inner life of woman. In her work she speaks of the fate of several gifted women of international fame: the genius, Eleonora Duse; the great mathematician and writer, Sonya Kovalevskaia; the artist and poet-nature, Marie Bashkirseff, who died so young. [illegible] of such extraordinary mentality runs a marked trail of unsatisfied craving for a full, rounded, complete and beautiful life; and the unrest and loneliness re-

contemporary *The Spur—To Communism!* In opposition to an assertion of Pierre Ramus that the dictatorship of the proletariat is unnecessary, he states that he holds it to be unavoidable, and that Bakunin and Peter Kropotkin also champion the idea of the revolutionary dictatorship. That Pierre Ramus is nettled with the soviet republic because it does not destroy capitalism as rapidly as he would wish. But Rome was not built in a day. He [Ramus] recognises no difference between the soviet organisation of society and parliamentary statism. Here he differs openly from him. Aldred believes that those Anarchists who oppose themselves to the transitory measure of the dictatorship of the proletariat are perilously near supporting the reaction, in spite of their motives being the noblest possible. Our English comrade oversteps himself in his polemic against Ramus in his sentence: 'If abstract Anarchism stands in the way of the social revolution and the triumph of the proletariat, then it must be spurned by every soldier of the red flag.'

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"At the outbreak of the Revolution, he was one of the first to go to Russia. The correspondent of the *Liberator* was very much surprised at finding him in the post of a governor."

Grossmann reproduces Shatoff's explanation that, so long as the entente is endeavouring to destroy the Russian Revolution by force of arms, he is willing to co-operate with the Bolsheviks to defend the proletarian Republic. But when the counter-revolution has been crushed, Shatoff and his Anarchist comrades will oppose the Bolsheviks, in order to create a truly social and anarchistic revolution.

Commenting on this attitude, the editor of our Vienna contemporary says:

"With this position, which our Russian comrades adopt, we feel ourselves to be fully in harmony. As long as the 'Communists' have to fight the bourgeois, and to protect themselves against their social-democratic 'comrades,' we are with them. But we will not allow ourselves to be blinded. We will never deny our principles. And we will never agree to call that which the Bolsheviks are actually achieving, 'Communism,' since it is nothing but State-Capitalism, and must be opposed unquestionably if the purity of the Socialistic idea is to be preserved, and not deemed responsible for all the frightfulness which the 'Communists' perpetrate in its name."

Glasgow Anarchist Group.

13 Burnbank Gardens, W.

Let us not be ashamed to speak what we are not ashamed to think.—Montaigne.

The Hall, 9 Watson Street.

Sun., Dec. 21, Tues., Dec. 23.
Glasgow Green,
Sun., Dec. 21, 2.30 p.m.

George Hardy,
I.L.P. Hall, Canning Street, Bridgeton,
Fri., Dec. 12: "The One Big Union."

Charles B. Roberts,
Sunday, Dec. 14,
2.30 p.m., Co-op Hall, Hume Street, Clydebank.
6.45 p.m., The Hall, 9 Watson Street (near St. George's Cross).

Week Night Meetings,
Tues., Dec. 16: Watson Street Hall.
Wed., Dec. 17: Lesser Town, Rutherglen.
Thurs. and Fri.: Watch local announcements.

H. Sara,
Sun., Dec. 28, 1919 and Jan. 4, 1920.
Glasgow Green, 2.30 p.m.
The Hall, 9 Watson Street, 6.30 p.m.

W. Gallacher,
Sun., Jan. 11, 1920.
The Hall, 9 Watson Street.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Asserts She Will Fight Deportation / Emma Goldman.—29 cm. *In* The World. —(Dec. 1, 1919).

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Scrapbook, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

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EMMA GOLDMAN ASSERTS SHE WILL FIGHT DEPORTATION

Anarchist Tells Meeting Which Subscribes $5,000 to Aid Her That She Will Carry Case to the Highest Court.

SAYS SHE WOULD GO IF ACTION WERE DROPPED.

Declares Government Won't Free Radicals Because It Is Afraid They Would Tell About Conditions in Prisons.

(Special to The World.)

CHICAGO, Nov. 30.—Emma Goldman will put up a hard fight to stay in this country.

"The country is not all that I wish it to be, but I am going to fight to stay here," she said to-day.

After a speech to a big crowd of radicals in Carmen's Hall, in which $5,000 was taken in to help her fight, she said:

"It is up to you workingmen to demand that this Government release the political and other prisoners, for the Government is not going to be gracious and let them go. They are afraid that the prisoners might tell the truth about conditions in the prison."

The crowd roared in sympathy.

The Goldman woman told reporters she intends to fight with every means in her power and the power of friends against deportation, saying that a court fight will be started soon.

"I shall take my fight to the highest court, for I expected this decision," she said. "I will go back if they drop these deportation charges and let me pay my own expenses and go the way I want to go.

"If they want the Russians to go back why didn't they accept the Bolshevist Ambassador's offer to furnish ships and money to take them back? I think they are afraid if [illegible] all over [illegible] the land of the free and [illegible]

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Two pioneers of international peace and freedom. In German] Zwei Pioniere der Friedens–und Freiheits–Internationale / Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.– pp. 2-3 ; 30 cm. *In* Erkenntnis und Befreiung [Bonn]. – no. 6 (Dec. 1, 1919).

Obtained from the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Bonn, Germany.

Ungarn ihrer Gesinnung nach zu geschlossenem Protest gegen dieses namenlose, grauenhafte Mordsystem, gegen diese Kapitalisten, Exploiteure, reaktionären Offiziere und ähnliches Gesindel, das sich bei Besitzergreifung und Beschützung der Räterepublik Ungarn gemeldet, ist BUDAPEST und ganz Ungarn besetzt.

Tausende von Arbeitern sind von diesen blutigen Schurken, die sich schon sogenannte Kommunisten nennen, bereits ermordet worden, täglich fallen neue Opfer, das Handwerk dieser Bestien hat goldenen Boden bekommen.

Wir protestieren aus tiefen Gefühlen unserer Menschlichkeit und proletarischen Klassensolidarität heraus gegen die Mördertaktik des ungarischen Staates!

Wir rufen auch die anarchistischen Kameraden der ganzen Welt zum leidenschaftlichen Protest gegen die aus dem tierisch-brutalen Klassengegensatz heraus entstandenen Unmenschlichkeiten auf! Wir alle, wo wir auch leben, sind morgen in Gefahr, dasselbe zu erleiden, wie die sozialistischen Arbeiter Ungarns. Morgen jetzt vielleicht Oesterreich oder Deutschland, das klassische Land der Richter und Henker, oder irgend eines der anderen Länder!

Zugleich aber, mit diesem Protest gegen die ungarische, infame Konterrevolution, verweisen wir auch die Bolschewiken und „Kommunisten" auf das

Fehlerhafte und absolut Irrige

ihrer eigenen Gewalt- und Machtmethoden. Denn, wenn nach einer Meldung vom 27. Dezember in Petersburg siebzig Verschwörer gegen die Sowjetregierung standrechtlich erschossen worden sind, so ist dies nicht mehr noch minder als eine Drachensaat, deren Früchte wir in Ungarn aufgehen sehen!

Nichts ist heiliger als das Menschenleben.

Nieder mit der Todesstrafe durch jeglichen Staat!

Nicht die Sache der Freiheit, nur die der Herrschaft bedarf als ihres Mittels des Mordes.

Für den „Bund herrschaftsloser Sozialisten": Das Aktionskomitée.

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und Geist muß gesagt werden, daß kein Mord gerecht sein kann, nur die Verunmöglichung jedes Mordes. Die Damaskierung des neuen Lebens in Frieden und Menschenwürde bereiten kann und wird Proletarier waren es, die im Auftrage Marlohs gemordet, Proletarier, die im Auftrage der Terroristen Budapests und ihrer Hintermänner gemordet haben. Proletarier sind es, die gegenwärtig im Dienste der ungarischen Gegenrevolution [illegible] Das Gesetz der Gewalt!

Auch sie wollen den Mord! Aber der Mord ist die Gewalt. Und es ist nicht anders, als bis die Bedingungen zu jener Gewaltlosigkeit gekommen, die allein bestehen kann, jeden Menschen zu heben und nicht [illegible] Mittel zu haben. Wenn die Revolution, die nach Entwicklung strebende Kategorie zu diesem Ruf des Erhaltens gezwungen hat, daß sie verfinden Vernichtung aller Mordwerkzeuge Beseitigung aller Regierungsposten, Schließung ihrer Kaufhäuser und Umwandlung derselben in Hallen und Säle des geistigen und manuellen Schaffens die Gesamtentwaffnung der Gesellschaft und ihre Neuvereinigung auf freier Basis der allem zum Vorteil gereichenden sozialen Liebe, treuer einschaffens- dann werden sowohl die Marlohs als auch die Budapester Terroristen unmöglich geworden sein, weil es keinen und keine geben wird, die sie brauchen können, um sich an der Macht zu erhalten; einfach deshalb, weil es keine Macht mehr geben wird. Aber es wird auch keine Gegenrevolution mehr geben können, denn die Revolution wird siegen, nicht indem sie Macht erobert und mittels dieser mordet, sondern indem sie die Macht zerstört und ein neues, besseres, schöneres Leben für die Gesamtheit schafft.

P. R.

Zwei Pioniere der Friedens- und Freiheits-Internationale.

Emma Goldman und Alexander Berkman.

VORBEMERKUNG

Zu unserer großen Freude brachte uns die Post endlich wieder authentische Mitteilungen unserer alten, in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika den Freiheitskampf unseres Ideals vertretenden Freunde und Vorkämpfer: Emma Goldman und Alexander Berkman haben nach über zweijähriger Gefängnishaft, die sie wegen ihrer aktiven antikriegerischen Haltung bei Ausbruch des Interventionskrieges Amerikas während des Weltenmordens zu erdulden hatten, das Gefängnis verlassen und sind in den Kreis unserer Bewegung zurückgekehrt. Wir grüßen sie in brüderlicher Solidarität und in achtungsvoller Freundschaft ob ihrer prinzipiell aufrechten Haltung, die sie während des ganzen Weltkrieges bewahrt haben!

Wo in diesem so viel und vieles versagt hat, ist dies keine Selbstverständlichkeit und muß besonders nachdrücklich hervorgehoben werden. Allerdings gerade von diesen beiden prachtvollen Menschen und Kämpfertypen haben wir nie anderes erwarten können. Die Zeit wird kommen, wo wir unseren Lesern den über dreißig Jahre umfassenden, in manchen Phasen geradezu wundervoll romantischen Freiheits- und Befreiungskampf dieses Kameraden- und Freundespaares mitteilen werden, deren Freundschaftsbund von einer tiefen historischen Bedeutung für die amerikanische Arbeiter- und anarchistische Bewegung geworden ist. Heute sei nur so viel gesagt, daß das Leben und Ringen dieser Beiden zu den glanzvollsten Blättern der Geschichte des menschlichen Befreiungskampfes überhaupt gehört.

Kaum aus dem Gefängnis entlassen, obwohl beide in geschwächtem Gesundheitszustand, war es für sie nur selbstverständlich, den Kampf aufs neue wiederaufzunehmen. Sie haben nun nach zwei Fronten zu führen gehabt: erstens gegen den Versuch der amerikanischen Regierung, sie zu deportieren, zweitens um die Allgemeininteressen der weltlichen Sache zu wahren, die in Amerika aufs ärgste bedroht erschienen

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Beton des Hinterlandes.

...es Anarchisten im Weltkriege
...re Roman.

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...n sich die Herren, d... nis der entretende Lehr... rsch... als er den schwind... ...t kam, — „aber ... die ...e selbst zu sorg... ...r.

„Na, wir werden ... ...

...gewünscht, herge... ...ch ... Sie wir selbst auch noch ...ses Verfluchten Hasses ...ne ein Haftbefe... ...hl, denn wer ... ...

...zum Bei...

„... ...der Staat ist ... ...staat, bin ... ...s Gewalt, als ... ...Anarchist. Wie ... ...Vater ... ...nicht, daß ... ...sondern auch ... ...

kurz ein Gewaltmensch sein muß. Anarchismus ist Gewaltlosigkeit".

„Wirklich? Dann müßten wir doch heute schon den Anarchismus haben, denn mehr Gewalt als gegenwärtig können wir unmöglich bekommen. Da aber Anarchismus ein Zustand der Herrschaftslosigkeit ist, wir jedoch unter der Herrschaft eines Staates leben, kann dieser heutige Zustand auf keinen Fall die Anarchie sein".

„Sind Anarchisten keine Menschen?" fragte er noch, amüsiert lächelnd, und wie in einem Triumph hinzu: „Hat nicht ein solch verdammter Anarchist unsere unglückliche Kaiserin ermordet? War das kein Anarchist?"

„Nein", erwiderte ich dem Lucchesi war in der Verübung seiner Tat ein Verbrecher, aber kein Anarchist, denn Anarchismus ist Gewaltlosigkeit. Nicht der Anarchismus ist für Lucchenis Tat verantwortlich sondern jene unseligen sozialen Zustände, die ihn zu einem Unglücklichen und dann zum Verbrecher machten. Es sind [illegible] unselige Verhältnisse, die Menschen irgend einer Partei — Monarchisten, Republikaner, Demokraten, Liberale, Patrioten und Katholiken, wie Sozialisten, Leute, sie alle [illegible] zu der [illegible] Attentäter [illegible] Aber [illegible] alle die vorgenannten Parteien die [illegible] diejenige Anmaßung [illegible] Abtötung [illegible] Vergewaltigung [illegible] Anmaßung [illegible] jede Gewaltsamkeit, sowohl die Staats-

„Waren vielleicht die serbischen Königsmörder im Jahre 1903 Anarchisten? Es waren doch Offiziere, Royalisten, erklärte Monarchisten, die die Königin Draga in scheußlichster Weise hingeschlachtet haben", mischte sich mein lieber Freund M. hilfsbereit in das Gespräch.

„Ich kann mir einen Anarchisten, der gegen die Gewalt ist, nicht recht vorstellen," erwiderte betroffen der Feldwebel. „Wenn Sie gegen die Gewalt sind, dann sind Sie eben gar kein Anarchist", meinte er zu mir gewandt.

„O ja, ich bin Anarchist, denn ich will die Gesellschaft ohne Staat. Aber gestatten Sie nur, daß ich Ihnen im Nu zeige, wie unsinnig es ist, dem Anarchisten Gewalt und Terrorismus zu unterstellen. Wissen Sie, wer der größte Terrorist ist?"

„Der Anarchist," antwortete er bornierl.

„Nein, nicht getroffen! Der größte Terrorist ist der Staat! Und es beweist, daß Sie mit Scheuklappen umherlaufen, wenn Sie das nicht sehen, nicht erkennen"

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„Wie können Sie so etwas behaupten", fiel Pallek ihm ins. „Der Staat — der Staat ist unsere Schutzwehr vor jeder Gewalt, der Staat unterdrückt den Terror usw — und ohne Staat, da gäbe es ein schönes Chaos". Dabei legte er die Hand auf den Knauf seines langen Säbels.

„Was Ihnen spricht Herr Feldwebel, die Gewöhnung an jene Gedankenlosigkeit, deren

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Lieber Freund

Es gibt Augenblick... Herz zu voll ist, um der ...laden und die Sprache ... den Drang nach Aus... kommen. Einen solchen gerade jetzt. Neuerdings erweiterten Lebens, nach dem Gefängnis, wünden jedem unserer Kameraden nimmt, jeden gehegten ... und Gedanken mit uns ... Linkerkerung und dessen sympathisierende Berührung körperlich mit uns verwebt sein lassen, oden Tage haben. Allein solch eng... steht unglücklicherweise ... und deshalb ergreifen wir ... befriedigende Methode, ... Kamerad, und Gefährte ... Grüße und Liebe zu ent...

Brauchen wir viel ... sprechen, die unser Her... Moment erfüllen oder au... aufrichtige Würdigung, ... schaft und Kameradsch... es uns ermöglicht hat, ... zuerhalten in den finste... zwei Jahre? Gewiß, Sie ... dies ohnehin. Es ist da... das nur die politischen ... beglückend empfinden ... Gegensatz zu dem gew... Verhältnisse — ein sie... sitzen, einen Hoffnungs... sie führt und selbst in ... der Demütigung und d... ist die große Sache d... lebens, der schon heraf... die Verstand und Geis... genen emporhebt und ... Atmosphäre und zeitma... langnislebens gelangen ... wie die Gefangene mit ... Mut und mit Ausdauer ... dieser triumphierenden ... einem großen Ideal bild... Treue der Freunde und

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...emals solch ein entsetzl... ...ches Unheil über die... ...en Krieg es tut? — ... die organisierte Gewa... ...rbrechlichsten Betätigu... ...en Staat Krieg führen ... daß Staat und Gewalt ...

„Aber Krieg, das ... ist doch notwendig!"

„Da haben Sie es: ... Selbstmäßigkeit der G... ...ser sozialsten Form! ... ...ein Krieg ist nicht ... ...rer Menschen; für ... ...möglich, weil diese ... ...ist dem tierischen Ni... ...entfesselter Menschen v... ...ist für jene notwendig, di... ...der Herrschaft muß ... ...Gemeinschaft ringen, da... ...Ja, jeder Krieg ist ... ...aus der Urbes... ...ngen der Mensch...

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Two pioneers of international peace and freedom. In German] Zwei Pioniere der Friedens–und Freiheits–Internationale / Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. – pp. 2-3 ; 30 cm. *In* Erkenntnis und Befreiung [Bonn]. – no. 6 (Dec. 1, 1919).

Obtained from the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Bonn, Germany.

Emma Goldman sowohl als Alexander Berkman sind russischer Abstammung. Als wir erfuhren, daß gerade Schreiben von ihnen erhielten, hofften wir, daß gerade dieser Umstand sie vor einer Deportierung bewahren würde. Von anderer Seite hatten wir erfahren, daß die amerikanische Regierung mit der Deportierung gerade russischer Freiheitskämpfer zögere, da sie darin eine indirekte Vorschubleistung der russischen Revolution erblickt, wenn sie ihr ihre besten Kämpfer zusendet. Leider hat sich diese Erwartung nicht erfüllt. Zur Stunde, wo diese Zeilen erscheinen, ist das Verbrechen an ihnen bereits verübt. Emma Goldman und Alexander Berkman sind, obwohl sie beide 35 bis fast 40 Jahre in Amerika ansässig gewesen sind, nach Sowjetrußland deportiert worden!

Man erinnere sich daran, daß beide nur wegen ihrer Friedenspropaganda ihre letzte Gefängnisstrafe zu verbüßen hatten. Ihre jetzige Deportation wirft ein helles Licht auf die Heuchelei des Völkerbundapostels Wilson, unter dessen direkter Anweisung und Beobachtung die ganze Hetze gegen die amerikanische Arbeiter- und Freiheitsbewegung vor sich geht. „Sweet land of liberty" verhülle dein Haupt ob der durch deine Staatsmänner zugefügten Schmach!

Im Nachfolgenden veröffentlichen wir den Brief, den Emma Goldman und Alexander Berkman uns einige Wochen vor ihrer infamen Deportierung gesandt haben; der Brief ist bezeichnend für ihren Geist, für ihr Wollen und Trachten. *E. R.*

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Newyork, N. Y., den
1. Dezember 1919

Lieber Freund und Kamerad!

Es gibt Augenblicke im Leben, wo das Herz zu voll ist, um den richtigen Ausdruck zu finden und die Sprache zu unvollkommen, um den Drang nach Äußerung befriedigen zu können. Einen solchen Augenblick erleben wir gerade jetzt. Neuerdings an der Schwelle eines erweiterten Lebens, nach unserer Entlassung aus dem Gefängnis, würden wir mit Vergnügen mit jedem unserer Kameraden uns treffen, ihn umarmen, jeden geliebten Kameraden, dessen Geist und Gedanken mit uns waren während unserer Einkerkerung und dessen unsichtbare Hand und sympathisierende Berührung ihn zu einem fast körperlich mit uns verweilenden Gefährten unserer langen, oden Tage und Monate gemacht haben. Allein solch enger persönlicher Verkehr steht unglücklicherweise nicht in unserer Macht, und deshalb ergreifen wir diese ungleich weniger befriedigende Methode, Ihnen, geliebter Freund, Kamerad und Gefährte unserer Leiden, unsere Grüße und Liebe zu entsenden.

Brauchen wir viel von den Dingen zu sprechen, die unser Herz in diesem kritischen Moment erfüllen oder auch nur zu erwähnen die aufrichtige Würdigung, die wir für Ihre Freundschaft und Kameradschaftlichkeit empfinden, die es uns ermöglicht hat, unseren Geist aufrechtzuerhalten in den finsteren Nächten der letzten zwei Jahre? Gewiß, Sie verstehen und wissen all dies ohnehin. Es ist das unaussprechliche Heil, das nur die politischen Gefangenen im Kerker beglückend empfinden können, daß sie – im Gegensatz zu dem gewöhnlichen Opfer sozialer Verhältnisse – ein sie aufrichtendes Ideal besitzen, einen Hoffnungsstern, einen Glauben, der sie führt und selbst in den dunkelsten Stunden der Demütigung und des Leidens ermutigt. Es ist die große Sache des neuen Menschheitslebens, der schon heraufziehenden Dämmerung, die Verstand und Geist des politischen Gefangenen emporhebt und jenseits die erstickende Atmosphäre und zermalmende Routine des Gefängnislebens gelangen läßt, den Gefangenen wie die Gefangene mit immer sich erneuerndem Mut und mit Ausdauer inspiriert hat. Aber in dieser triumphierenden Durchgeistigung von einem großen Ideal bildet die Anhänglichkeit und Treue der Freunde und Kameraden den größten

ergänzenden Lebensfaktor, dessen unendliche Wichtigkeit eben nur der Gefangene voll und ganz ermessen kann. Und so wissen wir sicher, lieber Freund, daß Sie es fühlen mögen, daß Sie, Ihr sympathisierendes Miterleben, Ihr Verstehen in uns und Ihre eigene Feinfühligkeit des Herzens und Geistes inmitten des gegenwärtigen Chaos der Seelendemoralisation, unsere hauptsächliche Stütze und Quelle der Stärke und Hoffnung für uns gewesen sind.

Und nun sind wir wieder draußen, draußen in der freien Luft und im Sonnenschein, die so wohl tun und kräftigen, draußen in dem größeren Gefängnis, genannt die Gesellschaft, von der die kleine Zelle und die Strafdisziplin nur ein kleines Reflexbildchen bilden. Darum sagen wir hiermit feierlich und aufrichtig, mit bestärkter Überzeugung, daß wir beide nun neuerdings den Lebensweg unseres noch verbleibenden lebenslänglichen Urteils betreten, mit ungebrochenem Geist, vollkommen reuelos – nein, in der Tat mit einem Willen, der nicht verbittert durch die Hitzstufe des Gefängnislebens, vielmehr geläutert und stärker geworden ist mit unserer durch die schrecklichen Erfahrungen der letzten zwei Jahre glücklicherweise unbeeinträchtigt gebliebenen Vernunft, mit unseren Herzen, jung geblieben in Lebenshunde, Arbeit und sozialer Anstrengung.

Kurzum, wir sind, um uns familiär auszudrücken, abermals auf dem Posten. Schloß und Riegel, Gitter und Kerkerzellen mögen die Stimme ersticken, aber keine Macht der Welt kann die uns innewohnende Liebe zur Freiheitssache lähmen. Selbst in der Grabesstille der Gefängnisnacht verblieb unser Wille ungebeugt und beständig, unser Verstand wach und aktiv. Viele Gedanken und Hoffnungen haben wir geträumt, viele Pläne entworfen in der Einsamkeit der verflossenen zwei Jahre. Nun ist die Zeit gekommen, ihre Verwirklichung zu versuchen.

Unter dem Allerersten, das wir geplant haben, befindet sich die dringende Bemühung, unseren Mitgefangenen zu helfen, die wir hinter uns zurückgelassen haben. Im Staatsgefängnis zu Missouri, in Jefferson City, im Zuchthaus in Atlanta (Ga.), wie in jedem anderen Gefängnis dieser demokratischen Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika sind Männer und Frauen begraben — und besonders viele davon sind politische Gefangene, Kämpfer der sozialen Idee, – deren Stimmen uns laut nachrufen, deren Elend wir in unseren wachen Tagen und ruhelosen Nächten nachfühlen. Wir schulden ihnen eine Pflicht, deren Erfüllung die Gesellschaft vernachlässigt hat, die Pflicht des einen Menschen gegenüber dem anderen, und ganz insbesondere die Pflicht, zu helfen, damit die politischen Gefangenen ihre verhältnismäßige äußere Freiheit wiedererhalten.

Wir beabsichtigen, unsere unverzüglichen Anstrengungen darauf zu konzentrieren, die öffentliche Meinung und das Gewissen weit und breit zu erwecken, zum Wohle der politischen Gefangenen, von denen tausende die Gefängnisse und Kerker dieses Landes füllen, mit dem Zweck, eine allgemeine Amnestie herbeizuführen. Gelegentlich unserer Arbeit werden wir auch die brutale Behandlung und die barbarischen Strafmethoden bloßlegen, die noch immer in unseren Gefängnissen walten und denen die politischen Gefangenen oft sogar noch größerer Strenge unterworfen werden als die übrigen Häftlinge.

Des weiteren gibt es hier noch eine andere Arbeit von höchster Wichtigkeit. Die amerikanische Regierung hat damit begonnen, auf breitester Grundlage die zionistische Methode der Unterdrückung anzuwenden. Unter anderen befinden auch wir uns bedroht und bedrückt durch Deportation. Wir beabsichtigen, gegen dieses neue System des amerikanischen Preußentums mit allen Kräften anzukämpfen.

Dies sind, in Kürze, die Pläne unserer augenblicklichen Aktivität. Zu diesem Zweck beabsichtigen wir eine Agitationsreise durch das ganze Land zu unternehmen und werden vorläufig die größeren Städte wie Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis und Kansas City besuchen.

In der Hoffnung, von Ihnen bald wieder zu hören, zeichnen in herzlicher Kameradschaftlichkeit

Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman.

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Erst aus obigem Brief geht die wahre Ursache der schleunigen Deportierung unserer Kameraden hervor: Die schlotternde Angst vor Demaskierung, die Furcht, daß das amerikanische Volk aufgerüttelt werde, erkennen könnte, wie seine Freiheiten vernichtet werden, wie es bedrückt wird — um das zu verhindern, mußte die amerikanische Regierung zu dem ehrlosesten Mittel der Schändlichkeit greifen: ihre eigenen Gesetze über das Staatsbürgerrecht mit Füßen zu treten. Nur dadurch vermochte sie, die Deportation zu bewerkstelligen. Aber sie irrt, wenn sie glaubt, dadurch den Freiheitsgedanken in Amerika getötet zu haben. Emma Goldmans und Alexander Berkmans unheilvolles Schicksal wird der Weckruf sein, der das junge Amerika für die Sache der Freiheit noch mehr gewinnen wird, als die Agitationsreise dieser beiden es gekonnt hätte. Und die Freiheitssache wird siegen, auch über die amerikanische Regierung, diese leibhaftige Verkörperung der Lüge einer jeden kapitalistischen Republik und kapitalistischen Demokratie. *(E. R.)*

Arbeitslosenräte — eine ständige Einrichtung?

In großzügigster Weise gehen die Arbeitslosen und Erwerbslosen Deutschlands daran, eine bedeutende Räteorganisation auszubauen. Schon ist ein besonderer Organisationsplan, am Provinz und Bezirksarbeitslosenrat, geschäftsführenden Ausschuß, Landes- und Reichsarbeitslosenrat bestehend, entworfen worden und diese gesamte, umfassende Organisation soll nun – ja, wozu schreiten, an die Arbeit? Dann würde sie sich selbst illusorisch machen und zur Aufhebung bringen, so daß es nicht recht ersichtlich ist, was diese große Organisationskruktur eigentlich soll und will.

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jemals solch ein entsetzliches namenloses Unglück, solches Unheil über die Menschheit brachte, wie ein Krieg es tut? – Sagen, ist der Krieg nicht die organisierte Gewalt des Staates in seiner persönlichsten Betätigung? – Dann, daß nur ein Staat Krieg führen kann, erscheint Ihnen auch, daß Staat und Gewalt identisch sind –?

„Aber Krieg, das ist etwas anderes, aber der Krieg ist doch notwendig!"

„Da haben sie es. Nun verteidigen Sie die Notwendigkeit der Gewalt in ihrer denkbar kolossalsten Form! Ich, der Anarchist, sage Ihnen, Krieg ist nicht notwendig für eine Gesellschaft freier Menschen; für eine solche ist er sogar unmöglich, weil diese eine Gemeinschaft gegründet auf dem höchsten Niveau der Gewalttätigkeit, das heißt gläubiger Menschen voraussetzt. Der Krieg ist also nur für jene nötig, die herrschen wollen, denn sie bedürfen seiner, um mit ihresgleichen um die Herrschaft ringen, damit sie immer mächtiger werde. Jeder Krieg ist also eine Wiederkehr, ein Abprallen der Entwicklung aus den vorgezeichneten Bahnen der Menschheit, ob diese auch keine

[illegible] Individuum sich auf einen Boden setzte, um [illegible] Gemeinschaft [illegible] werden selbst zu [illegible] der Krieg [illegible] eine, relative [illegible] spielen, welche [illegible] im Staatsleben [illegible] Deutschland und [illegible] haben seit fast [illegible] Jahrtausenden [illegible] Frieden gesucht. Wie kann man [illegible] Lebenselement [illegible] Staates [illegible] während ein [illegible] Triumph [illegible] Tatsache", [illegible] nach außen mit [illegible] bildet. Aber [illegible] Verstand führt: der Staat [illegible] nach innen, gegen [illegible] gilt. Von

„Die [illegible] von Tiefstehenden [illegible] Persönlichkeit, [illegible] gemeinsam gefühlte Notwendigkeit der Selbsterhaltung und Expansionsforderung hat [illegible] verbunden sind. In dieser Betätigung [illegible] Gesellschaft frei, wenn jedes Individuum [illegible] die volle Möglichkeit der Entfaltung [illegible] Tätigkeit Anderer. [illegible] sowohl durch Führung wie List am meisten [illegible] und emporzuschwingen verstand, als Repräsentanten ihrer gesellschaftlichen Macht anerkannt und eingesetzt haben. Dafür garantiert auch diese Macht der Staatsautorität durch den Militarismus ihre eigene sozialwirtschaftliche Regelung, wie der ihrer technischen und agrik. Enrollen Satrapen, die die Aufgabe haben, den Reichtum und die Ergiebigkeit des Landes auszunützen. Damit dies geschehen kann, bedarf es der Massenarbeit des Volkes; um diese zu haben, müssen die breiten Massen des Volkes von dem freien Gebrauch, der freien Nutzbarmachung der Natur wie der Gesellschaftskräfte ausgeschlossen sein. Die Satrapen des Staates – also diejenigen, die wir Kapitalisten nennen – wie dieser Staat selbst halten das Volk [illegible] die gewaltsam bewerkstelligte Ausschließung vom freien Genuß des Grund und Bodens [illegible] der Rohmaterialien in einem Zustand [illegible] Verelendung. Jeder [illegible] muß das Volk [illegible] erhalten; die Quellen all dieser [illegible] nur für die Bedürfnisse des Volkes

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview. "Forerunner of Revolution"] / Emma Goldman.— 29 cm. —[(Dec. 5, 1919?, Emma Goldman Scrap Book, fragment)].— 1 p.; 29 × 22 cm.

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Weinberger, counsel for Miss ... man, and Berkman, announced that he would take advantage of every legal technicality to prevent the deportation of his clients. The petition recites that Goldman and Berkman have been in the United States more than thirty years and that they cannot be deported to Soviet Russia because the United States has not recognized the Bolshevik government, and that to deport them to territory held by the White Guards would be a sentence to death. It also is contended that Miss Goldman is an American citizens through her marriage to Jacob A. Kersner, and that the cancellation of Kersner's citizenship on the ground that he was not twenty-one years of age when he was naturalized was void.

Their Offers Refused

A letter was received yesterday by Mr. Weinberger from Anthony Camiaetti, Commissioner General of Immigration, refusing the request that his clients be permitted to select their own destination and pay the expenses of their deportation. The Commissioner General also refused a request for three months' delay to permit the two radicals to prepare for their deportation.

Miss Goldman and Berkman apparently were in fine spirits when they arrived at South Ferry for the little ferry trip to the immigration station. Miss Goldman wore gold-rimmed spectacles and a set of furs over a tailored suit. Berkman wore tortoise-shell spectacles, a flowing black tie and a dark suit. He carried a cherry wood cane and wore a light green hat. He had several suitcases which he had purchased in Brooklyn.

An enthusiastic party of friends and admirers of the anarchists swarmed around them before they boarded the government ferry. Six young women, who accompanied them on the trip to the island, clung to Miss Goldman and kissed her repeatedly. They also clutched Berkman by the sleeve and kissed him several times.

Both Miss Goldman and Berkman gazed contemplatively at the Statue of Liberty as the ferry neared the island, and for several minutes, as they stood on the upper deck, kept their eyes turned toward the skyline of Manhattan.

"Forerunner of Revolution"

"Love and comradeship to all liberal and revolutionary people," was the message Miss Goldman gave to her friends. Discussing the order for her deportation, she said: "It is a great mistake to deport any of our people. The fact that the United States government can take away my citizenship means that the government can take away anybody's citizenship. This is but the forerunner of revolution in this country. I would not call revolution a danger but a blessing. The great change will come when the government takes violent action against those working for progress. Such actions on the part of the government are obnoxious to people whose duty it is to change wornout forms of government. The United States government is now doing the very thing that the Czar did before the people overthrew his régime in Russia."

Berkman predicted a revolution in the United States within five years. "I expect to be called back here by my people to aid in the forming of Soviet America," he said. "The principle of deportation is the greatest menace America is facing to-day. It means the banishment some day of native Americans, a condition which existed in Russia under the Czar. Our hope lies in the grand awakening of the working class. I am ready to take the consequences for my actions. But it is an outrage to send me to Kolchak. That means sure death."

... Representative Siegel, of New ... careful inspection of ... married by the two ... you placed in a room with ... who were regarded as ... in the recent hunger strike, which ended after a four-day fast. Peter Blanki, the last radical to relent, is one of Berkman's roommates. Miss Goldman is confined in a room with Ethel Bernstein and Dora Kiplin, the only two radical women on the island.

Representative Isaac Siegel, of New York, a member of the Congressional committee investigating conditions at Ellis Island, said yesterday that at the hearing which will begin in Washington Monday blame will be fixed for the failure to deport anarchists sent to Ellis Island from all parts of the country. Representative Siegel said it is likely that Frederic C. Howe, former Commissioner of Immigration, will be called before the committee in Washington. The committee will return to Ellis Island Thursday, according to Mr. Siegel.

Conference Is Held

There was a conference at the immigration station yesterday between Representative Siegel, Commissioner Uhl, Frank R. Stone, head of the New Jersey division of the Department of Justice; Charles Scully, of New York, and Augustus P. Schell, in charge of the legal bureau at the immigration station. It developed at the conference that many "Reds" recently caught in raids gained their freedom by hiding their identity and giving fictitious names. It also was learned that a large number of radicals are at large on writs of habeas corpus which have not been sustained or dismissed.

Mr. Siegel said that it has been decided that if Ellis Island is to be continued as a place of detention for persons under charges of criminal anarchy, these persons will have to be kept in separate pens. Under the present arrangement the men are confined in one pen. There is speechmaking night and day in Room 203, headquarters of the "Ellis Island Soviet," and the island authorities say that this makes the cases of the individual aliens more difficult to handle.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 5.—The government will contest habeas corpus pro-



... man, as she appeared ... before being taken to Ellis ... for "immediate deportation."

... New York ... purpose of investigating the deportation of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General of Immigration, said today and is satisfied that it can support its deportation order.

Mr. Caminetti at the same time made public a telegram he sent to-day to Harry Weinberger, counsel for the anarchists, in which he denied that the Immigration Bureau had ruled that it would permit the family of a deported alien to accompany him.

"In answer to your question," said the telegram, "the bureau stated that if you had a client ordered deported to Russia who had a family, suggestion of permitting family to accompany him would be considered if presented, but bureau did not decide the question in advance and does not say it will permit family to accompany deported alien. I have given this message to the press, since you seem to have given out for publication an erroneous statement."



Alexander Berkman, although opposing deportation, has prepared for a Russian winter by purchasing heavy underwear.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Emma Goldman Quits Fight to Remain in U.S. / Emma Goldman.— 28 cm. *In* The New York Tribune. —(Dec. 12, 1919).

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of error to Judge Mayer under h his refusal to grant the writ of beas corpus would be reviewed, the second was for a stay of deportation and the third was for release on bail.

Harry Weinberger, attorney for the anarchists, indicated that Miss Goldman might abandon further proceedings in the court in order to be deported with Berkman.

"That will be decided in New York tomorrow after a conference with my clients at Ellis Island," Mr. Weinberger said.

The action of the court in delaying the Goldman decision came as a surprise, but in the opinion of Government attorneys it was because of her claim to American citizenship through the naturalization of her father. This is denied by Department of Justice officials, who claim that she was of age when her father was naturalized and therefore would have to go through the same process herself.

There is no doubt of Berkman's citizenship, but the court evidently desires to settle definitely the Goldman claim

Tribune
DEC 13 1919

EmmaGoldman Quits Fight to Remain in U. S.

Waives Week's Stay Given by Supreme Court and Is Prepared to Go to Russia in 10 Days With Berkman

Emma Goldman announced yesterday that she had abandoned her fight against deportation. She declared she would waive her right to appeal to the United States Supreme Court and was prepared to be deported to Soviet Russia within ten days, along with Alexander Berkman and other alien anarchists.

Harry Weinberger, her counsel, last night sent to R. P. Stewart, Assistant Attorney General, a letter setting forth that Miss Goldman had decided not to accept the week's stay granted to her by the Supreme Court on Thursday, in which to appeal her deportation order on the ground that she is an American citizen by marriage. Mr. Weinberger said he had assurances that the anarchists would depart for Soviet Russia on an army transport within ten days.

Meantime Miss Goldman, who is at Ellis Island, will not again be permitted to visit the mainland of the United States, where she arrived from Russia thirty-four years ago.

Won't Seek Soviet Office

"Will Miss Goldman take part in directing the affairs of the Soviet government when she arrives in Russia?" Mr. Weinberger was asked.

"She expects to help it along, but she will not accept office," he replied.

Over at Ellis Island Miss Goldman, after deciding to abandon her fight, dictated her "swan song" to her fellow radicals in this country. She predicted that before long "American citizens will be deported to the Island of Guam or some other colonial possession."

"I realize," said Miss Goldman, "that citizenship by naturalization to-day is no protection to any former alien, and that it may be taken away practically at the whim of some public official even without notice or giving the naturalized citizen an opportunity to defend his citizenship, which is what was done in my case. Even if the Supreme Court of the United States should decide that my citizenship is absolutely correct, that I cannot be deported, which it would probably not do in the present state of public hysteria, and even if that court should order me freed, the day after the government would start other proceedings to revoke my citizenship and would succeed because judges have lost courage and all sense of justice and fair play.

Defense Denied, She Says

"The apparent cancellation of my citizenship by starting an acton against Jacob A. Kersner without giving me an opportunity to defend or show the falsity of the government's position, shows how any woman married to a naturalized citizen and feeling secure in her citizenship, may suddenly find herself an alien, and because of some opinion she may hold that may be unpopular, find herself an arrested alien and deported to the country she may have come from more than thirty years ago, as is my case to-day.

"I desire to go as soon as possible to Soviet Russia, and I expect the government to keep its promise to deport Berkman and myself as well as other Russians within ten days, as promised to my attorney, Harry Weinberger.

"I do not expect that I will be given time to arrange my affairs, as the sudden calling for my deportation shows the hysteria of the government officials, which has communicated itself to the courts, and to print the tremendous record of books and exhibits in the case which the government introduced would drain my friends who have so nobly stood by me, and would be of little avail in my opinion, as I have no faith in the courts. Having lived thirty-four years in this country, having many business and personal affairs to arrange, yet I do not get time to settle any of them.

"It should be realized by the American people that these proceedings are not criminal and I am not being charged at this time with any crime, merely that I hold a belief in a system of society known as anarchism, and because of that belief and the expression of that belief, I am suddenly taken by the administrative arm of the government and ordered banished from the country as the Czar of old Russia used to do with those holding opinions different from his.

"I expect, while in soviet Russia shortly, to read of American-born citizens being deported from America to the Island of Guam or some other colonial possession of America, despite the Constitution, which guarantees free speech and free press."

Tribune
DEC 1[illegible] 1919

The "Red" Propaganda

Berkman's deportation has been approved, but Emma Goldman has secured a week's stay. The country promises to be rid of both of them soon.

This may appear to be a monumental achievement by the Immigration Bureau, whose policy has been elusive and highly Pickwickian, But the monument is of plaster rather than of marble. Berkman and Goldman get easily into the newspaper headlines, yet they haven't been really dangerous for years. They have been, so to speak, on the "Red" retired list.

Newer hands have taken up their work and vastly enlarged and intensified it. The duo published a more or less harmless periodical called *Mother Earth*. It stood nearly alone in its class. But now, according to a recent report of the Department of Justice, there are 471 radical periodicals in circulation in the United States, all of them with pronounced Bolshevist tendencies. Of these 106 are printed in this country in English and 222 are printed in this country in various foreign languages. One hundred and forty-four "radical" foreign periodicals are sent here and distributed. The I. W. W. maintains thirteen newspapers printed in English and nineteen printed in foreign tongues.

Here is an organized revolutionary and anarchistic force which Berkman and Goldman never dreamed of. War legislation soon to expire has enabled the government to hold the activities of the "Red" press somewhat in check. What is Washington going to do after the state of war is officially terminated?

Here is a problem which dwarfs that of Berkman and Goldman. It is plain that instead of allowing the regulatory powers of war time over the seditious press to lapse those powers should be enlarged and enforced with greater rigor.

N.Y. Times
DECEMBER 13, 1919.

HUNDREDS OF REDS ON SOVIET 'ARK' SAIL SOON FOR RUSSIA

United States Transport Will Start Within Ten Days with Load of Anarchists.

GOLDMAN GOES WITH THEM

Withdraws Her Appeal, Saying She Prefers Jail or Deportation to Ellis Island.

[redacted] BULLITT

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Emma Goldman Made the Following Statement / Emma Goldman.— [1919 Dec. 13?, transcript].— 2 p. ; 36 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Yale University Library. Institutional Location: Harry Weinberger Papers, Department of Manuscripts and Archives.

Emma Goldman made the following statement:

I realise that citizenship by naturalisation to-day is no protection to any former alien, and that it may be taken away practically by the whim of some public official even without notice or giving the naturalised citizen an opportunity to do and his citizenship which is what was done in my case. Even if the Supreme Court of the United States should decide that my citizenship is absolutely correct, that I cannot be deported, which it would probably not do in the present state of public hysteria, and even if that Court should order me freed, the day after the Government would start other proceedings to revoke my citizenship and would succeed because Judges have lost courage and all sense of justice and fair play.

The apparent cancellation of my citizenship by starting an action against Jacob A. Kersner without giving me an opportunity to defend or show the falsity of the government's position, shows how any woman married to a naturalised citizen and feeling secure in her citizenship, may suddenly find herself an alien, and because of some opinion she may hold that may be unpopular, find herself an arrested alien and deported from the country, she may come from more than 30 years ago, as is my case to-day.

I desire to go as soon as possible to Soviet Russia and I expect the Government to keep its promise to deport Berkman and myself as well as other Russians within ten days as promised to my attorney, Harry Weinberger.

I do not expect that I would be given time to arrange my affairs as the sudden calling for my deportation shows the hysteria of the government officials which has communicated itself to the Courts, and to print the tremendous record of books and exhibits in the case, which the government is circulating, would drain my friends who have

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The Emma Goldman Papers

Deportation, Its Meaning and Menace / A[lexander] B[erkman] and E[mma] G[oldman]. – 1919 Dec., 20, draft. – 71 p. ; 26 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

DEPORTATION

Its Meaning and Menace

Last Message to the People of America.

By

Ellis Island, N.Y. U.S.A.
December, 1919

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DEPORTATION

Its Meaning and Menace

The War is over, but peace there is not. On a scale of frantic human slaughter is going on as before; men, women, and children are dying by the hundred thousands because of the blockade of Russia; the "small nations" still groan under the iron heel of the foreign oppressor; Ireland, India, Egypt, Persia, Korea, and numerous other peoples, are being decimated and exploited even more ruthlessly than before the advent of the Great Prophet of World Democracy; "self-determination" has become a by-word, nay, a crime, and world-wide imperialism has gotten a stranglehold upon humanity.

What, then, has the Great War accomplished? To what purpose the sacrifice of millions of human lives.

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of the immeasurable loss in blood-treasure
what, especially, has happened in the
United States?

Fresh in mind are still the wonderful promises made in behalf of the War. It was to be the last war, a holy crusade of liberty against tyranny, a war upon all wars that was to sweep the earth clean of oppression and misery, and make the world safe for true democracy. As with a sacred fire burned the heart of mankind. What soul so small, what human so low not to be inspired by the glorious shibboleth of liberty and [illegible] for all! A tornado of [illegible] a new born world [illegible] swept the United States. The people were aflame with a new faith: they would slay the Dragon of Despotism, and conquer the world for Democracy.

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3

True, it was but yesterday this sovereign will registered a mighty protest against human slaughter and bloodshed. With a magnificent majority they had voted not to participate in the foreign war, not to become entangled in the treacherous schemes of European despotisms. Triumphantly they reelected the man who "kept them out of war" that he might still keep them out of it.

Then suddenly, almost over night, came the change. From wall street sounded the bugle ordering the retreat of Humanity. Its echo reverberated in Washington, and thence throughout the country. There began a campaign of publicity that roused the tiger in man and fed his lust for blood & vengeance. The quiet, phlegmatic German was transformed into

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[illegible] made the villains of the [illegible] Hours of "arising" atrocities and outrages. The nation-wide propaganda of hatred, persecution, + intolerance carried its subtle poison into the hearts of the obscurest hamlet, and the minds of the people were systematically confused + perverted by rivers of printer's ink. The conscience of America, wanting peace, was stifled in the folds of the national emblem, and its voice drowned by the martial beat of a thousand war drums.

Here and there a note of protest was heard. Radicals of various political + social faiths – Anarchists – I.W.W.s, Socialists, pacifists, conscientious objectors, and other anti-militarists – fought to stem the tide of the War hysteria. They pointed out that the ~~United States~~ people of the United States had no

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of interest in the European war. Neither country, because of its geographical location and natural advantages, was beyond all danger of invasion. They feared that the war in Europe was the result of European over-preparedness for war, aggravated by a crisis in capitalist competition, old monarchical rivalries & ambitions of tyro-despotic rulers. The peoples of Europe, the radicals emphasized, had neither say nor interest in the war: they were the sheep led to slaughter on the altar of Mammon contending against Baal. America's great humanitarian mission, the war protestants insisted, was to keep out of the war, and use its potent influence & financial power to compelling economic terminate the

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6) ~~Deplore~~ ~~the~~ the ~~the~~ ~~of~~ ~~bring~~
peace to the bleeding nations
of the old world.

But these voices of sanity and judgment
~~were lost~~ were lost in the storm of unbridled war-passions.
The brave men and women that dared to speak
in behalf of peace & humanity, that had the
~~surpassing~~ surpassing integrity of remaining true to
~~themselves~~ & their ideals, with the
courage of facing danger and death for
conscience sake — these, the truest friends
of Man, had to bear the cross of Golgotha,
as did the Nazarene of Yore, & the
saviors of humanity have done all through
the centuries of human progress.
~~the~~ ~~execution~~
jail & Czar had for them; ~~the~~ execution
and p... sanction for their contemporaries.
But ~~if~~ ~~it~~ ~~is~~ true that history repeats
~~itself~~ ~~if~~ ~~true~~ these political "criminals" of to-day will be hailed
~~as~~ ~~martyrs~~ ~~and~~ ~~pioneers~~.
~~Tomorrow~~ as martyrs and pioneers.

Space

The present war hysteria has
~~rouded~~ and especially successfully cultiv-

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It sets by the college progressive, intellectual element in the United States. This notoriously overweening self-esteem and vanity had been subtly flattered by their fellow-intellectual, the college professor become President. This American intelligentzia, inclusive of a good many quite unintelligent suffragettes, was the real "balance of power" in the re-election of Woodrow Wilson. The Silken cord (occasionally golden in spots) of mutual interest that bound the President & the intellectual element so intimately proved much stronger at this end than at his. The feeling of gratitude is always more potent with ~~the~~ the giver than ~~with~~ the recipient. Hewkeit, the "liberals", the "radicals" were devoted heart & soul to the Professor — they stood solidly behind the

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of the human mind! It was the
"radical intellectuals" who, as a
class, turned traitors to the best
interests of humanity, perverted
their calling & tradition, and
became the bloodiest canines of
Mars.

With a power of sophistry that
the Greek masters of false logic
never matched, they cited history, philo-
sophy, science — aye, they called
the very Christ to witness that
the killing of man by man is a
most worthy and respectable occu-
pation, indeed a very Christian
institution, and that wholesale
human slaughter, if properly directed
and successfully conducted, is a
very necessary evolutionary factor

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---

9) a great blessing in disguise &
It was this "intellectual"
element that by the perversion of the
human mind turned a peace-demanding
people into a war-mad mob. The
popular refusal to volunteer for
service was hailed by them as a
remarkable demand for military
draft as "the most democratic
expression of a free citizenship". Forced
service became in their interpre-
tation "equality of contribution
for rich and poor alike". The
protest of one's conscience against
killing was branded by them as
high treason, and even merely—
disagreement regarding the causes of the
war, or the slightest criticism
of the administration was
condemned as disloyalty and
pro-Germanism. Every expression
of humanity, of social sympathy,

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of [illegible] was carried away
with a Babel of high phrases, in
which "patriotism" and "democracy"
competed in volume. Oh, the tragedy
of the human mind that absorbs
fine words & empty shades, and
is deaf to motives and blind to deeds.'

Yet there lacked not unanimity in the tremendously cultivated war demand. There was no pro-German sentiment or American participation in the European holocaust. Mothers protested against their children being torn from the home hearth; fathers lost their young sons. The spirit of discontent was abroad. The Government had to resort to drastic methods: the Land of White Terror was lifted in Washington. Again we raised our voices to

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11) Warn the people – we, the revolutionists
of various social views who remained
true to our ideal of human fra-
ternity and proletarian solidarity.
We pointed out that the masses of
the world had nothing to gain but
everything to lose by war; that
the chief sufferers of every war
were the workers, and that they
were being used as mere pawns
in the game of international
diplomacy and imperialist capitalism.
We reminded the toilers that they
alone possessed the power to
wage war or make peace, and
that they – as the creators of
the world's wealth – were the
true arbiters of the fate of hu-
manity. Their mission, we reiterated,
is to secure peace on earth, and
the protection of labor to the producers

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12) Emphatically we warned the people of America against the policy of suppression by the enactment of special legislation. Alleged War necessity was being used – we asserted – to incorporate in the statute books new laws and new legal principles that would remain operative after the war, and be effective for the continued prohibition of governmentally unapproved thought – the practice of our views.

Stifling * checking free speech * press, established and tolerated during the war, sets a most dangerous precedent for after-war days. The principle of such outrages, upon either, once introduced, it will require a long and arduous struggle to win back the liberties lost. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." Thus we argued. Here again the "intellectuals"

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13) our refusal of abandon Free Speech to the rescue of the forces of reaction. We were scoffed at, our 'vain fears' ridiculed. It was all for the best interests of the country – the sophists protested – for the greater security and glory of Democracy.

II

Now reaction is in full swing. The actual reality is even darker than our worst predictions. Liberty is dead, and white terror in top dominates the country. Free speech is a thing of the past. Not a city in the whole wide land but that forbids the least expression of an unpopular opinion. It is descriptive of the whole situation that after over 30 years' activity in New York, we were unable – upon our return from prison – to secure any hall, large or small, to feature even on the subject of prison life or to speak on the question of political and industrial prisoners. Communists in particular are denied every meeting place and closed to them, as well as to other revolutionists, by order of the powers that be.

Free press has been abolished, and

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my daily radical paper has been shut out, or summarily suppressed. Raids of public gatherings of offices, and private dwelling places, accompanied with utmost brutality and unskilled-for violence, is of daily occurrence throughout the United States. The headquarters of Anarchists, of Socialists, I.W.W., of the Union of Russian Workers, and numerous other progressive and educational organizations, have been raided by the local police and Federal agents in practically every city of this country. Men and women are beaten up indiscriminately, fearfully clubbed and blackjacketed without any provocation, frequently to be released afterwards because no offence whatever could be charged against them. Books and whole libraries of "radical centers" are confiscated, even text books of arithmetic or geography torn to shreds, furniture destroyed, pianos and victrolas in search of anything used — all in the name of the new Democracy and for the safety of the free Republic of the United States.

space

The top-loftiest radicals, their lives as soft as their heads, now stand

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15) ...fought at the Marne, Verdun, Soissons to win the war. Millions of Americans fought further, brothers, husbands — all of them had suffered an agony of misery and tears, to help the cause of humanity, to make the world safe for democracy. Is this what we fought and bled for? Why are asking have we been misled by the fine-sounding phrases of a Professor, and have we in turn helped to delude the people, the suffering masses of the world? Is the great prophet of the New Democracy a megalomaniac or just a weakling strong only in rhetoric?

Pity the mind that awaits miracles and looks expectantly to a universal Savior. The clear-sighted man, well informed, may reasonably foresee the inevitability of certain results from given causes. But only a charlatan can play the great Savior, and only the fool has faith in him. Individuals, however great, may profoundly

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10) influence, but impotent to control the fate of mankind. Any socio-political cause produced the war. The Kaiser did not create it, though the spirit of Prussianism no doubt accelerated its coming. Nor is President Wilson responsible for the present bloody peace. He did not make the war: he was made by it. He did not make the peace: he was unmade by it. The social and economic forces that control the world are stronger than any men, than any set of men. Those forces are inherent in the fundamental institutions of our wage-slave civilization, in the social atmosphere created by it, and in the individual mind. These forces are – means Harmonious. The human – heart & mind, eternally reaching out for greater joy and beauty – the spirit of idealism, in short – is constantly at strife with the established. The

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12) ~~[illegible]~~ realized. These enduring brutal and human factors produce War, as they produce revolution.

The power that succeeded in turning the instinctive current of man's idealism into the channels of war, became the master of human destiny — for the nonce. By a campaign of publicity and advertising on a scale history had never witnessed before, by chicanery and lying, by exaggeration and misrepresentation, by persistent & long-continued appeals to the basest as well as to the noblest traits of man, by every imaginable and unprecedented manner & method, the great financial interests, eager for war and aided by the international Junkers, thrust humanity into the great world war. Whatever of noble impulse and unsophisticated patriotism

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18) There was in the hearts of the masses, in and out of uniform, was torn almost totally drained in the fearsome rivers of human blood, in the brutal, filthy, degrading ~~chaos~~ charnel house of elemental passions set on fire. But the tiger in man, once thoroughly awakened, grew strong and more vicious with the sight he witnessed and the food he was fed on. The basest ~~chaos~~ propensities un- chained, the anti-social tendencies engendered + encouraged by the War & War propaganda, are now let loose upon the country. Hatred, intolerance, persecution and suppression — the efficient + "educational" factors in the preparedness + war campaign — are now permeating the very heart of this country and propagating its virulent poison into every phase of our social ~~life~~

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19) But there is no more "Hun" to be hated. Commerce and Business know no hatred. Commerce and Business know their interests. We must feed Germany — at a good profit. We must do business with its people. Exit the Hun — der Mann hat seine Schuldigkeit getan. What a significant side-light on the artificiality and life-brevity of national and racial antagonisms, when the first of mutual mistrust & hatred are not fed by the interested stokers of business & religion! But the Frankenstein of intolerance & suppression cultivated by the war campaign is there, alive & vital, and must find some vent for its ~~[illegible]~~ bitterness and misery accumulated.

Ah there, the radical, the Bolshevik! What better prey to be cast to the Frankenstein?! The powers that be — the plutocratic imperialist and the jingo profiteer — all heave a happy sigh of relief.

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20)

II

The after-war conditions in the United States are filling the Government and the more intelligent, class-conscious capitalist with trepidation. Revolution is stalking across Europe. Its spectre is threatening America. Disquieting signs multiply daily. A new discontent, fading ill and full of terrible possibilities, is manifest in every walk of life... The war has satisfied no one.. Only too obviously the glorious promises failed of fulfilment. Excepting a few great financial interests and some smaller war profiteers, the American people at large are aching with a poignant disappointment. Some vaguely, others more consciously and clearly, but almost all in some way victimized. The years of struggle and supreme sacrifice, suffered untold misery and pain, in the confident hope of a great change to come into their lives after the victorious war, of a radically changed and bettered world in the assurance

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The people feel cheated. Not yet have they been able to fix their gaze definitely upon the specific source of their disappointment, to define the true cause of their discontent. But their impatience with existing conditions is passionate and bitter, and their former faith in the established order profoundly shaken. Significant symptoms of a social break-down! Revolutionary ferment in the heart and in the mind. Action follows in due course. Political and industrial institutions, bereft of the people's faith in them, are doomed. The changed attitude toward three hundred conditions, now evident throughout the land, symbolizes the complete bankruptcy of the existing order. The old conceptions and ideals no longer govern present-day society are fast disintegrating. New ideals are germinating in the hearts of the

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22) masses - a prolific soil, rich with the promise of a brighter future. America is on the threshold of the Social Revolution.

All this is well realized by the financial and political masters of this country. The situation is profoundly disquieting. But most terrifying of all is the new attitude of labor. It is unprecedented, intolerable in its complete disregard of accepted standards and conditions, its open rebellion against Things as They Are, its "class demands", its defiance of constituted authority. Is it possible, the masters wonder, that we had gone too far in our war-time promises of democracy, of freedom, of justice to the workers, and well-being for all? Too reckless was our motto, "Labor will win the War": it has given the toilers a sense of their great power, it has

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23)

made them arrogant, aye, menacing. No more are they satisfied with "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work"; no, not even with wages doubled and trebled. They are laying sacrilegious hands upon the most sacrosanct institution of private ownership, they challenge the exclusive mastery of the owner in his own mine and mill, they demand actual participation in industry, even in the most secret councils that control production and manipulate distribution, – aye, they even dare suggest the taking over by labor of all industry. Unheard-of impudence! Yet this is not all. More menacing still is the revolutionary spirit that is beginning to transpire itself through the ranks of labor, from the lightest

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24) paid to the lowest, organized and re-
organized as well. Disheartened ~~re~~
rampant. Gone is the good old respect
for orders, the will of superiors
is secretly thwarted or openly defied,
the mystic power of contracts lost
~~lost~~. To old Left. Labor is in
rebellion — in rebellion against State
and Capital, aye, even against
their own lead-ers that have to
keep them in check.

~~[redacted]~~

No time is to be lost! Quick,
drastic action is necessary. Else the
brewing storm will overwhelm us,
and the workers deprive us of the
wealth we have been at such pains
to accumulate. Even now there are
such terribly disquieting rumblings,
as if the very earth were shaking beneath
our feet — rumors of "the dictatorship
of the proletariat", of "Soviets

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of workers, soldiers, and sailors". Horrible thought! Why, if the soldiers should join these discontented workers, what would become of us, poor capitalists? Indeed, have not the police of Boston already set the precedent — made common cause with labor, these traitors to their masters!

"Soviet of Workers", "dictatorship of the proletariat"! Why, that's the Russian idea, the terrible Bolshevik menace. Never shall this, the most heinous crime be forgiven Soviet Russia! Readily would we overlook ~~the~~ their repudiation of the Czar's numerous ~~loans~~ obligations and even their refusal to pay his debts to the American and European money lenders. We'd find some way to recuperate our losses, at a reasonable profit, may be. But that they have

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26) Have down the very pillars of capitalist abolished profits, given to the peasant the masters' lands for cultivation and use, proclaimed all wealth common property, and subjected the aristocrat and capitalist to the indignity of working for a living – this hellish arch-crime they shall never be forgiven. That such things should threaten the rich men of this free country is intolerable. Nothing must be left undone to prevent such a calamity. It would be terrible to be put on a level with the common and we will all our millions laborer, unable to procure champagne because, forsooth, some lad-carrier's brat – illegitimate, perchance – did not get his milk for breakfast. Unthinkable! That is

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27) clear, anarchy! We must not permit our beloved country become such a pass. Labor rebellion and discontent must be crushed, energetically, forthwith. Bolshevicki ways and Soviet ideas must gain no foothold in America. But the thing must be done diplomatically: the workers must not be permitted to bare our cards. We should be strong as a lion, subtle as the snake.

IV

The war-time anti-Hun propaganda is now directed against the "Bolshevik", "the radical", and particularly against the Slav or anything resembling him. The man or woman of Russian birth or nationality is make the especial target. The press, the pulpit, the

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28] the terrible tools of capitalism and imperialism combine to paint Russia, Soviet Russia, in colors of blood and infamy. No ~~misrepresentation~~ vocabulary is too base to be flung at Russia. Falsehood and forgery the weapons where guns and bayonets have failed. The direct result of this poison propaganda is now culminating in American pogroms against Russians, Bolsheviki, communists, radicals, and progressives in general.

(To be continued)

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28) the servile tools of capitalism and imperialism combine to paint Russia, Soviet Russia, in colors of blood and infamy. No misrepresentation no lie is too base to picture the deeds of Russia. The propaganda is now culminating in American pogroms against Russians, Bolsheviki, communists, radicals, and progressives in general. (sent up to date)

The United States has fortunately always been free from the vicious spirit of race hatred and persecution of the foreigner. The native negro of this country has known no race-... problem. The Chinese were (and) Japanese are (were) the victims of barbarous cruelty. Bitterness or race-less prejudice against members of other nationalities. In truth, the great majority of Americans themselves of foreign birth or descent, the only true native

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29) being the American Indian. What-
ever racial differences there may
exist between the various nationalities
& stocks, they have never assumed
the form of active strife. On
the contrary, they have always been
of a superficial nature, due to
misunderstandings or often tem-
porary causes, and have never ma-
nifested themselves in anything
save light, ~~mostly~~ good-humored
banter. Even the most-ad-
vertised antagonism of the West
toward the Chinese and Japanese
is not due to any inherent
hatred, but rather to ~~dislike~~
very definite commercial and
industrial factors. In the
case of the Russians especially

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30) as well as in regard to members of the various branches of the Slavic race, the people of America have always been particularly friendly and well-disposed. But suddenly all the war-time hatred toward the "Hun enemy", the blindest intolerance and persecution are ~~Indeed~~ poured upon the head of the Russian, the Slav. Great indeed is the power of propaganda! Great is the power of the American + Europ + controller – the capitalist press. The Russian has become the victim of American pogroms!

space

Have we Anarchists pointed out often and again in the past that the feudal lords of this land would follow, in their pursuit to

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3) Imperialism, in the protectorate of the Czar of old Russia, and even outdo their predecessors. Our liberal friends denounced as fanatics, alarmists, and pessimists. Yet now we are confronted with a state of affairs in democratic America which, in point of brutality and utter repudiation of every fundamental libertarian principle, surpasses the worst autocratic methods the Czars of Russia ever dared apply against political dissenters.

The world is familiar with the history of the pogrom horrors practiced upon the Jews by Czarist Russia. But what the world, especially the American world, does not know is that every pogrom in Russia was directly incited, financed, and protected by the Government as a means of distracting the attention of the Russian people from the corrupt despotic régime under which they suffered untold misery — a deliberate method of confusing and checking the fast

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32) growing discontent and telling back the rising tide of revolutionary upheaval.

But thoughtful people in Russia were not long deceived by this hellish stratagem. That is why Russian character and intelligence never lent themselves to the practice of Jew-baiting [illegible] The authorities frequently had to resort to importing the human dregs of distant communities, fill them with vodka, and then turn them loose on the defenseless Jews. The Black Hundreds and hooligans of Czarist Russia were the infamous arm of an infamous régime now [illegible] consigned to the abyss of oblivion by the awakened and regenerated spirit of New Russia. There have been no [illegible] pogroms —

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11) Soviet Russia.

But the Black Hundreds and the Czarist Czar now come to life again — in Democratic America. Here they are more mad and pernicious than their Russian colleagues in crime had ever been. Their wild orgies of assault and destruction are directed, not against the Jew, but against the more comprehensive scapegoat of capitalism, "the alien", the "radical". These are being made the lightning rod upon which is to be drawn all the fury of the storm that is menacing American plutocracy. As the Czar pointed at the Jew as the source and cause of the Russian people's poverty and servitude, so the feudal lords of America have chosen the "foreign radical", "the Bolshevik" as the vicarious victim for the sins of the capitalist order. But while no intelligent and

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self-respecting Russian were degraded [illegible]
with the Czar's bloody work, we see in
our democracy so-called cultured people,
professional men and women, "good Am-
ericans", inspired and aided by "respectable,
reputable" press, turn into bestial mobs.
We see high Government officials, State
and Federal, play the part of hoodlums,
encouraging and aiding the American Black
Hundreds of legionaries, in a frenzied
crusade against the "foreigner", whose
sole crime consists in taking seriously
the American guaranteed of free speech, free
press, and free assembly.

The war hate against everything
German was vicious enough, though the
pioneers of America were rebels to King and
Czar. But we were not waging war against the
German people. One can understand
it, though not countenance, the vulgar
clamor against the best and finest

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30

exhibition of German culture, the stupid prohibition of the language of Goethe and Schiller, of the revolutionary music of Wagner and Beethoven, the poetry of a Heine, the writings of Nietzsche, and of all the other great creative work of Teuton genius. But what possible reason is there for the post-war hatred toward aliens in general & Russians in particular? The outrages and cruelties perpetrated upon Germans in America during the war pale almost into insignificance compared with the horrible treatment the Russians in the United States are now subjected to. In fact, the Czarist pogroms, barring a few exceptions, never rivaled the fearful excesses [illegible] almost daily in various American cities, of mobs upon men and women guilty only of their virtues Russians

This state of affairs is the more significant because Russians, and the Slavic people in general, were hitherto always welcomed to these shores as the best offerings Europe contributes) to the Moloch of American

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36) industry. The Slav [redacted] was so good-natured and docile, such a patient slave, so appreciative of the liberties he enjoyed in the new land — "liberties" which the socially conscious American had long since learned to see as a delusion and a snare. But the unsophisticated Russian peasant, always half-starved and downtrodden, they seemed real and resplendent, the symbol of paradise found. By the thousands he flocked to the newly-found promised land, swarmed into the centers of industry, to [redacted] build our railroads, forge iron, dig coal, till the soil, weave cloth, and toil at countless other useful occupations, his wage a mere pittance.

Nor was it only the Slav workers in fields and factories who were welcomed here from Russia. Russian culture was an honored guest in America. The great literature of the Slav, his music, his dancing — all found the most generous reception and fullest appreciation. Above all, the Russian intelligentsia, the spiritual

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37] refugees, exiles, and outlaws to adventurists
that came to America, and some – most
of them – not merely to express their opinions
but rather to plot the forcible overthrow of the
Russian autocracy, all found sympathetic
hearing and generous purses in this country,
age, even at the seat of Government.

And now? Now it is considered the
most heinous crime to have been born in Russia.
What has caused this peculiar change?
What is back of this sudden reversal of feeling?

It is the Russian Revolution. Not, of
course, the Milinkov-Kerensky revolution, but the
real revolution that gave birth to Soviet Russia.
The submissive, enslaved, long-suffering Russian
people unexpectedly transformed into a free,
daring Giant treading a new path for the
progress of mankind — that is the reason
for the changed attitude of the capitalistic
world. It is one thing to help Russian
revolutionists to overthrow the Czar and to
put in his place a "democratic" form of

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30) government which has produced such a tool to our Czars of commerce and industry. But it is quite a different thing to see the Prometheus of labor rise in his might, strike off his chains, and with the full consciousness of his complete economic power bring to life the dreams and aspirations of a thousand years — the economic, political, and spiritual emancipation of the masses of the world. This pioneer-social experiment now being tried in Russia — the greatest and most fundamental ever attempted in all history — is the guiding star to all the oppressed and downtrodden of the world. Already its magic light is encircling the whole European firmament, the harbingers of the approaching Dawn of Man. What if it should traverse the ocean and embrace our own World within its orbit? The whole social order of the financial Czars.

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39/ industrial Kaiser, and Land Baron of America is at stake: the "order" maintained by club and gun, by jail and lynch law in and out of court; the "order" founded on robbery and violence, and supported by misery and starvation, by the water-cure, the dungeon and straitjacket; an "order" that transcends all chaos and daily masked confusion works unfounded.

Such social "order" is doomed. It bears within itself the virus of disintegration. Already the conscience of America is awakening. The War marked the crisis; already American men and women are beginning to realize the anti-social, destructive character and purpose of authority and government by violence, force, and fraud. Already the workers of America are outgrowing the vicious circle of craft unionism, learning the solidarity of action and power of the solidarity of

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40) the international proletariat, and justify confidence in their own initiative and judgment, to the confusion and terror of their antiquated, spineless leadership. Already they are seeing through the sham of "equality before the law"; and are in open rebellion to government by injunction.

A spark from the glowing flame of Soviet Russia, and the puffe-proud autocracy of America may be swept away by the social conflagration.

Wherefore the united clamor of Czars and Kaisers, Death to the I. W. W.s, Bolsheviki, the aliens, the I. W. W.s, Communists, the Anarchists!".

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I

Whatever might be said of the American plutocracy and the Government, no one can accuse them of originality. The method used by them to confuse and confound the people are ~~but~~ crude imitations of the old tactics long resorted to by the despotic rulers of Europe. Even before the world war Washington had become accustomed to the echo of the military lion's tail. Cant and Hypocrisy and the whole American militarism, with its conscription, espionage, torture of conscientious objectors, and suppressive legislation, was but aping – stupidly and dishonestly – the modus operandi of the bankrupt autocracy of the Old World. For lack of originality and talent to be sure, American officialdom was content to ape the echo of the military cult from London and Paris. And now our great circles of Washington following in the exact footsteps of the worst autocracy of modern times. For the hue and cry against the "alien" is a faithful replica of the

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42) persecution of the Jews by the Czars of Russia, and the American pogroms against radicals are the exaggerated pictures of Russian Jew-baiting.

And, finally, the most infamous and most inhuman method of Czarist Russia, the method that sacrificed hundreds of thousands of the finest and bravest men and women of Russia, and systematically robbed the country of the very flower of its youth, is now being transplanted on American soil, in these great United States, the freest democracy on earth. The dreaded Russian <u>administrative process</u> the newest American institution! Sudden seizure, anonymous denunciation, star chamber proceedings, the third degree, secret deportation and banishment to unknown lands. O shades of Jefferson, Thomas Paine, and Patrick Henry! That you must witness the bloodiest weapon of Czarism revived from the ruins of defunct absolutism and introduced into the country for whose freedom you fought and bled — so heroically!

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What meant the Administration's
It meant the suppression and elimination
of the political protestant and social rebel. It
the practice of picking men up on the street, on
the merest suspicion of "political untrustworthiness",
of arresting them in their club rooms or homes,
tearing them away from their families, locking
them up in jails or detention pens, holding them
incommunicado for weeks and months, depriving
them of a hearing in open court, denying them
trial by jury, and finally deporting or
banishing them to unknown shores. All this,
not for any crime committed or even any
~~punishable~~ act charged, ~~[illegible]~~ but merely on
the denunciation of an enemy or the irres-
ponsible accusation by a Secret Service man
that the "suspect" holds certain unpopular
or "forbidden" opinions.

Let the truth or accuracy of this
statement not be called in question, let it be
stated ~~[illegible]~~ that at this very moment there
are one hundred such "political suspects"
held at Ellis Island, with several hundred

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more in the various Immigration Detention jails — every one of them a victim of the administrative process described above. Not one of them is charged with any specific crime; one and all are accused of entertaining "illegal" views on political or social questions. Nearly all of them have been seized on the street or arrested in their homes or reading-rooms while engaged in the dangerous pursuit of studying the English language, mathematics, or American history. (The latter seems lately to be regarded by the authorities as a particularly dangerous occupation, and those guilty of it a prima facie menace to our American institutions.) Others were arrested in the factory, at their work bench, or in the midst of their labor. Many of them were beaten and roughly handled during the recent raids of homes and peaceful meetings, the wounds of some requiring hospital treatment. In addition to this they were subjected to the third degree, threatened, tortured and finally thrust into the bull pen of Ellis Island. Here they are treated as dangerous felons, left all the time

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look and cry, and allowed to see their wives and families only once a week, with a screen between them and malicious guards constantly at their side. Here their mail is subjected to the most stringent censorship, and their letters delivered or not, according to the whim of the petty official in charge. Here some of them, because they dared protest against their isolation and the putrid food, were placed in the insane asylum. Here it was that the brutal treatment and unbearable conditions of existence drove men and women, the political as well as deportation, to the desperate extremity of a hunger strike, the last resort of defenseless victims, the pitiful self-defence of despair. For weeks and months these men [redacted] were kept prisoners [redacted] at Ellis Island, tortured by the thought of their wives and children whom the Government has ruthlessly deprived, of support, and living in constant uncertainty of the fate that is awaiting them.

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w) for the just Universal Sentiment, friendly or hostile, is keeping their destination secret, and certain death may be the goal of the deportees when the hour of departure finally strikes.

Such is the treatment and the fate of the first group of Russian refugees from American "democracy". Such is the process known as the administrative method, penalizing governmentally unapproved Thought, suppressing disbelief in the omniscence of the powers that be.

In enlightened, free America. Not in Darkest Russia.

(Continued on page 47)

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When the terrible significance of the administrative proceed practiced in Russia became known in Europe, civilization stood with bated breath. It caused ~~[illegible]~~ a storm of protest in the British Parliament, and called forth violent interpellations in the Italian Diet and the Cabinet of France. Even in the German Reichstag in the days of the omnipotent Kaiser, ventured a heated debate of the barbaric administrative proceed which doomed thousands of innocents to underground dungeons and the frozen Taigas of Siberia.

~~[illegible]~~,

~~[illegible]~~,

[illegible] the Czar's methods, the Third Section, the secret political spy organization, (anonymous denunciations, star chamber proceedings, deprivation of trial, wholesale deportations and banishment, to become an established American institution? Let the people speak.

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(48)

The full significance of
the principle of deportation is
becoming daily more apparent.
The field of its menace
is progressively broadening.
Not only the alien

(Continued on p. 49)

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[illegible] racial rebel is to be crushed by the new White Terror. Its hand is already reaching out for the naturalized American whose social views are frowned upon by the Government. And yet deeper it strikes. One hundred percent Americanism is to root out the last vestige, the very memory, of tradi-tional American freedom. Not alone foreigners, but the naturalized citizen and the native-born are to be mentally fumigated, made politically "safe" and governmentally kosher, by eliminating the social critics and industrial protestants, by denaturalization and banishment, by exile to the Island of Guam or to Alaska, the future Siberia of the United States.

Following the alien radical the naturalized American is the first

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victims of the Organization of America. Patriotic profiteers and political bandits are united in the cry for the "Americanization" of the foreigners in the United States. He is the "naturalized" intellectually sterilized and immunized to Bolshevism, so that he may properly appreciate the glorious spirit of American democracy. Simultaneously, however, the Federal Government is introducing the new principle of summarily deporting the American citizen — in order to bring within the scope of the administrative process the subject the victim to deportation without trial. Behind all that pretext to abuse

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I have set in the case of Emma Goldman affords significant proof of what lengths the Government will go to rid itself of a disquieting social rebel, though he be a citizen for a quarter of a century.

The story is interesting and enlightening. More than eight years ago Secret Service men of the Federal Government were ordered to gather "material" in Rochester, N. Y., or elsewhere, that would enable the authorities to disfranchise a certain Rochester citizen. The man in question was of no concern whatever to Washington, or subsequent events proved. He was an ordinary citizen, a quiet unassuming man, ~~[illegible]~~ without any interest in social or political questions. He was never known to entertain any unpopular views or associate with

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52/ matter of fact, the man had long been considered
dead by his close friends and acquaintances,
since he had disappeared from his
home years previously and no clue to
his whereabouts or any sign that he
was still among the living could be
found; indeed, had not been found
till this day, notwithstanding the
best efforts at great expense
and with considerable thinking at its own rules and regulations in such matters,
the United States Government finally dis-
covered the man — the corpse, perhaps,
for everything seems to the contrary. The
facts, however, necessitate a good deal of secrecy and
[illegible] on the part of the man in
[illegible] as citizen by right of
birth [illegible] did not appreciate
the importance of its intended action. On
the contrary, at first the man was not fully
aware at the time of his naturali-
zation — about 20 years before — the mighty
Republic of America declared the citizen-
ship of the man of unknown whereabouts

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53) and against whom no crime or offence of any kind was ever charged, as null and void.

Ten years passed. The disfranchised citizen, so far as humanly known, was still as dead as at the time of his denaturalization. No trace of him could be found, and nothing more was heard of the motives and purposes of the [redacted] in deporting of [redacted] citizen. [redacted] was dead for years.

Bark and Berkman are the wards of government.

More time passed. Then it became known that the United States Govern- [redacted] intended [redacted] Emma Goldman. But Emma had acquired citizenship by birth, and a [redacted] the deportation laws of the United [redacted] But Lo and behold! The Government suddenly announced

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the Emma Goldman that a citizen no more, Lavrela her husband had been disfranchised ten years before!

Dark and peculiar indeed are the ways of government. But there is method in its madness.

What a striking comment this case affords on the true character of government, and the chicanery and subterfuge it resorts to when legal means fail to achieve its purposes. Long did the United States Government bide its time. The moment was not propitious to get rid of Emma Goldman. But rid she must be gotten of, by fair means or foul. Yet public sentiment was not ready for such things as deportation and banishment. Patience! The hour of a great popular hysteria will come, will be made, if necessary, and then we shall deport this bête noir of government.

The moment has now come. It is

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Deportation, Its Meaning and Menace

Friends, fellow citizens and liberty lovers:

The true, the eternal criteria against re-
pression, unjust and illegal, have created
the atmosphere needed to introduce in
America the principle and practice of bon-
dage. At last the Government may
deport Emma Goldman; for through the
width and breath of the country there is
not a Judge — and possibly not even a
jury — with enough integrity and courage
to give this enfant + terrible a fair hearing
and an unprejudiced examination of her
claim to citizenship.

Therefore Emma Goldman is to be
deported.

But her case sets a precedent, and
American life is ruled by legal precedents.
Henceforth the naturalized citizen may
be disnaturalized, on one pretext or
another, and deported because of his
or her social views and opinions. Already
Congress is preparing to enable the

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[illegible] practically to the same method of fight-
ing by passing a special law ~~the~~
providing for the disfranchisement of na-
turalized Americans for reasons satis-
factory to our autocratic régime.

This another link is forged to chain
the great American people. For it is against
the liberties and welfare of the people at large
that these new methods are fundamentally
~~[illegible]~~ directed. Not merely against
Emma Goldman, the Anarchists, the I. W. W.,
Communists, and other revolutionists. These
are but the primary victims, the prologue
which ~~is~~ introduces and shadows forth
the tragedy about to be enacted.

The ultimate blow of the imperialist
autocracy of America is aimed at
Labor, at the increasing discontent
of the masses, their growing class-
consciousness, and their progressive
aspiration for more joy and life
and beauty. The fate of Ameri-

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57) is in the balance.

That is the true ~~significance~~ meaning and the real menace of the principle of deportation, banishment, and exile, now being introduced in the life of the United States. That is the purpose of the State and Federal anti-Anarchist laws, criminal syndicalist legislation, and all similar measures. That the master class is forging for the defeat of the awakening proletariat of America.

Shall the United States, once the land of opportunity, the refuge of all the oppressed, [redacted], be Prussianized, Czarified? Shall the history of the World be turned into a seething caldron brewing strife and slaughter, spitting tyranny and assassination? Shall we live, on this soil baptized with

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Shall the sacred blood of the great lives of the Revolutionary War, engage in the sanguinary struggle of brother against brother? Shall we ~~[illegible]~~ in this land the frightful nightmare of barbaric Russia? Shall this land re-echo the horrible tramp of a thousand feet, on their way to an American Siberia? Tortured -faced, manacled -hands, -chained, in weary, endless procession — shall that be the heritage of our youth? Shall the sons of [illegible] be turned into a dirge, and [illegible] babies be suckled with the teat of hate?

No, it shall not be. There is not time to pause, to turn back. High time, high time for the voice of every true man and woman, every lover of liberty, to [illegible]

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so) forth such a mighty collective
protest that shall reverberate from
North to South and East to West
and rouse the awakened manhood
of America to a heroic stand
for Liberty and Justice.

But if not, – if our warning
prediction unheeded come true and
the woeful tragedy be played
to its end, yet shall we not despair,
nor misdoubt the female.

Her token is the Dream of Oppression.
Did she not rise, where the mean who cowed
became the judges that doomed Socrates? Where the persecutors of the
Gracchi, the excommunicators of Spinoza
and Tolstoy? Their very memory is

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60) Alarmed by the footsteps of Progress
Unceasingly it marches, forward and
upward, all obstacles notwithstanding,
keeping time with the heart-beats of
Humanity. Vain the efforts to halt
it, to banish ideas, to strangle thought.
Vain the frenzied struggle to turn back
the hands of Time. The mightiest
Goliath of Reaction has fought his
last fight — his final gesture,
Old Russia, a hopeless surrender.
Too late to revive this corpse. It is
beyond resurrection. Attempts there may
be, ays, will be, for the Bourbons never
(illegible) — and the people are long-suffering.
But attempts useless, destructive, utterly
fatal to their purpose. The Dream
of Reaction ends in abysmal
nightmare.

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are long-suffering. But attempts unless, destructive, utterly fatal to their purpose. The dream of Reaction ends in abysmal nightmare.

It is darkest before dawn, in history as in nature. But the Dawn has begun. In Russia. Its light is a promise and the hope of the world.

[Printer: Start here new page, entitled]

What's To Be Done?

Men and women of America, this is work to be done. If you hate injustice and tyranny, if you love liberty and beauty, there is work for you. If oppression rouses

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and ugliness makes you unhappy, there is work for you. If your country is dear to you and if the people you love, there is work for you. There is work for you, here. Whoever you are, artist or dreamer, writer or worker — be you but a true man or true woman — there is important work for you. Look about you. Open your eyes and give of your heart. Let not prejudice and narrow-mindedness blind you. Let not a false press mislead you. Permit not this country to sink to the depths of despotism. Do not stand supinely by, while every day strengthens reaction. Rouse yourself and arise to resent injustice and every outrage on liberty. Demand an open mind and fair hearing

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to) for every idea. that seems the right
of expression: protect the freedom of speech
and press. Suffer not Tempt the
limited and oppressive organized. More
conference free, undisciplined. allow
no curtailment of aspirations and ideals.
These are the Levers of progress, the
fountain-head of joy and beauty.

Join your efforts, Lovers of
humanity. Do not uphold the hand
that strangles Life. align yourselves
with the dreamers of the Better Day.
The cause is worthy, the need urgent.
The future looks toward you, its voice
calls you, calls.

May it not call in vain.

And you, fellow workers in factory
mine, and ~~office~~ field, a great mission
is yours. Join the ranks of the

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64) world and the creator of its wealth
You are the most interested in the
fate of your country. The menace
of deportism is greatest to you.
Long has your masters' service
humiliated and degraded you. While
you permit yourselves to be driven
into still more abject slavery?
Your emancipation is your
work. Others may help, but you
alone can win. In stop and
reason, face up to this your
greatest problem. Let not the
cost of you be victimized. Remember,
an injury to one is the concern of
all. No worker can stand alone in
the face of organized capitalism with
all its legislative and military

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65) weapons. Class solidarity: each with a common purpose, all with a common effort. Know your enemy: there is no "mutual interest" between the robber and the robbed. Understand your true friends: you'll always find them maligned and persecuted by your enemies. The idealists, the seekers of the stateless world, spear from your heart. Give them hearing.

Your fate, the fate of the country, is in your hands. Yours is the greatest power. There is no strength in the Government, except you give it. ~~Your~~ is the strength in your masters, except you suffer it. The only true mastery is in you, the working class

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66) in your power to feel and create
the world and make it joyous. The
greatest power, for good or evil. Use it
for Liberty, for justice. Allow no
suppression of the freedom of Speech and
Press, for it is a
snare for your undoing. Sooner or
later every suppression comes Lone
to Labor, for its greater enslavement.
Realize the menace of deportation, of
the principle of banishment and
exile. It, Tis the latest method
of the American plutocracy &
silence the discontent of the
Workers. Lose no time. It is of
the most vital importance to you.
It threatens you, your union,
your very existence. Take the

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67) matter up in your organizations.
The fortunes of Labor in America
are at stake. Only your united
~~action~~ effort can ~~avert the~~ conquer
the peril that menaces you.
Take action. Rouse the masses
of the whole country. In
union and solidarity, in
clear-purpose and courage
is your only salvation.

Deportation department
Ellis Island, N.Y., U.S.A
December 20, 1919.

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BERKMAN
XVII

Deportation
Meaning and Menace

mss. A.B. & E.G.
67 p.

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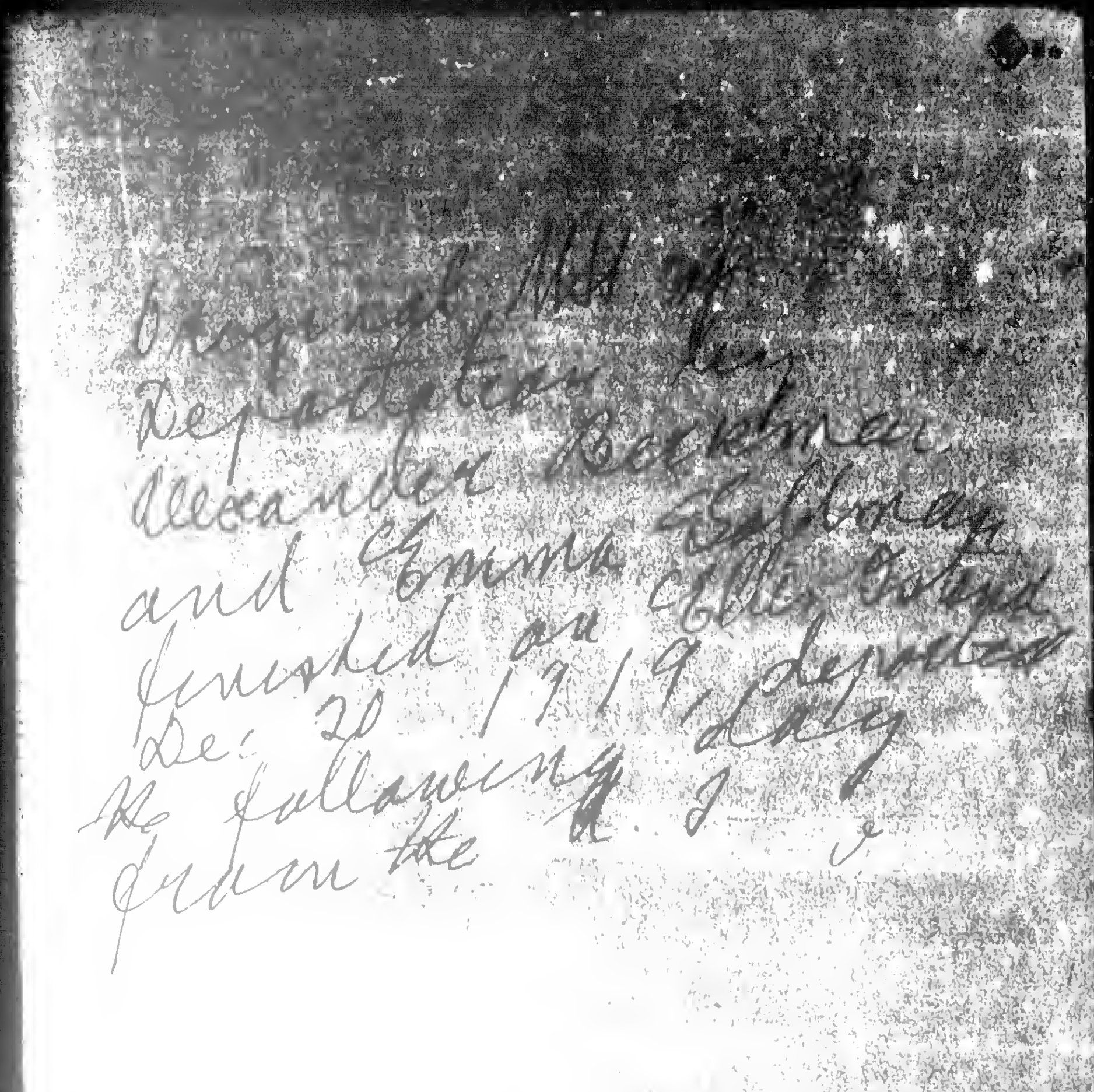
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The Emma Goldman Papers

Radical Writings of Emma Goldman Are Made Public / Emma Goldman.— 29 cm.
In The Washington Star. —(Dec. 22, 1919).
Obtained from the United States National Archives. Institutional Location: Record Group 65.

RADICAL WRITINGS OF EMMA GOLDMAN ARE MADE PUBLIC

Mass of Evidence Secured by Department of Justice Brought Deporting.

A mass of evidence used by the Department of Justice in deportation proceedings against the Russian anarchists, including Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, started on their way to soviet Russia early yesterday morning, was made public today.

It consists chiefly in quotations from writings and speeches uttered by Emma Goldman, and shows the influence she had in certain acts of lawlessness and some outrages in the United States over a period of years.

Goldman is connected by J. E. Hoover, special assistant to the Attorney General, who has prosecuted the deportation cases, with the Los Angeles Times explosion, the assassination of President McKinley and, of course, with organized efforts to resist the selective service draft during the war.

"Emma Goldman has been a prolific writer on all subjects," said Mr. Hoover's statement, "varying from discourses on the 'drama' to the 'Advocation of Birth Control' and the 'Exposition of Anarchy.'"

Recent Writings Revealed.

Among her recent writings were pamphlets which found a wide distribution among workers in mines and factories, especially foreigners. Some of the titles were: "Cyndicalism, the Modern Menace to Capitalism," "Preparedness the Road to Universal Slaughter," "Patriotism, a Menace to Liberty," "Anarchism, What It Really Stands For," and "The Psychology of Political Violence."

For several years Goldman has been proprietor and editor of a radical publication, "Mother Earth." Much of the evidence used against the woman was presented simply in the form of copies of the periodical. In this the anarchist "queen" advocated all sorts of violence—sabotage, bombing, assassination—and when such outrages occurred she praised the perpetrators, describing them usually as "noble comrades."

Hatred of Religion.

One of her most popular pamphlets bore the title, "Philosophy of Atheism and Failure of Christianity." In connection with this, it is pointed out by Department of Justice agents, Goldman is of Jewish parentage and has lived out of wedlock with men over extended periods.

In another pamphlet issued by the Mother Earth concern, Goldman says: "Religion is a superstition that originated in man's mental inability to solve natural phenomena. The church is an organized institution that has always been a stumbling block to progress."

At another place Goldman says: "Every institution today rests on violence; our very atmosphere is saturated with it. So long as such a state exists we might as well strive to stop the rush of Niagara as hope to do away with violence."

Preparedness, says Goldman, is "to uphold the institutions which protect and sustain a handful of people in the robbery and plunder of the masses; the institutions which take from the alien whatever originality he brings with him, and in return give cheap Americanism, whose glory consists in [illegible] arrogance."

Washington Star,
December 22, 1919.

830523044d

The Emma Goldman Papers

Radical Writings of Emma Goldman Are Made Public / Emma Goldman.— 29 cm.
In The Washington Star. —(Dec. 22, 1919).
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[illegible] the cancellation of Miss Goldman's certificate of American citizenship, the department states that she has never been a citizen either through the naturalization of her father or by marriage. In the spring of 1887, to which [illegible] Mr. Hoover contends that Miss Goldman was 21 years of age when her father was naturalized in Rochester, N. Y., October 13, 1884, and that she did not claim citizenship herself or apply for citizenship papers. Furthermore, the department proves that she was married "by a Reverend Bardin, who had no right to perform the marriage ceremony under the laws of New York."

Charges Husband With Fraud.

As further proof that she cannot claim citizenship because of marriage, the department states that her alleged husband "was not entitled to admission as a citizen," that he obtained his papers by fraud and his certificate of naturalization was canceled by the United States district court ten years ago.

It is also stated by the Department of Justice that in 1889 Emma Goldman and her purported husband were divorced according to the Jewish law by Rabbi Abe C. Levinson, at one time chief Rabbi in Baltimore. After this "divorce" the government memorandum states, "Emma Goldman and her husband lived together again for a few months until she fell in love with Alexander Berkman, with whom she has kept continued company except for the periods during which he has been incarcerated in penitentiaries and jails."

Between the time of her arrival and deportation, Miss Goldman spent 32 years in the United States, during which period she actually worked eighteen months. Thus, for more than 31 years, she has been traveling throughout the country or resting in prison as an agitator, anarchist, and enemy of our government.

Carries Off Thousands of Dollars.

The government states that after her arrival in New York from Hamburg on the steamship Gallet, December 31, 1885, she went at once to the home of her half-sister, Mrs. Samuel Cominsky, in Rochester, N. Y., and obtained employment as a tailoress, at which trade she worked about one and one-half years." Nevertheless, as a writer and lecturer, she was able to raise thousands of dollars, and when she was deported from the United States today she carried with her thousands of dollars in American money.

"It shows that preaching anarchy pays," said one of the government officials who has been trailing anarchists for more than 30 years. "While the rest of us work hard for a living and are satisfied with our form of government, these anarchists accumulate comfortable fortunes by denouncing the very country which makes them prosperous."

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Berkman and Goldman.

Upon departing, Berkman and Goldman made the conventional gesture and announcement: "We go, but we return." But they will not return. They have had their day—much too long a day—in America. They should have been deported years ago. It is inconceivable that such creatures will ever be tolerated in this country again. We are, at last, on to their kind, and conditions are such that the gates must be shut against them.

Of what force will they be in Russia, assuming that their destination is Russia? They are at most but soap-box orators and agitators of that type. Neither has ever had to do with practical affairs. They came to America young, and when not in prison have spent their time principally with discontented loafers and wastrels. They have been widely advertised, but not in connection with any contribution to constructive work of any sort.

Now, in Russia, the need is of men and women of constructive ability; and there is a great scarcity. The soap-box orators and other agitators have done their stunt. They have overturned the government, and either killed or banished the former despots. But a new government must be established, and considerable difficulty is being encountered by those engaged in the effort. As yet only a ramshackle arrangement has been made. Unless something better and much more substantial can be devised, the condition of the Russian people will inevitably grow worse.

Of what use, then, at this time, will mere mouths be in Russia? And those two mouths are foreign. Berkman and Goldman as agitators have learned their trade outside of Russia, and under conditions so different from any Russia has ever known it will be very difficult if not impossible for them to find employment in their new environment. And their mouths are all they have to offer.

It will be of interest, therefore, if any intelligence comes back about them, to note the character of their reception in Russia, and what, if anything, they are set to do. Of course, they will attempt the martyr role. But there are so many martyrs—professional martyrs—among the Russian reds, the immigrant article cannot hope for the center of the stage.

Very likely, in deporting these two persons this government has reduced them to impotency. They are no longer a menace here, and never will be again, while in Russia they can be of no service to those at present in power, and will have to scuttle with the rest whenever the change comes which will bring in a more intelligent and orderly procedure.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Interview] Pioneer Anarchists Leave Crop of 60,000 Reds in U.S. / Emma Goldman. – 29 cm. *In* The New York Tribune. –(Dec. 22, 1919).

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Tribune

[illegible] DECEMBER 22, 1919

Pioneer Anarchists Leave Crop of 60,000 Reds in U. S.

16 of Berkman's 30 Years Here Spent in Prison and Goldman Spent 3 in Cell; Treason, Bombs, Even McKinley's Assassination Laid to Their Teachings

The deportation of Emma Goldman and her devoted companion, Alexander Berkman, ends a joint career of thirty years in the United States, during which they preached the overthrow of government by violence. He spent fourteen years and she three in jail, but they were never punished for the part their teachings played in attacks by others on life and property.

Berkman served fourteen years for shooting Henry Clay Frick and two years for urging young men to abstain from registering for the draft early in the war. Miss Goldman was in prison two years for opposing conscription and one year for inciting to riot. Berkman was never brought to trial on an indictment for murder in connection with the Preparedness Day bomb outrage in San Francisco. Miss Goldman was acquitted of illegal distribution of birth control literature.

Their joint activities as publishers of the anarchist magazines "Mother Earth" and "The Blast" suppressed during the war, combined with their addresses at anarchistic meetings, helped cause the assassination of President McKinley, the government charged in its deportation proceedings. The confession of Czolgosz described the influence which Miss Goldman's writings had on him.

Influenced Coast Dynamiters

Their influence was traced in the dynamiting of "The Los Angeles Times." Matthew Schmidt and David Caplan, now in jail with others for that crime, were "of the Goldman clan," Attorney General Palmer has said.

They were suspected of receiving German money to oppose preparedness here before the United States entered the war.

They cooperated with German spies in endeavoring to promote a revolution in India during the war.

They were the pioneer radicals in the United States. Now there are 60,000 "Reds" here and 472 disloyal foreign-language newspapers, according to Attorney General Palmer.

Denounced by judges and other public officials from President Roosevelt down as enemies of the country seeking to destroy it, but regarded by women anarchists who greeted them with kisses as "beautiful characters, a hundred years ahead of their times," they so increased their following that it was easy for them to provide $15,000 or $25,000 bail in cash or Liberty bonds. Yet fines of $10,000 each for opposing the draft were unpaid. They had no property, they said.

Deportation Urged 10 Years

For more than ten years their deportation had been agitated and at times seemed near, but no formal proceedings for this purpose were instituted until the alarming radical activities of 1919, including the Seattle and Winnipeg general strikes, the sending of bombs through the mails to Attorney General Palmer and other prominent men, the formation of branches of the Communist party and plans for anarchistic demonstrations on the anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Republic of Russia, which were frustrated by country-wide raids in November. These raids made a total of 667 anarchists seized by the United States on deportation proceedings in the last two years.

When their co-workers, the Nihilists in Russia, whence they came in youth, evoluted into the Bolsheviki and formed the Soviet government after the downfall of the monarchy, Berkman and Miss Goldman championed a similar government and social order for this country. Berkman when surrendered for deportation predicted that he would return to the United States as Soviet Ambassador and Miss Goldman proposed a revolution "over what's left of the years."

"American capitalists are the most greedy in the world," she said, "and when the time comes they are going to pay a terrible price for it. A terrible storm is brewing in the United States."

Repudiated Violence in Court

Yet when given opportunity, on their many appearances in court to air their views they repudiated violence.

"The anarchist never advocates a reign of terror," said Berkman. "Anarchism means the negation of violence. Anarchists teach self reliance, cooperation and mutual aid in opposition to existing institutions of authority."

In reply to one such argument after Berkman's conviction in New York of opposing the draft the United States Attorney said to the court:

"The court should know that Berkman, who now claims to be for universal peace and says he is against the use of violence, in 1892 went into Mr. Frick's office in Pittsburgh and tried to shoot him down without giving his victim an opportunity to defend himself. He shot him in the back as he would a dog."

"The first terrorist act in America" is the way Berkman described his attack on Frick in his book, "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist."

Berkman's last hour of freedom in this country expired early this month in New York City while Henry Clay Frick was being buried in Pittsburgh and mourned as a public benefactor.

Goldman Forty-nine, Berkman Fifty

Emma Goldman is forty-nine years old and Berkman fifty. She was born in Kovno, Russia, and in early childhood removed with her parents to East Prussia. When fifteen years old she came to the United States and started working in clothing factories in Rochester, N. Y.

Recently asked who her relatives were, Miss Goldman replied: "I have children all over the United States."

"They can't keep me out," she said [illegible] 1907 when there was talk of deporting me. I don't believe they would be fool enough to try. My father was an American citizen. I married an American citizen."

Her sister came to the United States [illegible], one year after her arrival, and was naturalized at Rochester when his daughter was twenty-four years old.

Her association with Berkman began thirty years ago in New York. Other than that he came from Russia, he seems to have concealed his prior [illegible] pretty well. What he was released from the Western Pennsylvania [illegible] for [illegible] time for [illegible] reports [illegible] Miss Goldman [illegible]

"I Represent the Devil"

[illegible] declared Miss [illegible] meetings "I [illegible] spreading [illegible] who leads [illegible] up [illegible]

Berkman and Miss Goldman made [illegible] speeches in New York, were [illegible] were published, but [illegible] were large city in [illegible] addressed [illegible] England, [illegible] countries.

[illegible] seemed to live [illegible] public [illegible] declared capitalism would [illegible] Admission fees [illegible] charged, [illegible] sold and subscriptions [illegible] their magazines taken. [illegible] meeting they addressed in Chicago, prior to their deportation, the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Excerpt from Lecture] Berkman and Emma Goldman Leave Parting Message / Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman.— 28 cm. *In* The World. —(Dec. 22, 1919).

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WORLD: MONDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1919.

Berkman and Emma Goldman Leave Parting Message

Say They Will Work in Russia to Free America From its Masters and When This Is Done Return to Rejoice With Its People.

Mrs. Stella Ballentine, niece of Emma Goldman, at her home, No. 36 Grove Street, last night gave out the following farewell statement made by Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman on Ellis Island Saturday:

"Thirty years ago an American returned from Siberia with a most heartrending story of the living death to which politicals exiled in Siberia were doomed by the Czars of Russia. That American was George Kennan. Like an inspired Apostle he went about this country arousing the people to indignation and protest against the crimes and horrors perpetrated upon the best and finest of Russia's youth because of their political and social opinions.

It was Keenan, who, aided by other liberal Americans, organized the first Society of the Friends of Russian freedom. With them Keenan labored incessantly until two years ago. They saw the hated Czar and his regime hurled to oblivion and the Siberian exiles brought back in triumph from their living graves to free Russia.

America Now Introduces Exile.

"History certainly repeats itself. Democratic America was the first to offer asylum to all political refugees; America, a friend and generous hostess, giving aid and comfort to the Russian exiles in their war upon the Romanoffs has now herself introduced exile and banishment for opinion's sake. And the Kennans and the Lyman Abbots and other erstwhile champions of a free Russia have not a word of protest against the growing enslavement of their native land, against the exile and banishment of political refugees in America.

"To-day the United States is engaged in a war of extermination of the best and most idealistic human material in her midst. Men and women—though of foreign birth—who have toiled and labored for the benefit of the land of their choice are being torn from their homes, their friends and comrades; separated from their families; many of them brutally clubbed and thrown into filthy detention jails and in the present prison at Ellis Island, and there kept for months without a charge or a hearing; fed on rotten food, subjected to the indignity of seeing their loved ones through hideous screens, and otherwise bullied and harried by petty officials. And now these political heretics have been banished from democratic America.

"Officials in high positions, political aspirants to sinecures aided by a servile press, will heave a sigh of relief. The hated alien, the terrible Anarchist and Bolsheviks are no more. The American god, Mammon, is on the throne and peace prevaileth n earth.

Dead Likely to Arise.

"Alas for their short lived joy! The dead have a tendency to arise, and when they do they are often more formidable than the dead now living. Their ghosts go marching through the land proclaiming that peace shall never prevail until the Pharisees and money changers have been lashed from the temple of humanity and freedom restored to the people.

The first American refugees, now on their way to Russia, have reason to be grateful to the Government. Theirs is the honor and glory to do for America what the Russian exiles did for Russia—the honor and glory of bringing to Russia the knowledge of the outrage and cruelties practised upon American men and women because of their opinions.

To us is now given the opportunity to prove pitiable knaves and fools, those who imagine they can stop the hand of time with a policeman's club or a deportation decree. We who have been hounded and persecuted beyond endurance and thrown into prison for our ideas, will now return good for evil. We will, on our return to Soviet Ruasia, arouse the interest and support of the Russian workers in behalf of American freedom.

Much Good as Well as Evil Here.

"We feel for the land we once chose for our home. We know that besides much that is ugly and evil in America there is also much that is good and beautiful. We have revelled in America's natural grandeur, her Niagaras, her mountains and her poetic woods. With the good gray poet, Walt Whitman, we have tramped her open roads and were inspired by his vision of the free city where the slave and the master of the slave cease; where the populace rises as one against a never-ending audacity of elected persons.

"We have drawn wisdom from the pure fountains of Emerson, gained courage from Garrison and Wendell Phillips, and from Thoreau, the arch-Anarchist, we learned the cruelty and futility of government.

"In truth we owe much to America. We are sure we cannot show our gratitude in a better and fuller measure than by rendering aid and comfort to the American people in their war upon their industrial masters and their corrupt and despotic Government. We will, therefore, exert our best efforts to help the American people to freedom, even as they have helped to free Russia.

"We, the first American political refugees, will yet live to see America truly brave and truly free and we will be recalled by this land to rejoice with her people in their triumphant achievement."

beginning in the work of cleaning out alien Anarchists.

They said they would continue to [illegible] legislation aimed, for one thing, to hit "parlor snakes" supporting the Reds with advice and money.

Congressman Vaile of Colorado, who acted as spokesman, said he expected the Reds would claim the deportees had been badly treated, so he and his colleagues paid strict attention to the way they were handled and found they received great consideration.

"The Government," he said, "supplied them with warm clothing, dyed army overcoats, army shoes and army underwear. They were allowed to take plenty of baggage. I saw about 100 trunks loaded on board, and almost everybody had two grips. Emma Goldman had two trunks and wore a heavy fur coat and a woollen sweater. I saw two large packages of heavy caps with earmuffs for the deportees.

"The transport is more spacious than those which carried our soldiers across the Atlantic, according to the army guard on board.

"The cots are arranged in tiers of three—the upper one for luggage and the lower two for the men. There is a large dining room and plenty of washrooms and shower baths. The three women have a large stateroom with beds and separate washroom. Each person is allowed $1 a day for food.

"Shortly before the departure Mr. Caminetti found that the Reds were likely to fare better than the soldiers with their army allowance of 60 cents a day for food, so he arranged for an additional allowance for the soldiers out of the funds of the Bureau of Immigration.

"When the deportees reach their landing place they will be provided with six days' rations. Care will be taken to land them under conditions to guard against want and suffering. They have $200,000 with them.

"Some of the men complained that their legal rights had not been protected, but everybody had full opportunity to appeal to the courts from the decisions of the Immigration Inspectors. Emma Goldman sneered at the different departments of the Government "passing the buck" regarding her deportation, but I told her that the only possible example of that sort of thing may have been in the extreme solicitude of certain officers of the Department of Labor to protect the rights of individuals. Only a few had not had time to cash checks or pay checks.

"They will be well guarded on the way over. The fifty special agents of the Department of Justice on board have had plenty of experience in handling rough characters. Berkshire, their chief, is an old-timer of the Mexican Border Patrol. So is Webb, a former Texas Ranger, and Milton of Arizona, who is handy with a gun. Russell, another one, is a former Sheriff from California. The men of the 13th Infantry on board are tried men, and the crew are all armed."

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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Goldman Writings

January 1, 1913 to December 31, 1919

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and

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